VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND COMMUNITY FORMATION: PAUL'S MACEDONIAN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES IN CONTEXT

Richard Stephen Ascough

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Wycliffe College and the Biblical Department of the Toronto School of Theology. In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Theology awarded by the University of St. Michael's College

Toronto, 1997

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation attempts to determine how one can best understand the social matrix of the early Christian communities at Thessalonica and Philippi by examining both the internal rhetoric of 1 Thessalonians and Philippians and the external context of each city, both the Macedonian context and, more broadly, the Greco-Roman milieu. Each of these Christian communities is placed within the larger framework of group formation in antiquity.

A number of models of community formation are described and evaluated as analogues for the Macedonian Christian communities: households, synagogues, philosophical schools, the ancient mysteries, and voluntary associations. Since the voluntary associations are judged to be the most appropriate for understanding the Macedonian Christian communities, a number objections raised against this model are addressed and a survey of the Macedonian voluntary associations is provided (the relevant inscriptions are collected in Appendix I).

Finally, a comparative analysis of Paul’s letters to the Macedonian Christians and the community practices and language of the voluntary associations is undertaken.
Setting the language and structure of the Macedonian Christian communities beside that of the associations brings about a number of new understandings and nuances to the letters written to these communities. We are able to see that both of the Macedonian Christian communities reflect features and language typical of voluntary associations. We begin by arguing that the Thessalonians were most analogous to an all male, professional association while the Philippians were most analogous to a gender-inclusive religious association. We then illustrate Paul’s language in 1 Thessalonians and Philippians by reference to the typicalities of association language. In so doing, we see that many of the community features of both the Thessalonian and the Philippian Christian communities find ready analogies in the voluntary associations. Overall, this helped us to understand better, and often in new ways, both Paul and his practices, and the practices and structure of the groups to which he writes.
For Mary-Lynne

with love
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PREFACE

The topic of this dissertation had as its impetus a course taught by John Kloppenborg on the First Century World of Early Christianity. It was there that an interest in Paul's Macedonian Christian communities coalesced with sociological and archaeological studies and sparked the ideas for this dissertation. Prof. Kloppenborg has been a constant source of methodological, bibliographical, and technical insight throughout his oversight of this project. As my Doktorvater and mentor he has provided ample inspiration and encouragement in the furthering of my career as a member of the guild of biblical scholars. I have much appreciation and admiration for his scholarship and example.

Much of my early grounding in the study of voluntary association inscriptions came through the Toronto School of Theology's Hellenistic Texts Seminar. I am particularly thankful to those who were members of the HTS during our "inscriptions" phase (1991-94) for the use of our collective work—John Kloppenborg, Leif Vaage, Hudson McLean, Alicia Batten, Grant LeMarquand, Bill Arnal, and Philip Harland. Although most of the Macedonian inscriptions used in this dissertation were collected and translated by me, in a few such cases I have incorporated the work of others (particularly Hudson McLean and John Kloppenborg) into the translations and comments of the inscriptions. I am again grateful for the generosity of my fellow-researchers, and I think such willingness to share results underlines the true nature of collaborative research efforts. The HTS inscriptions project received a three-year SSHRC grant, the funds from which allowed us to create an extensive database and allowed me, as a research assistant, to compile a subject index of all of our inscriptions, which has now been incorporated into the database. This database proved essential in the research for this dissertation.
I am grateful to a number of organizations for their generous provision of funding and scholarships during my graduate studies: to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for a three-year doctoral fellowship; to the Catholic Biblical Association for four years of Memorial Stipends; to the Toronto School of Theology for awarding me the John M. Kelly Award. Opportunities for teaching came my way from the University of St. Michael's College, while Wycliffe College and Regis College provided opportunities to gain experience as a tutorial leader; for these I am also grateful.

Friends have played an important role in my graduate experience, and during my time in Toronto I have had the pleasure of meeting many talented individuals. Among the young scholars who have provided particularly important support and encouragement are John McLaughlin, Robert Derrenbacker, Tyler Williams, Alicia Batten, Caroline Whelan-Donaghey, James Beck, Paul Friesen, and Kenneth Fox. Friends from other walks of life who have been particularly gracious, and tolerant, include John and Tanis Inglis, Grant Cassidy, Lisa and Campbell Horn, Brian Effer, and all the "Triniteens" of Little Trinity Anglican Church. I owe a special word of thanks to David and Kathy Schleindl who took my unartistic diagrams and turned them into the maps and site plans found in Appendix II. I also want to express my appreciation for the encouragement of my parents and my wife's parents, who have seen our collective studies take us half-way around the world and back.

Finally, I want to acknowledge the support of my immediate family. My daughter, Hannah, was born shortly before my dissertation proposal was approved and has often missed her daddy as he has been "at work." My wife, Mary-Lynne, has provided unfailing support throughout my academic endeavors, particularly these past few years as I have laboured with this project. As a recognition of her fortitude I dedicate my dissertation to her, with love.
INSCRIPTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

One of the most difficult tasks one faces in undertaking a study of Macedonian voluntary associations is locating all of the relevant inscriptions among the numerous sources.¹ For this reason most of them are included in an appendix to this dissertation, preceded by a summary chart (Appendix I). Although I have aimed to be as complete as possible in including information about each particular inscription, much important information remains elusive. This is particularly true of the dating of many of the inscriptions. Some inscriptions in the database have very scanty bibliographical references, due primarily to the nature of the reporting. For example, Collart (1937) frequently promises publication of numerous inscriptions in BCH 61 (1937). His article actually appeared in the 1938 volume of BCH and included only eleven inscriptions. A further article(s) was promised but did not appear in BCH and to my knowledge it never appeared elsewhere. As a result, for some inscriptions the primary (and perhaps only) transcriptions are brief footnotes in Collart 1937, given without a description of the stone.

For convenience, in Appendix I I have assigned a designator to each of the inscriptions. Where possible I have used its number from the most significant corpus in which it appears. However, for those inscriptions which only appear in obscure places, I have assigned the designator "IPlace-name" and a number; e.g., IPhilippi 1 indicates an inscription from Philippi, the first to which I gave a number. I have arranged the

¹ IG X is meant to cover inscriptions from "Epiri, Macedoniae, Thraciae, Scythiae." The fasciscule covering Thessalonica and vicinity appeared in 1972 under the editorship of Charles Edson. Work on part II, fasc. 2 is, according to Woodhead as late as 1981. "proceeding" (1981:105) but has not yet appeared (on the delays in the publication of this volume of IG, which was first assigned to Edson in 1936, and problems with the one fasciscule published see Al. N. Oikonomos in the preface to the republication of I MakedD [Chicago: Ares, 1978:xii-xiv]). Other collections from various locales in Macedonia are starting to appear. Pilhofer’s collection of inscriptions from Philippi (1995 vol. 2) sounds promising although I have not yet seen it. At a conference in 1987 P. Ducrey announced that a separate collection of inscriptions from Philippi is underway (see BE 1992:486 no. 324; Pilhofer 1995:vii).
inscriptions in geographical progression from West to East through Macedonia, and by date for each location. For ease of reference, each inscription has been given a number, which will be used along with the designator in the text of the dissertation (e.g. [11] is inscription 11 in Appendix I). Inscriptions cited without the designator do not appear in the appendix. It is hoped that the inclusion of these inscriptions will help the reader should there be need to refer to the entire text of the inscription or to find further bibliography. It will also make the footnotes of the dissertation itself less cumbersome.\(^2\)

The sigla used in the inscriptions follow the Leiden System (see Woodhead 1981:6-11; McLean 1996a:15-25):

\[
( ) \quad \text{resolution of an abbreviation}
\]

\[
[ ] \quad \text{an editor's restoration of illegible letters}
\]

\[
< > \quad \text{addition or substitution by an editor}
\]

\[
\{\} \quad \text{superfluous letters}
\]

\[
[] \quad \text{deliberate erasure in antiquity}
\]

\[
\alpha \quad \text{dot under letter indicates it is incompletely preserved}
\]

\[
\ldots \ldots \quad \text{lost letters, each dot indicates a single letter}
\]

\[
\ldots \ldots \quad \text{unknown number of missing letters}
\]

\[
\text{CAP} \quad \text{letters are clear but interpretation is unknown}
\]

\[
\text{vacat} \quad \text{uninscribed space; number of letter spaces given in brackets}
\]

\[
\| \quad \text{beginning of each new line}
\]

\[
\|\| \quad \text{beginning of every fifth line}
\]

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2. Concerning the bibliography included with the inscriptions: where the inscription has been published or cited in works found in the primary bibliography of the dissertation I use the modified CMS B format (name year:page #). Other entries are given in full in the first instance and then by the modified CMS B format if referred to again in commenting on that particular inscription.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION: METHOD AND STRATEGY

This dissertation attempts to determine how one can best understand the social matrix of the early Christian communities at Thessalonica and Philippi by reading 1 Thessalonians and Philippians in light of both the internal rhetoric of the letter and the external context of each city. At issue is both how the members of these groups would have constituted themselves (consciously or unconsciously) within the larger framework of group formation in Greco-Roman antiquity and how these groups would have appeared to outsiders—to what other type of groups at Thessalonica and Philippi would they have been compared?

The issue of the social matrix of Paul’s Christian communities in Macedonia remains an under explored area of study for a number of reasons. First, the question of the social matrix of Pauline communities has only recently begun to be taken more seriously. It is into this larger project that this particular dissertation fits. Second, studies done on the Corinthian communities are often simply transferred to other Pauline communities. While in this dissertation we will on occasion use the Corinthian congregation as a point of comparison for the Macedonian Christians, we will pay particular attention to the Macedonian context. Third, less archaeological work has been done in Macedonia than elsewhere, leaving a dearth of interesting realia for investigators. In writing this dissertation it is hoped that part of this problem will be

1. Cf. Kloppenborg (1993b:267) who notes the importance “that our understanding of Pauline argumentation take cognizance of the local factors that contributed to the rhetorical situation for each letter.”

2. What is at issue is not what Paul himself would have been most familiar with, but what the groups which he formed in the Greco-Roman urban centers would have looked like, both to those who attended and to those on the outside—with what would persons in each category have most naturally associated the Pauline churches?
addressed through the translation and discussion of a number of Macedonian inscriptions.³

Before turning to the particular approach of this dissertation, we will first briefly sketch the development of studies of the social world of the New Testament (§1.1) and outline in more detail the need for more local studies of early Christian communities, including a summary of some of the important recently published studies of Thessalonica and Philippi (§1.2).

1.1. Studies of the Social World of the New Testament

For almost two millennia the apostle Paul has been identified as the Christian theologian par excellence. Exegetes throughout the centuries have mined Paul's writings for theological and pastoral insight. While the earliest of his exegetes (the writer[s] of the pastoral epistles and the Apostolic Fathers) shared a common worldview with the apostle himself, the inevitable evolution of cultures and the drift away from Greco-Roman Hellenism into the Byzantine period and beyond has resulted in the slow shift away from the shared cultural scripts of text and interpreter. In turn, this led to the rise of systematic theology and a focus on orthodoxy ("right-belief"). However, in the last few centuries there has been a slow but steady growth in interest in the socio-cultural context in which Paul lived, preached, and wrote letters.

At the turn of the twentieth century, in an age of unprecedented archaeological finds, a number of studies of the social world of the New Testament were published. Adolf Deissmann produced two major studies in which the "language, the literature, and the religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity" were illustrated from

---
³ The use of inscriptions is an important and much needed task in New Testament scholarship, for although the papyri are now often used inscriptions are still marginalized. In using the inscriptions it is hoped that "a growing feeling of dissatisfaction with the dead ends reached through historical-critical methodology as traditionally practiced may be overcome through exposure to fresh hermeneutical experience" (Danker 1981:356).
"papyri and inscriptions" (1901 [quotations from the subtitle]; 1927). Other studies were produced, such as that of Adolf von Harnack (1902; ET 1908), in which the social setting of early Christianity was given serious attention. Marxists such as Friedrich Engels (1959) and Karl Kautsky (1908) published materialist readings of the birth and early growth of Christianity. The Chicago School, represented primarily by the works of Shirley Jackson Case (1914; 1923), protested that the American liberal tradition focused too narrowly on the history of Christianity as a literary or institutional history and did not understand it more broadly as a social process (Funk 1976:15; cf. Keck 1974; Hynes 1981).4

Unfortunately many studies of the socio-cultural context of early Christianity too often have been reduced to providing "background information," only sometimes deemed significant for understanding the deeper ("more significant") theological truths of the texts (Elliott 1993:12). Too often exegetes are left to make the transfer from "background" to exegesis (e.g., E. Ferguson 1987; Barrett 1987). Fortunately, more recent social-scientific studies of the New Testament have advanced beyond this, providing solid exegetical insights based on a thorough understanding of the social world of the text.5

Edwin Judge was one of the first among modern scholars to advocate giving attention to the social world of the New Testament. In 1960 he wrote of early Christian groups,

We need to know not only who they were, and what relation they had as a group to the social structure of their own communities, but what they existed for as a group, what activities they engaged in, and what their contemporaries would have made of them. This is, of course, purely a question of external appearances and social function. The theological rationale of the church is not our concern." (Judge 1960a:8)


Some twenty years later Judge still had need to write that, "[u]ntil the work of mapping out their social identity and behaviour has been developed much further in juxtaposition with the conventions and practices of contemporary society, we are in no position to say who or what the first Christians were" (1980:213; cf. 216). Judge himself argued (against Deissmann 1927) that the social patterns of both the New Testament and its social world indicate that the New Testament churches were comprised of members not only from the lower strata of society but from a range of strata. The persons of higher social rank were thus in a position to both lead and financially support (as patrons) the emerging congregations.

Later, in a 1973 position paper delivered to the organizing meeting of the SBL/AAR study group on the social world of early Christianity, Jonathan Z. Smith mapped out four possible directions that such a group might take. The third of these was to look at "the social organization of early Christianity in terms of both the social forces which lead to the rise of Christianity and the social institutions of early Christianity" (J.Z.Smith 1978:124, his emphasis). This challenge has since been taken up by a number of scholars in a variety of ways.

John Gager (1975) uses sociological models to explain the nature and development of Christianity. Examining Christianity as a millenarian movement, he suggests that various developments in Christianity arose from the Christians' response to the social forces around them. Abraham Malherbe's *The Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (1983)6 also undertakes a sociological study of early Christianity, although...

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6. This is a collection of lectures delivered at Rice University in 1975. The lectures were first published in 1977 and subsequently (with the addition of an extra chapter and an Epilogue) in 1983.
his focus is more on social history than on sociological theory (Malherbe 1983:20). This latter interpretive method, the use of sociological models for understanding early Christianity, is employed most often (and most profitably) primarily by members of the SBL "Context Group" such as John H. Elliott (1981; 1986; 1993), Bruce J. Malina (1981; 1986; 1992), and Jerome H. Neyrey (1986a; 1986b; 1990).

Wayne Meeks' 1983 study, *The First Urban Christians*, has proven to be a watershed in many ways. It has received both high praise and severe criticism, often from the same reviewer, but all agree that Meeks has pushed forward the use of the social sciences in the study of early Christianity. Meeks attempts to understand more thoroughly the socio-economic context of Paul's ministry. Using a combination of social description and sociological analysis, Meeks attempts to determine the social environment and the social location of the Christians in Paul's churches, concluding that the churches include a cross-section of people from every social strata, with the exception of the very top and the very bottom.

Perhaps one of the most significant practitioners of the method today is, however, Gerd Theissen, who has been publishing sociological studies since 1973. Theissen has been instrumental in establishing the contours of the debate over the social location of the Corinthian Christians, particularly in the essays collected in his 1982 volume. One of his most significant contributions is his argument that the conflict among the Corinthian Christians was due to their differing social rank (1982:69-119 and 121-43). His other studies have advanced the knowledge of New Testament scholars not only in...

---

7. Many scholars maintain a difference between the approach of the social historian and that of the sociologist. Social description includes the use of archaeological data while sociological analysis employs models from the social sciences. For a description of the differences between the two see Osiek 1992:4, 108 and more thoroughly Elliott 1993:18-20. Malherbe himself denies there is a significant difference between these approaches (1983:122). Making too much of a distinction between the two approaches is somewhat artificial; see Scroggs 1980:167-68.
the social description of early Christians but also in the theory and methods of sociological exegesis (see particularly the essays in 1992).

Finally mention can be made of the series *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, the seventh volume of which has recently been published (1995). This series aims to comb the entire corpus of Greek and Latin inscriptions and papyri and publish articles of varying lengths on the significance of words, phrases, concepts, etc. found in these documents for the study of the New Testament.

From this very brief overview one can quickly see that the study of the social world of early Christianity is a growing field. However, the potential pay-offs of the method for individual texts is by no means exhausted and much more work is left to be done. It is within this growing field that this particular dissertation aims to make its contribution.

1.2. Studies of Locally Based Christian Groups

Along with the growth in studies focusing on the general social context of early Christianity there is a growing awareness of the importance of studies of early Christianity which take seriously local peculiarities. Exegetes recognize that New Testament texts must be read in the light of the social situation to which each was addressed if they are to be properly understood. Rather than read the social situation in terms of New Testament ideas alone, one must read the texts more widely—social, political, economic, ideological contexts—and more narrowly—local situations (Judge 1960b:72; cf. Hendrix 1984:6-10; Kloppenborg 1993b:267).

While most modern scholars acknowledge in theory the lack of a uniform local model for the church, in practice this importance has been overlooked. In general, scholarship which undertakes a social description of "Pauline Christianity" homogenizes all Pauline churches, generally treating 1 Corinthians as the model for all
else. This is both historically implausible and methodologically problematic. Failure to take seriously local peculiarities of each of Paul’s churches and to read each of his letters in the light of the local social situation to which each was addressed will result in a misunderstanding of that particular Christian community. In contrast, G. H. R. Horsley has produced a lengthy analysis of the inscriptions of Ephesus that seeks to establish the first century context for Christianity in that city (Horsley 1992:157-58, 168). At the end of his study Horsley issues a desideratum for more studies of Ephesus in order to better understand that locale. Horsley’s desideratum should not be limited to Ephesus alone as much social history remains to be done for all the cities in which Christian congregations were established.

Along with studies of local peculiarities most modern writers acknowledge, at least in theory, the lack of a uniform model for the church. Unfortunately, in practice this importance is too often overlooked. For example, in general, much of the discussion of social level is based on studies of the Corinthian churches, where the church is thought to be composed of members of all ranks save the very top and the very bottom of society. It is clear, however, that the Macedonian churches were

---

8. For example, see Russell (1988:111) who uncritically reads information from Acts 17 into the situation at Thessalonica and then jumps to the following conclusion—"all of this essentially agreeing with Theissen’s conclusions on the social makeup of the Corinthian church," which he takes to indicate the presence of some higher social elites in the Thessalonian congregation.


10. See Judge 1960b, Malherbe 1983, Meeks 1983, and especially Theissen 1982, 1992 on social status. The discussion is aptly summarized in Osiek (1992:61-71), where it is obvious that Corinth is the test case for all of Paul’s churches; after almost exclusively discussing texts from Corinth she concludes that “[w]e have traced some of the social factors operative in the life of Paul and in the churches he founded. The evidence as illuminated by recent scholarship indicates gatherings of people from across the social spectrum, with the exception of the very lowest levels and the highest aristocratic orders” (Osiek 1992:70-71).
much worse off than the Corinthian churches (see 2 Cor 8:1-4; cf. Jewett 1986:120-21).11

This leads us to the topic of our particular investigation: putting Paul’s Macedonian Christian communities in their local context. While scholarly attention has focussed on the Corinthian congregations, little has been said of the social character of the Macedonian churches. Most commentaries are all too brief in attempting to place the letters of Paul to the Thessalonians in their contexts.12 Typical for commentaries on 1 Thessalonians is a reliance upon the account in Acts 17:1-9.13 Subsequently, these exegetes assume that the church grew naturally out of the synagogue. While some recognize that the Thessalonian church was composed mainly of Gentiles, they follow Acts in suggesting that Paul "stole away" a number of God-fearers and proselytes.14

As with commentaries on 1 Thessalonians, those that exegete Philippians in the main tend to provide the "historical setting" of the letters all too briefly and with too much uncritical reliance on the account of the founding of the church in Acts 16:11-


12. For example, Eadie 1877:1-3; Milligan 1908:xxi-xxv; Morris 1959:15-19; Best 1972:1-2. Jewett (1986:113 n.1) chides Marxsen (1979), I.H.Marshall (1983), Masson (1957), Best (1972), and Bruce (1982) for being too brief on the political and geographic setting of Thessalonica and for barely mentioning the available studies of the political, economic, and cultural situation of the city and the religious activity therein (on Jewett’s own work see further below). This is not the case with Rigaux (1956:11-20), although he maintains the presence of an important Jewish community at Thessalonica based on Acts and Paul’s letters, which is a position we will challenge below in chapter 4.


A typical example is Fee (1995:27-28) who reiterates as historical the events as outlined in the Acts account, expanding little on the details. This reliance on Acts is also true of J. B. Lightfoot, although he takes more seriously than most the specific character of Philippi during Paul's time there (e.g., the strong influence of women; the collective conversion of households; Lightfoot 1881:47-65).

Other studies of 1 Thessalonians and Philippians focus on theological or epistolographic issues, taking little interest in the local particularities of the recipient cities. Fortunately, there are some notable exceptions to this generalization for both Thessalonica (Hendrix 1984; Donfried 1985; Kloppenborg 1993b; Jewett 1986) and Philippi (Portefaix 1988; Abrahamsen 1995; Bormann 1995; Peterlin 1995, Pilhofer 1995). Yet, while these studies have proven useful for understanding the locale in which the church was formed they are not without their limitations. Holland Hendrix's dissertation (1984) on the honours given to Romans by the inhabitants of Thessalonica


16. For Fee's understanding of the letter, more important than the social situation in Philippi itself is the situation of friendship that existed between Paul and the Philippians and is reflected in the genre of Paul's letter, a "letter of friendship" (Fee 1995:1 and more generally 1-14; so also Witherington 1994).


18. The works discussed here are some of the more significant studies that note the significance of the local setting. Other studies which deal with the social situation to a lesser degree could also be mentioned; i.e., Ramsay 1899; Schmithals 1972:128-318; Weaver 1972; Sampley 1977, 1980; Barclay 1992; Krentz 1993; Cotter 1993; Cosby 1994. Barclay (1992) does not attempt to understand the social origins of the Christian community at Thessalonica but shows how their experience reinforced the apocalypticism they learned from Paul. In this they were very different from the Corinthian Christian community who enjoyed friendly relations with "outsiders." However, his study does make clear the important methodological point that it is unwise to generalize about "Pauline Christians" and each of the Pauline churches must be investigated independently as differing social phenomena based in different locales (cf. Barclay 1992:72-73).
from the second century BCE to the first century CE provides much historical and political background for the study of the Thessalonian church. Epigraphic, literary, sculptural, and numismatic evidence suggest to Hendrix that the Thessalonians actively bestowed honours on those individuals who benefacted the city. The Romans increasingly "became the objects of a distinct system of honors which rewarded positive administrative policies and other philanthropic activity beneficial to the city" (1984:336). This system developed within Thessalonica in ways not found in other urban areas. It is beyond the scope of Hendrix's immediate task, however, to deal directly with the Thessalonian church. Thus, the exegete of 1 Thessalonians is left the task of determining the significance of granting widespread civic honours to Romans for the people of the Christian congregation.19

Karl Donfried argues that recognition of the civic and religious history of Thessalonica is the essential starting point for understanding both the earliest Christian community at Thessalonica and Paul’s first letter to them.20 To that end, Donfried argues that Paul carefully chose his terminology "for protreptic purposes" (1985:353)—it would have resonated well with the terminology of the mystery cults and the royal theology that filled the Thessalonians’ city, not to mention figured largely in their past. However, Paul uses such language not to turn Christianity into a mystery cult but to show how completely the Thessalonian’s lives have been altered in their "new living

19. The widespread practice of antiquity of bestowing honours on benefactors is also surveyed by Danker 1982, who makes some connections with the Christian churches. A more thorough study is undertaken by Winter 1994, who suggests that Paul is concerned that the Christians take an active and aggressive role as benefactors of the city in which they live, and do not become recipients of the benefaction of others. Winter’s thesis, while taking seriously the civic context of the churches, seems to assume a higher economic level for the majority of Christians than seems to be indicated in the texts of Paul’s letters. Kloppenborg’s comments (1993b:276–77 n. 46) on a similar argument made by Winter (1989) are apropos.

20. Donfried 1985:336-56. Cf. the earlier work of Edson (1940; 1948) who discusses the cults of Thessalonica without reference to Paul’s letters or the early Thessalonian church. In a later article Donfried makes the same case for 2 Thessalonians, although he attributes the writing of that letter to one of Paul’s co-workers; Donfried 1993a:128.
relationship" with Christ (1985:353). Nevertheless, the local manifestations of Thessalonica determine how Paul will help form the Christian community's self-identity. John Kloppenborg (1993b) uses rhetorical analysis and social-historical study to argue that Paul draws on the traditions and imagery of the Dioscuri when writing 1 Thess 4:9-12. For Paul, as for others of his day, the Dioscuri were paradigms of "brotherly love" ($\phi\lambda\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\alpha$). Their appeal among the Thessalonians means Paul can use words and concepts to evoke these deities as a pattern for imitation. The studies of Donfried and Kloppenborg have done much to illuminate the language and rhetoric of Paul's letter, but a more thorough reading of the letter is still needed.21

In his study of 1 and 2 Thessalonians Jewett (1986) uses both rhetorical analysis and information from the political, economic, social, and religious context of Thessalonica to reconstruct the community situation there. He concludes that Paul's letters address a situation of "millenarian radicalism" (1986:xiii) which caused members of the Thessalonian congregation to proclaim the actual arrival of the millennium and to act accordingly. The deflation of this millenarian faith by the onset of persecution and the death of members of the congregation gave Paul cause to write his first letter. However, in addressing this crisis, Paul caused some radicals to regenerate their excitement to the point of antinomian behaviour and the declaration that the Day of the Lord had arrived. In order to bring this situation under control Paul sent 2 Thessalonians.

21. Perkins suggests (1989:326) that "conversion and community" within the Christian experience of the Thessalonians "most clearly separated it from . . . the cultic associations of the Hellenistic cities." She concludes that "1 Thessalonians shows us the precarious process by which a new Christian community carves out its place among the cults and associations of the Greco-Roman city" (1989:334). However, in her analysis of the Thessalonians situation she makes little concrete reference to these associations generally nor to those extant at Thessalonica specifically. The apocalyptic understanding reflected in the letter to which she points certainly reflects Paul's Jewish heritage, but she shows no convincing reasons that it would have been understood in this same way by the largely pagan Thessalonians.
Jewett suggests that the Cabirus cult was influential on the development of the Thessalonian church. The figure of Cabirus was similar to that of Christ; both suffered a martyr’s death and both were expected to return physically. The cult of Cabirus was the most important religious cult in Thessalonica during Paul’s time there. Although it had originally been very popular among the lower classes, at the time of Paul it was solidly in the purview of the civic magistrates. This left the poorer workers very receptive to Christ (1986:165). These workers became the millenarian radicals, refusing to work, living sexually licentious lives, and refusing to acknowledge the community leaders, all in preparation for the Parousia, which they were already experiencing in ecstatic activities. When Paul fails to fulfill the expected role of the priest of Cabirus, the radicals deride him before the congregation. Paul addresses this group as the ἔραξακοι, the "rebellious," and attempts to reign them in and to reestablish the proper mode of behaviour appropriate to an apocalyptic future.

Jewett’s work has received positive reviews, although his conjecture that the Cabirus cult influenced the development of Christianity at Thessalonica has been called into question.22 Despite his attempts to control preconceived assumptions about the Thessalonian Christians through the use of rhetorical criticism (Jewett 1986:xiv), Jewett cannot escape allowing selective analyses and unwarranted assumptions to creep into

22. Hendrix (1988:766) points out that "there is no unequivocal evidence for a cult of the single Cabrius at that city before the late second or early third century CE." Hendrix (1988:766) also notes some of Jewett’s mis-reading of other archaeological evidence. Kraftchick (1988:412) notes that Jewett does not demonstrate the existence of the Cabiric Christians at Thessalonica so much as assume it. Barclay critiques (1983:519 n. 24) Jewett’s understanding (1986:126-32) of the "hijacking" of the Cabirus cult by the higher rank of Thessalonian society by suggesting that its use by such people would not eliminate the cult from the purview of the lower ranks and may even encourage it (since the lower rank tends to follow the trends of the upper rank). Barton (1987:90) is generally skeptical of the parallels between Pauline Christianity and the Cabirius cult. On the other hand, Murphy-O'Connor (1996:118) affirms Jewett’s view of the hijacking of the Cabirus cult by the elites and resultant loss of a patron deity by the artisans and workers of Thessalonica as the background of 1 Thessalonians. However, the whole theory of co-optation of a cult leading to the "deprivation" of the lower classes is dubious; the Macedonians co-opted the cult of Isis in Egypt without depriving the Egyptians of their cult (pointed out to me by John S. Kloppenborg).
his work. Nevertheless, Jewett's is a stimulating work that takes seriously the local context of the Thessalonian congregation. While I do not agree that the millenarian radicalism is the problem addressed by Paul at Thessalonica, Jewett's work will prove helpful in a number of aspects of my own investigation of the early Christian community at Thessalonica.

Turning to studies of the church at Philippi we might begin with that of Lilian Portefaix (1988). Portefaix attempts to recreate the historical context of the female recipients of Philippians and Luke-Acts (particularly Acts 16:11-40) in order to understand how these texts would have been received by such women. The first part of the book investigates the socio-cultural and religious backgrounds of Philippian women. Portefaix provides an important service in bringing together diverse literary, archaeological, and epigraphical evidence. However, she takes little account of work done after Collart 1937 (see the details of the works she has overlooked in Pilhofer 1995:44). The second part of the book attempts to read Philippians and Luke-Acts in turn, showing how each would have resonated with the Philippian women who had recently converted from paganism.

First generation Christian women at Philippi would have been struck by Paul's concepts of "celestial citizenship" and "servitude." Imitation of Christ in a serving capacity was placed for them in a cosmic perspective, with the promise of future blessings, bringing new meaning to their current sufferings, both as Christians and as women. Luke's account of Christianity would have been received by female converts at Philippi as the introduction by Paul of a new Dionysus to the city, one who was much stronger than any of the other deities or even the Roman empire. Philippian women

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24. My own view of the στρατιωτικός will be detailed in chapter 6.
who had grown up as Christians would see in Luke’s account female models for Christian behaviour, particularly in the figure of Lydia.

Portefaix’s work has been heralded as an important step forward in understanding early Christian women (Lieu 1989:584-86; Muddiman 1989:190-91). However, her conclusions seem impressionistic25 and, by focussing only on "citizenship and servitude," Portefaix has overlooked many possible avenues for exploring Philippians in light of the context she describes (cf. Lieu 1989:585-86), leaving open the opportunity for much more work to be done in this area.

The recent work of Davorin Peterlin (1995) attempts to understand the social situation reflected in Paul’s letter to the Philippians.26 He suggests that the overwhelmingly dominant issue in the letter is the disunity in the church, a much more prevalent problem than has previously been admitted. The second part of the book discusses the role of Epaphroditus in the delivery of the Philippians’ monetary gift (Phil 2:25-30) and Paul’s response to that gift (Phil 4:10-20). Peterlin maintains that the collection of money for Paul "went less than smoothly" (1995:218) and that Epaphroditus’ delivery of it reflects the overall disunity in the church. Paul’s response alternates between "overt gratitude and defensive statements reflecting his uneasiness over" the collection and sending of the monetary gift (1995:218).

In the midst of his discussion on unity Peterlin discusses the social composition of the Philippian church. Included in the church are agricultural labourers, slaves and freedmen (i.e., the slave-girl and the jailer of Acts 16), people who knew some of the familia Caesaris (but were not part of it), craftsmen and small merchants (including Lydia the purple-dyer and Luke the physician), soldiers and veterans, and foreigners of

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25. Osiek 1990:360; cf. Bockmuehl (1995:69 n. 28): "Portefaix’s study unfortunately also manifests an over-reliance of unproven connections and theories that ‘might have been’.”

varying nationalities. These people were members of several house-congregations in the city (the existence of which he postulates "with a high degree of probability"; 1995:228). The entire church was large and well-organized with a group of leaders designated as ἐπίκοποι and διάκονοι, some of whom were heads of house-congregations, including Euodia and Syntyche.

Peterlin's conclusions about the size and structure of the Philippian congregation are based on his assumptions about the social composition of the church itself. However, he often goes far beyond the available evidence, assuming that because a sector of society existed in Philippi, they must therefore be reflected in the makeup of the Philippian church. Thus he assumes that agricultural labourers, many slaves and freedmen, and a large number of foreigners joined the congregation. However, he provides little evidence for this beyond their actual existence in Philippi during the first century. He also assumes that they would have met in a house, and since even large houses could not accommodate more than thirty people there must have been more than one meeting going on in the city. This disallows for the use of outdoor space or public buildings for meetings. Unlike 1 Corinthians, there is no mention of the "whole church" coming together; rather, one group seems to be presumed in Philippians (i.e., the reconciliation of Euodia and Syntyche is not a matter of factionalism). Peterlin seems to have merged an understanding of the Corinthian congregation with assumptions about the number of members in the church to develop his portrait of the Philippian congregation. Thus, while Peterlin is helpful in highlighting the extent of the unity theme in Philippians, his study is flawed by his understanding of the social composition of the Philippian congregation.

27. He also has a rather naive and uncritical view of Acts and the deutero-pauline epistles.

28. For further problems with some of the finer points of Peterlin's exegesis see Silva 1996:764-65.
In Women and Worship at Philippi: Diana/Artemis and Other Cults in the Early Christian Era (1995) Valerie Abrahamsen takes seriously the local context of Philippi for understanding the development of Christianity there. She attempts to elucidate the connection between Christian and pagan worship and the role of women in various religious groups at Philippi. She is particularly concerned to show the significance of goddess worship, women’s participation in such, and the implications this has for women’s leadership in the early church. Having first discussed the religious climate at Philippi, particularly the rock reliefs on the acropolis, she makes a good case for women being the primary functionaries in the cult of Diana. She then argues that the high esteem given to women in the pagan cults carried over into the Christian church at Philippi from its inception until at least the sixth century, as attested in Christian grave inscriptions from the Byzantine era.

As a survey of the archaeological evidence for religious life available from Philippi Abrahamsen’s book is most stimulating. Her gathering and analysis of the data makes a strong case for the important role of women in pagan and Christian religious groups. However, since most of the archaeological evidence Abrahamsen cites is from 200 CE or later she is forced to extrapolate backwards to the earlier period of Christian history at Philippi. Unfortunately this makes her results somewhat tenuous.

More troubling is her failure to look seriously at the Christian literary evidence from the earlier period. She devotes only four full pages to Philippians, Acts, the letter of Polycarp, and the Christian apocryphal literature (1995:82-86), making many assumptions which are poorly supported by either primary or secondary data. Lamenting that “commentators on New Testament literature have tended to skip quickly

29. See also her dissertation (1986) and her articles (1987; 1988).

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over Euodia and Syntyche" she only discusses them for one paragraph and rarely returns to them. In her discussion she misses the important works of Thomas (1972), Agourides (1980), and Malinowski (1985), none of which appear in her bibliography.

Abrahamsen recognizes the tenuous nature of Luke's account of events in Acts 16 (1995:84-85), admitting that it might be "fictitious" (a designation left woefully ill-defined), yet she proceeds as if it makes no difference to her argument about the actual church at Philippi. Abrahamsen needs to take much more seriously the possibility of traditions behind the stories in Acts and the implications for the actual situation at Philippi; doing so would certainly strengthen her case. Leaving Lydia as a "fictitious" character gives Abrahamsen little ground for arguing that the idea of a "strong, independent businesswomen" (1995:193-94) had any influence on the Philippian church at all; Lydia may have been a product of Luke's imagination, unknown to the Philippians.

Despite the cursory treatment she gives to the Philippian women mentioned in the New Testament, the first two points of Abrahamsen's summary/conclusion emphasize the importance of Euodia and Syntyche and Lydia for the early church (1995:193-94). This is a significant aspect of early Christianity at Philippi and deserves a more thorough treatment than Abrahamsen provides so as not to be brushed aside lightly.

Lukas Bormann's Philippi: Staat und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus (1995) provides a comprehensive background to the Roman aspects of the city of Philippi in the first century. Bormann has taken more seriously than most scholars the need to read Paul's letter in its local context. Bormann's book is divided into two parts. The first deals with the political and religious background of Philippi, with particular emphasis on its status as a Roman colony. Bormann describes the city's predominantly Roman character, suggesting that there was negligible local population living there before the Roman settlement of veterans from the battle of Actium.
The second part of the book deals with the relevance of this material for understanding Paul’s relationship to the Philippian church. Bormann emphasizes Paul’s thanksgiving-letter (Phil 4:10-20) as the key to understanding the relationship between Paul and the Philippian community.\textsuperscript{31} Paul attempts to extract himself from the obligation to repay the money given to him by the Philippians by overturning the principle of *amicitia* operative at Philippi.\textsuperscript{32}

Although Bormann’s is a comprehensive and helpful book, it does not take adequate account of the complexity of the social situation at Philippi. Bormann uses mostly Latin texts and inscriptions to illustrate the Philippians’ relationship with Paul and the Roman authorities. However, his evidence for an almost exclusively Roman city at Philippi is unconvincing. In fact, there is good evidence for the presence of Greek speaking people in Philippi (Meeks 1983:45-46) with the possibility of a Greek polis existing alongside the Roman colony (Edson 1975:97-102). The time between the settlement of veterans from the battle of Actium (42/42 BCE) to the time of Paul’s establishment of the Christian church (early 40s CE) is at least three generations, enough time for significant intermingling of Greeks and Romans living in Philippi. To maintain the Latin material as the appropriate background for the Philippian church, Bormann needs to show why Paul writes to them in Greek, using a number of Greek epistolary and rhetorical conventions.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{31} Having decided that Philippians represents at least two authentic letters of Paul, namely 4:1-20 (Letter A) and 1:1-3:1 (Letter B), perhaps more. See Bormann 1995:118.

\textsuperscript{32} See further on patronage in §6.6, below.

\textsuperscript{33} Portefaix (1988:64, following Collart 1937:301) also suggests that Latin was the official language of Philippi, but the more recent work of Philhofer shows that Greek was the language of common communication at Philippi (Philhofer 1995:86; cf. Papazoglou 1988a:202). For arguments that Paul’s congregations were mostly Greek speaking not Latin speaking see Philhofer 1995:244; Bruce 1979:354; and further below §2.3.1.

Philhofer (1995:47-48) notes that Bormann’s work is one sided and over-emphasizes the Roman aspect of Philippi. Hainz (1994:387-91) critiques the earlier dissertation upon which Bormann’s book is based for not giving proper attention to Paul’s understanding of *kolpwnía*, although overall Hainz (1994:291) is sympathetic to Bormann’s approach. Hainz, who was one of Bormann’s examiners, seems to be most concerned that Bormann did not adopt his view of Paul’s *kolpwnía* (see Hainz 1982).
The publication of Peter Pilhofer’s revised Habilitationsschrift from Münster (Philippi. Band I: Die erste christliche Gemeinde Europas, 1995) is by far the most comprehensive study of Philippi to date. This first volume of a two volume work (the second is a much needed collection of all inscriptions from Philippi and the surrounding area)\cite{pilhofer} discusses all of the archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic, and literary data relating to Philippi. This material is then related specifically to the Christian community at Philippi.

The first chapter investigates what is known of Philippi in the first century. In the first section Pilhofer sifts through the various proposals for the boundaries of the territory, pomerium, and city-limits of Philippi, concluding with his own suggestion for the boundaries based on epigraphical evidence. The second section deals with the economy of the colony, which was primarily agriculturally based (grain and wine). Marble quarrying and purple-dealing were among the primary industries, although much trade occurred in and through Philippi due to its position on the sea and on the Via Egnatia. The prosopographic study of the third section concludes that Thracian, Greeks, and Romans all lived in the territory of Philippi. The Thracians lived mostly outside the city but they were not marginalized; some had influence and wealth. Greek can be assumed to be the language of exchange. And while the Romans were not numerically superior, their culture was influential in the first and second centuries CE. In the fourth section, Pilhofer investigates significant aspects of religious life at Philippi: the worship of the Hero Auloneites, Dionysos, and Silvanus. Interestingly, he does not give much attention to Diana or Isis, which Abrahamsen shows were quite influential at Philippi.

\cite{pilhofer} As of the completion of this dissertation, the second volume is still unpublished. Various attempts to procure this portion of Pilhofer’s work have been unsuccessful.
In chapter two Pilhofer reads Philippians in light of the living conditions and ideological and religious background of first century Philippi. Paul’s references to \textit{πολίτευμα} present a challenge to membership in the \textit{tribus Voltinia} coveted among Romans and to the Jewish \textit{πολίτευμα} which was competing with that of the Romans. Paul’s language in 1:27 indicates that Christians presented a real threat to the authorities in Philippi, both by drawing their model for associating from outside the city and having translocal links, unlike the localized voluntary associations. However, Pilhofer then goes on to suggest that the title \textit{ἐπίσκοπος} is a local phenomenon within the Philippian Christian community, as was the giving of titles in other local associations. While this is true, it seems to stand in tension with his discounting of the associations as a model in the immediately prior section. Finally, he shows how the "giving and receiving" of the Philippians is akin to the many monetary donations of benefactors at Philippi.

In chapter three Pilhofer turns to the account of the founding of Christianity in Acts 16. He begins by defending his claim that the author of Acts is none other than "the man from Macedonia" of Acts 16:9, and is actually from Philippi (1995:156-58). It is for this reason that many of the details in the account of Acts 16 carry with them a certain historical veracity, particularly details about the status of Philippi, the existence of a \textit{προσευχή}, the conversion of Lydia the purple dealer, references to servants of "the most high god," the wording of the accusation against the missionaries, and the titles of officials in Philippi. All of these Pilhofer treats in detail.

In the fourth chapter Pilhofer uses the letters of Polycarp to show that one generation after Luke there is a significantly changed situation at Philippi. Mention of past martyrs from the community and current conflicts with authorities suggests that the optimism of Luke that Christians can have a good relationship with the municipal authorities and officials of the empire was misplaced. The exchange also shows that the
επίσκοποι referred to by Paul have been replaced by πρεσβύτεροι, but that as of the time of Polycarp there is still no bishop at Philippi.

The fifth and final chapter presents an overview of the Christian community at Philippi from its founding in 49 CE to the middle of the second century CE, drawing on much of the material already covered. He affirms the origins of the Philippian church from a small group of Jews and God-fearers, the first convert from which was Lydia. The church was composed mainly of Greeks, with a few Roman names attested, but no Thracians. He also touches on Paul’s relationship with his "favorite community" and again defends his contention that Luke was from Philippi, suggesting that this also gave him access to extra traditions about that city (although he has to defend why Luke does not seem to have used Paul’s letter). By the third generation the Philippian Christians had collected an extensive library of Christian literature (Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, Romans, Corinthians; Luke-Acts), to which they are adding the letters of Ignatius and Polycarp, as Polycarp’s letter shows.

Pilhofer provides a thorough and completely up to date review of the archaeological and epigraphical data from Philippi and is an indispensable tool for New Testament scholars. Much less satisfying is his treatment of biblical texts. For example, on the historicity of Acts there is too much speculation and conjecture, especially where the archaeology is silent. For Pilhofer, where archaeology supports the text of Acts it proves that Luke, the companion of Paul and citizen of Philippi, is the writer; where it is silent, the text of Acts is then affirmed to be reflecting the historical situation accurately (as in the case of Lydia or the actual existence of a small Jewish community, 1995:231-35). The overall picture is given as one of the historical veracity of Acts as

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35. Pilhofer argues that the attested details prove that Luke is from Philippi, and, since Luke is from Philippi, the unattested details must also be correct. Not only is such reasoning faulty (e.g., Luke could be from Philippi and still be incorrect in unattested details), but Pilhofer tends also to give Luke the benefit of the doubt by interpreting the evidence according to the presentation in Acts.
a whole, when only some of the technical details have actually found support in archaeological research. This is then used as the primary means for understanding the Christian community at Philippi. Furthermore, while Pilhofer gives a helpful analysis of the types of people who lived in Philippi, and thus might be part of the early Christian church there, he does not provide an analysis of what type of community structure the Philippian congregation reflects.

From this review of recent studies of 1 Thessalonians and Philippians it should be obvious that the Christian communities at Thessalonica and Philippi are beginning to be investigated seriously in their own right. However, it is also clear that there is a need for further work to be done on Paul’s Macedonian churches. This is a need which this dissertation seeks to fulfill. Obviously it is impossible to provide a comprehensive analysis of the local situations and all of the exegetical problems of the two letters. However, the issue of group formation is central to the study of any Pauline congregation. Since there is epigraphical data from both Philippi and Thessalonica relevant to this issue, it will be the focus of this dissertation.

1.3. Outline of the Dissertation

The primary focus of this dissertation is the type of community the Christians at Thessalonica and Philippi formed after Paul’s visit to these cities. In order to ground this study we first need some understanding of the geographical and historio-political setting of the region of Macedonia. Thus, the second chapter will briefly overview the geography and history of Macedonia generally and Thessalonica and Philippi specifically. While this is important background, and reference will be made to it throughout the dissertation, it is equally important to begin with Paul’s letters

36. New Testament scholars can also look forward to the forthcoming publication of a major commentary on each of 1 Thessalonians and Philippians in the Anchor Bible series, written by Abraham Malherbe and John Reumann respectively.
themselves. Thus, in chapter three we will discuss each of 1 Thessalonians and Philippians in turn.37 Having briefly discussed the question of the authorship, date, and unity of the letter, we will look at the rhetorical divisions and genre of the letter. We are particularly concerned with how the rhetoric is appropriate to (i.e., presupposes) a certain social location and typical roles and functions. The rhetorical appeals of the letter says something about the social location of both Paul and his addressees. For example, Paul’s self-description appeals to a certain type of addressee, as does the types of activities which are referred to, the issues Paul highlights, and the names by which they call themselves. We will show that much of the information in the letter suggests that, in the case of both 1 Thessalonians and Philippians, the recipients are to be found primarily among the lower ranks or society, probably among those of the mercantile class.

Having thus established the social location of the majority of the members of the Christian community for both congregations we are in a much better position to engage in the next stage of our investigation. The features which allow us to situate the Thessalonians and the Philippians on the social map of antiquity also need explanation within the context of the group formed by these people—that is, why does Paul mention these things at all within a letter. Thus, we move from the social status of the members reflected in the texts to the community structure of the members as compared to groups outside the texts.38

37. Second Thessalonians will be referred to but is deliberately excluded from the primary investigation due to the contentious nature of the letter in terms of both authorship and audience. See Jewett 1986:3-23 for a summary of the debate. One of the corollaries of this particular investigation will be the opening of the possibility of reading 2 Thessalonians in light of the social context established for 1 Thessalonians. If 2 Thessalonians resonates a similar social situation it strengthens the argument that this letter was sent to Thessalonica (although not necessarily by Paul).

38. Cf. Malherbe 1983:60: "We may compare the early churches, or at least some aspects of them, to other ancient groups and have our understanding of them sharpened. But we run the risk of interpreting and reinterpreting Christian communities on analogy to one ancient group after another while never really understanding the Christian groups from within. It is necessary to begin with the New Testament itself..."
It is becoming increasingly recognized that Paul's letters nowhere prescribe an ideal Christian community (Burtchaell 1992:137; cf. 166). Nevertheless, there is a sense in which Paul's words are both descriptive and prescriptive of community life among the early Christian congregations. Simply in the social assumptions being made Paul is providing clues for the possible types of community structures used. By providing correctives to the community structures already in place Paul is both descriptive in suggesting what the particular community was actually like, both positively and negatively, and prescriptive in suggesting what must be done to improve corporate life.39 Thus, investigating Paul's letters can help us discover both how Paul understood his communities to be structured and how the members of each community understood themselves. However, to do this more efficiently, we must situate the Pauline Christian communities within the matrix of community formation in antiquity.40

Before an adequate discussion of Christian group formation in Macedonia can be undertaken there is a pressing need to provide a framework within which one can understand how groups formed in antiquity. Situating the Pauline groups within a framework of available associative models will help us to gain a realistic understanding of the types of social interactions that would be operative within the community. Not doing so has led too many commentators to read modern associative practices into their

39. Cf. V.K. Robbins (1996b:237) on the ability of socio-rhetorical criticism to perceive "texts to be located interactively between representing world and evoking world."

40. Commenting on 1 Thessalonians Murphy-O'Connor observes (1996:120) that Paul would not deliberately adopt the techniques of the philosophical tradition because they would be inappropriate since "the community he desired to create was different from all other groupings in that an indispensable feature was mutual love (1 Thess. 4:9)." That "mutual love" was a concern might be true, but it does not therefore indicate that Paul's community at Thessalonica was unique. While it is entirely possible to create a group with a particular emphasis, creating a group "different from all other groupings" would be impossible from a sociological perspective. The contention of this dissertation is that Paul did not create a group ex nihilo, but he and the early Christians had many groups around them on which to draw for ideas about structuring a community.
understanding of ancient Christian groups. Thus, there is need to describe what various types of groups looked like and how these groups formed. These groups can then become a helpful analogue to early Christian groups, in our case, the communities of Thessalonica and Philippi.

Chapter four of the dissertation begins this process. It opens with a discussion of households and house churches as a basis for small group formation in antiquity. This is followed by a description and evaluation of three types of community formation: synagogues, philosophical schools, and the mysteries. The first section considers the ancient synagogue as a model for Pauline community formation. The synagogue was an organization of Jews who met together for times of worship either in a household or a special building. The section begins by considering a number of important issues. The presentation in Acts raises a number of important issues for the study of early church formation in Macedonia which we will consider in turn: the structure of first century synagogues, the extent of Jewish proselytism in the first century, and the existence (or lack) of proselytes and God-fearers attached to the synagogue. A decision on each of these issues will affect how one understands the relationship of the church and the synagogue in the first century. This is followed by an examination of the evidence from

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41. To date there has not been a sustained attempt to map out the scholarly discourse in the area of Pauline community formation. The impetus for this particular part of my study came from my reading of Meeks 1983. Meeks examines four models of community formation: the household, voluntary associations, synagogues, and philosophical schools (1983:74-84). However, a much more detailed survey is called for. It is found in part in chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation, and in more broad detail in my forthcoming book What Are They Saying About the Formation of Pauline Churches? (see Ascough 1998b). The presentation of the material in chapter 4 and part of chapter 5 overlaps somewhat with the material in the book.

42. For the most part, we will discuss "the mysteries" rather than "mystery religions." The latter term evokes a sense of exclusive adherence to one group which simply is not the case. Whereas Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are religions in so far they reflect a strong communal association and one cannot claim allegiance to more than one at any given time, in antiquity one could be initiated into a number of mysteries, and a member of one or more of the affiliated groups. For further discussion see Burkert 1987:1-4, 53. The term "mystery religions" was commonly used (with the attendant assumptions) by scholars in the earlier part of this century.
Acts which presents Paul first preaching to the members of synagogue in each city, and, when rejected, turning to the Gentiles. Finally, we look closely at the evidence for the existence of a Jewish community at in Macedonia in the first century CE.

The second section considers the philosophical schools of antiquity. Although the schools were not always physical locations, there were a number of philosophical organizations extant in the first century and some scholars suggest that Paul's communities would have looked to them as an organizational model. The chapter opens with a description of how a number of these "schools" constituted themselves. It then turns to a summary of the works of scholars who understand one or more of the philosophical schools to be the best analogous group for understanding early Pauline communities and assesses the significance of this for the Macedonian communities.

The third section is an examination of how the initiation rituals and subsequent community formation affiliated with the ancient mysteries might inform our understanding of Paul's formation of Christian communities. After briefly describing the nature and extent of the mysteries in antiquity and their propagation, the work of earlier scholars who find similarities between Pauline Christianity and the mysteries is described. Unlike the other models investigated in this book there is a vast number of negative reactions to the use of the mysteries in understanding Paul's communities. We will survey some representative works from this perspective before turning our attention briefly to more recent uses of the mysteries as an analogy to Pauline church formation. Chapter four concludes that the problems encountered when one attempts to use any one of these associative models as an analogy for early Macedonian Christian groups suggests that our attention must be directed elsewhere.

The fifth chapter opens with a description of the final analogous model of community formation, the voluntary association. Voluntary associations were formed in antiquity by individuals who gathered together for a shared purpose, often as a result of
some common interest. Since this is the model which we find to be the best analogue for the Macedonian Christian groups we will give more attention to how this model has been used in the past for understanding Pauline communities generally. We will also give some attention to objections raised to the use of this model. Finally, we will provide an overview of the voluntary associations extant in Macedonia according to the epigraphic record.43

In the sixth chapter we undertake the comparative analysis between voluntary associations in antiquity and the Christian communities at Thessalonica and Philippi. The approach will involve a description of salient features of the voluntary associations along with an analysis of how these features are reflected in the text of 1 Thessalonians and in the text of Philippians.44 Although the choice to examine 1 Thessalonians and Philippians together might seem burdensome it has the advantage of allowing the reader to see not only the similarities and differences among the voluntary associations and each of these congregations, but also the similarities and differences among these two Macedonian Christian communities themselves. The following features will be examined: types of associations, internal organization (including group designators, leadership structure, community interaction [both internal relationships and concern with outsiders], and finances), and religious vocabulary and metaphors.45 In each of these cases a number of important exegetical issues within the texts of 1 Thessalonians

43. For convenience, the Macedonian voluntary association inscriptions can be found in Appendix I.

44. In each case, where data from other sources (e.g., Acts, other Christian writings, archaeology, epigraphy) support the argument they will be brought into the discussion.

45. Against those who might suggest that such a broadly based investigation is too general or at least looks at general patterns rather than individual distinctions, we might cite Theissen who responded to a similar charge against his sociological approach with the defense, "the more clearly the general background can be established, the more clearly individual elements stand out from what is universal and typical" (1978:4).
and Philippians will be raised and highlighted. In each of these cases it becomes clear how Paul is drawing upon, or reacting against, the language and community life of the voluntary associations. This, in turn, confirms our hypothesis that the best analogue for understanding the early Christian communities at Thessalonica and at Philippi is that of the voluntary associations of antiquity. The implications of this will be summarized in the conclusion of the dissertation.

1.4. Methods Employed in the Dissertation

As an overall approach, the method employed in the reading of 1 Thessalonians and Philippians in this dissertation fits well into the description of social-scientific criticism. This approach does not preclude the use of the more traditional historical-critical methods and is, in fact "inseparably related" to them. In fact, this variety of approach is encouraged within social-scientific investigation. The same is true of

46. In many ways the voluntary associations become a "methodological wedge" for gaining a deeper entry into the biblical texts. This approach should not be seen as an attempt to glean all that is possible from the biblical texts. While it uses historical-critical, sociological, and some literary approaches, it does not spend much time in examining exegetical details not directly pertaining to its focus nor does it explore the theological richness of the texts. Such added investigations could easily turn this particular project into a commentary, which is not the genre under which it is being written. Cf. Harris (1983:111-13), who points out that social and sociological studies are not reductionistic but important complements to other approaches. He goes on to provide a helpful apologetic for the practical, pastoral benefits to such study for those called to ministry, although such is not in our purview herein.

47. That is, textual criticism, source criticism, tradition criticism, form criticism, redaction criticism, and theological criticism; see Elliott 1993:7, 14; Osiek 1992:112.

48. According to Wortham (1995:37), a sociologist, "Social scientists acknowledge that the accuracy and objectivity of one's research is influenced by the manner in which the data are collected and analyzed (Persell: [1990] 28-29). Different methodologies yield different findings. Social phenomena are multidimensional, and researchers utilize various approaches to try to identify, describe, and explain the interrelationships among a phenomenon's various dimensions. Likewise, biblical texts are multidimensional phenomena. One may ask questions about the text's literary structure, form, or possible sources, or one may seek to determine the text's place in the historical development of religious ideas. On the other hand, one may attempt to identify the social and cultural world portrayed in the text as well as try to identify the various actors' motives for action. Each of these approaches enables the interpreter to investigate different aspects of the text's larger meaning or its total "meaning effect" (effet de sens)."

In many ways I am attempting to emulate the approach of earlier works such as Meeks (1983), "a balanced use of historical-critical and sociological-anthropological methods and theories" (see Harris 1983:110) and Elliott (1981) who "uses analogous social data and sociological models for comparative purposes" (Harris 1983:110, referring to Elliott 1981:9). Harris states of Meeks, "His command of both
rhetorical criticism, which is as concerned with the social setting of the texts as it is with the internal rhetoric. Vernon Robbins (1996a; 1996b) has now articulated a method of "socio-rhetorical interpretation" which acknowledges the insights from various interpretive methods (e.g., historical-critical; literary; social-scientific) and emphasizes the need for the practitioners of each to be in dialogue with one another.

Social-scientific criticism aims to understand the text(s) under investigation as "a reflection of and a response to the social and cultural settings in which the text was produced" (Elliott 1993:8). The method used can be outlined under seven categories which help to bring forth the explicit and implicit information and meanings in the text (adapted from Elliott 1993:70-86).

1. **Social Profile of the Audience Addressed:** Consideration is given to the geographical location of the audience along with their identity, their relationship to the author, their social location (economic and social status), and their social networks and social relationships.

2. **Social Profile of the Author/Sender(s) of the Document:** The identity of the author/sender(s) can be discerned from the document and supplemented with...
information available outside the text. Also, the author's relationship to the intended audience can also be explored.

3. Social Situation Described in the Text: This can be determined from the information stressed in the text (e.g., repetition, reformulation, emphasis) and supplemented further from information from external sources which can either confirm or contradict internal information.

4. Author's Diagnosis and Evaluation of the Situation: This includes ascertaining what phenomena are approved, commended, disapproved, or condemned, what changes are suggested, and what ideas, beliefs, values, norms, and sanctions invoked and/or involved.

5. Rhetorical Strategy of the Author: From the text itself one can determine how the author attempts to motivate and persuade the audience and what response the author seeks from the audience. Helpful here is the study of the genre, content (e.g., ideas, terms, semantic fields, traditions, comparisons), and organization (e.g., syntax, argumentation, metaphors) of the text.

6. Larger Social Context: This involves a study of the social system of the larger context of the writing, including the prevailing social and cultural scripts and the dominant social institutions. Also important is the Christians' relationship to the dominant institutions along with notice of comparable groups in similar situations. One must recognize social issues and problems that are at stake for various groups, such as group identity, organization, order, and cohesion.

Research into the "larger social context" in this dissertation will include references to the material remains from each city. This evidence is useful in
constructing a picture of the social matrix of each city in the first century.\textsuperscript{51} Of particular interest are the Greek and Latin inscriptions, many of which remain untranslated, and thus largely overlooked by many biblical scholars.\textsuperscript{52} However, since archaeological remains alone do not do full justice to a site,\textsuperscript{53} note is also taken of literary texts, both Christian and non-Christian, which pertain to these cities.

Along with the material from the particular Macedonian sites, also important for the "larger social context" are the connections with the culture and religion of the larger area (i.e., Palestine/Syria, countries of the Aegean, Rome and the West, Egypt) which should always be given consideration (Koester 1994:403; cf. Hendrix 1984:9). Thus, when investigating the data from Philippi and Thessalonica we also draw on information from other locales.

7. Ideology Discernible in the Document: The self-interests and/or group interests motivating the author must be determined as far as possible. Instructive for determining this are patterns of behaviour (rather than random behaviour) which reflects the group ideology (Atkins 1991:4). This can then be compared to the ideologies of contemporary groups as a means of refining our understanding of the ideology of Paul and his Macedonian communities (cf. Atkins 1991:31; cf. Malina 1981:3). This is particularly important for our investigation as we are particularly concerned with a number of different group ideologies.

\textsuperscript{51} Koester (1994:397) suggests that students of the New Testament must learn to listen to those of other disciplines (epigraphers, archaeologists, art historians) while also bringing their own questions to those other fields. In this way, we must all learn to become much more interdisciplinary. This dissertation attempts to reflect such an objective.

\textsuperscript{52} For an excellent summary of the history and present state of papyrological and epigraphical studies as they relate to the New Testament see Danker 1993:249-63.

\textsuperscript{53} Epigraphical material will provide "a picture of normal life—its work, its play, its education, its family life, its religious observances" (Tod 1932:30). However, inscriptions are only valuable insofar as they are complemented by a study of the pertinent literature of antiquity (Tod 1932:24).
In making the comparison between the Macedonian Christian communities and the voluntary associations we want to be clear at the outset that we are not simply attempting to trace the origins of early Christian ideas of community, their "genealogy," but are examining other models as analogues for early Christian community. The most ardent advocate of this type of approach to the study of early Christianity is Johnathan Z. Smith (1990). Smith begins by tracing the origins of the modern comparative religions approach, suggesting that too often polemical agendas have been the context of the discussion and have skewed both the presentation of the "facts" and the subsequent analyses and conclusions.54

Smith goes on to suggest that a more rigorous helpful approach will not emphasize the "uniqueness" of Jesus and early Christianity. Rather, the focus will be on "difference, a complex term which invites negotiation, classification and comparison" (1990:42). Comparison is not a matter of identifying one thing as another; i.e., "Christianity is a mystery religion."55 Such statements too often have been the focus of scholarship, which assumes that comparison of Christianity to another group is a matter of showing both "direct relations (borrowing and dependency)" and "prestigious origins (pedigree)" (1990:47). That is, its primary concern is genealogical.

In place of this approach, Smith advocates analogical comparison. Data compared analogically does not aim to find direct connections. Instead, analogy serves to highlight similarities and differences among a limited set of options. The analogy rests in the mind of the scholar conducting the investigation and helps one to understand how things might be conceived or redescribed. It is "a disciplined exaggeration in the

54. More specifically Smith suggests that in the main the entire endeavour has been tainted by Protestant anti-Catholic apologetics (cf. 1990:34).

55. Smith uses the scholarly literature which discusses the comparison of Christianity and the mysteries to illustrate his method throughout his book. However, his comments are also apropos for the other models.
service of knowledge" (1990:52). Through such a comparative method of emphasizing similarities and differences the scholar gains a perspective on the material which leads to a more nuanced analysis of the material than simply postulating genealogical relationships.56

Smith (1990:51) proposes the following formula for discussing comparisons: "x resembles y more than z with respect to . . . ." Thus, the comparison involves a three-way relationship, which does not rule out the possibility of a secondary analogy of "z" but places the emphasis on what is most analogous in a specific category of comparison. Thus, a more profitable way forward in the future would be statements such as, "the Macedonian Christian communities (x) resemble the Macedonian voluntary associations (y) more than the synagogues (z) with respect to their internal organization."57

Such statements obviously demand much of those who make them, requiring study of particular associative groups in particular locations and using this information to inform an understanding of a particular letter of Paul. No longer will it be possible to make broad, sweeping statements about "Pauline community formation" generally. However, this will lead to much more nuanced understanding of Paul's Christian communities, and of each of his letters, and will repay the effort required to undertake such detailed investigations. It is precisely this type of investigation which we are undertaking in this dissertation.

56. The use of "analogy" does not rule out some direct influence of any one of these groups on the forming Christian groups. However, identifying such influence should not occupy the bulk of any investigation. We should not, in fact, attempt to isolate Christianity from its surroundings but should strive to place it concretely in its Greco-Roman (including Hellenistic Jewish) context (cf. Malherbe 1989a:7). However, one should be aware that too often the "Jewish roots" of Christianity have been used to insulate formative Christianity from its "pagan" surroundings; see J.Z. Smith 1990:83; Wiens 1980:1251.

57. This statement is illustrative, but reflects the conclusion which we will arrive at in this dissertation.
Mention was made above of the new interdisciplinary paradigm of socio-rhetorical interpretation being promoted by Vernon Robbins (1996a; 1996b). While it would be overly burdensome to outline all the details of Robbins’ method here, we are happy to note that the reading strategies outlined above fit well into a number of the approaches to texts which he advocates. "Inner texture" is represented in nos. 3 and 5, "intertexture" in nos. 2, 3, and 4, "social and cultural texture" in nos. 1 and 6 and in the method of analogical comparison, and no. 7 is helped through an awareness of "ideological texture." Should Robbins’ nomenclature become widely accepted within the academic guild of New Testament scholars (and one hopes that it will), these categories will be a helpful shorthand for describing the interpretive tasks being undertaken. We also note that the various strategies involved in this study fulfills in some ways Robbins’ desideratum that cognizance be made of at least three textures in any one study (1996a:6; 1996b:3, 240, 243).

58. This similarity in approach is not surprising, since the seven reading strategies were adapted from a work by Elliott (1993). Robbins (1996b:154-56) shows how in an earlier study Elliott (1981) moved programmatically through each of the four arenas of texture, although Elliott did not articulate it in this way.
CHAPTER 2
GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL SETTING OF MACEDONIA

2.1. Geography and History of Macedonia

2.1.1. Geographical Description

Macedonia lies between the Balkans and the Greek peninsula. Throughout history the borders of Macedonia have shifted, but essentially it covers the area along the Northern shore of the Aegean Sea, extending west almost to the coast of the Ionian Sea. It is bordered on the west by Illyria and to the south along the Greek Peninsula by Thessaly. To the east Macedonia ends where the province of Thrace begins, just east of the city of Philippi. The shape of the province is described by Strabo as being almost a "parallelogram" (Strabo 7, frag. 10; see also Pliny, NH 4.10.33-39).

In terms of topography, the fertile Macedonian plain covers most of the area until it meets a number of high mountain ranges around the northern and western borders. A number of smaller mountain ranges are found in the central plain. The Chalcidice peninsula extends into the Aegean Sea, with the Thermatic Gulf to the west and the Strymonic Gulf to the east. Two major rivers flow into the Aegean from the north, the Axios (modern Vardar) and the Strymon (modern Struma), although other rivers and a number of lakes are also found in the region (for details see Hammond 1972, esp. 3-18). The area was most famous for its timber and precious metals.  

2.1.2. Brief Political History of the Region

The period of the expansion of Greece through colonization of various areas in the eighth to sixth centuries BCE saw a number of settlements develop along the

1. See maps 1 and 2 in Appendix II.

2. Mt. Pangaeum and its surrounding area had gold and silver mines. Strabo (7 frag. 34) notes that local lore had it that "the people who plough the Paeonian land find nuggets of gold" (LCL).
Northern shoreline of Aegean. As elsewhere, these settlements were independent, self-supporting communities only loosely linked with their founding city from mainland Greece, primarily through culture, religion, and sentiment (Talbert 1985:13). Nevertheless, the settlement cities maintained a distinctly Greek cultural makeup. While not displacing the indigenous people, they exerted an influence on their culture without being impervious to influence from it (cf. Bruce 1979:337).

During the centuries leading up to the rise of the Macedonians as a dominant power, northern Greece remained settled by Greeks from elsewhere, although it also experienced the effects of the various conflicts of the southern cities. For example, during the Persian Wars part of the Persian army spent the winter of 480 in Thessaly and Macedonia under the leadership of Mardonius (Talbert 1985:22).

Macedonia came into its own as a world power in the period between 359 and 336 BCE, largely due to the influence of Philip II of Macedon. This expansion is credited to the military potential of Macedonia itself and the creation of a well-disciplined infantry force. "In this context the use of population transfers to alter settlement patterns and create the appropriate human raw material was vital, but the general references in the sources do not permit any precise description of the process" (Talbert 1985:63). What is certain is that Philip was able to become master of the whole of mainland Greece through the defeat of Athens and Thebes and as a result united Macedonia with the Greek city-states in its territory (Bruce 1992:455).

Philip’s son, Alexander the Great, expanded the Macedonian power base to include most of the eastern part of the then known world. Rising to power in 336 BCE he defeated the Persian army in Asia Minor, proceeded to conquer Phoenicia, Palestine, and Egypt, and then moved east to defeat Dacius and the Persians before continuing into modern India, all within nine years. His return from India was difficult and he finally succumbed to a fever in Babylon at the age of thirty-three.
As important as Alexander’s military victories was his, and his successors’, policy of Hellenization. Throughout the Mediterranean and the east new Greek cities were founded and Greek became the lingua franca of the day. Greek cultural mores affected indigenous people through new styles of life and the introduction of Greek deities to the existing pantheons. Much syncretism took place, but overall the Alexandrian empire became Greek.

After the death of Alexander in 332 BCE political stability was never fully achieved in Macedonia until the arrival of the Romans in the mid-second century BCE. The Romans had begun to distrust the Macedonians and were attempting to block their expansion and meddle in their internal affairs. This led to a long and fierce battle between Perseus and the Romans. However, the Romans vanquished Perseus at the battle of Pydna in 168 BCE and the three important cities of Beroea, Thessalonica, and Pella were handed over to them (Vacalopoulos 1963:10).

Nevertheless, the area was not immediately annexed because the Senate decided, and Aemilius Paulus announced at Amphipolis, that the Macedonians should be free, "so that it should be clear to all nations that the forces of the Roman people brought not slavery to free peoples but on the contrary, freedom to the enslaved" (Livy 45.18.2 [LCL]; 45.29.4; 45.330.1-2). However, along with this "freedom" came an annual tribute to be paid to Rome, removal of all foreign possessions, and, most significantly, the division of Macedonia into four districts (μερίδες; Strabo 7 frag. 47; Livy 45.29.5-9; see map 3 in Appendix II). Buildings and land could not be sold across the boundaries and marriage was prohibited between people of different districts (Livy 45.29.10; Papazoglou 1988a:192; Vacalopoulos 1963:11). In fact, each district was organized autonomously, with a capital city in each (Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella, and Pelagonia, the first through four μερίδες respectively; see Strabo 7 frag. 47; Livy 45.29.5-9). Each district was governed by a "council of delegates" (σύνεδροι;
Vedopoulos 1963:11); there may also have been a common συνέδριοι for the entire province (although the sources are unclear on this; see Papazoglou 1988a:192).

However, although Aemilius Paulus did not touch city administration in Macedonia, he did impose new regional authorities (Lintott 1993:54).

Sometime after the revolt of Andriskos in 149 BCE Rome moved to incorporate Macedonia into its Empire by transforming it into a Roman province. The fourfold division of the area remained, as did the general laws already in place, but the province was expanded to include all of the Roman possessions in the Balkan peninsula (Papazoglou 1988a:193). The four districts were formed into a Macedonian κοινόν (c. 146 BCE, perhaps from the federal συνέδριον), and a Roman governor, with accompanying legions, was permanently installed at Thessalonica.

The Macedonian κοινόν was "a confederation of all Macedonian communities united around the imperial cult" (Papazoglou 1988a:199) and had as its capital Beroea. The high-priest of the cult of the Augusti served as the head of the κοινόν and organized games for the annual assembly of the delegates of the Macedonian cities. Other high officials were called Macedoniarchs and its συνέδριον was awarded the honorary title of πρώτου τοῦ ἐθνοῦς (Papazoglou 1988a:199; see further Cormack 1943). The κοινόν itself could appeal directly to the emperor (bypassing the governor) and could even charge the governor with bad administration. Coins with the emperor and his name on the obverse and the legend ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ or ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ on the reverse were struck by its mints. All this gave the "illusion of provincial autonomy" and "helped maintain national feeling" (Papazoglou 1988a:199).

3. Thought to be a direct descendant of the Hellenistic league (Papazoglou 1988a:199).

4. Although Thessalonica was the capital of the Roman province of Macedonia, Beroea succeeded in gaining the title of τετράκες νεωκόρου for a brief period (Papazoglou 1988a:207; IG X/2 162-65, 177, 231.)
Under Augustus Macedonia was made a senatorial province. In 15 CE Tiberius combined Macedonia with the senatorial provinces of Achaia to the South and Moesia to the North, thus forming one large imperial province (Tacitus, Ann. 1.76.4; 1.80.1). However, under Claudius, in 44 CE, this united province was once again divided along the previous boundaries and Macedonia was once again a senatorial province, governed by a proconsul (Dio Cassius 60.24; Bruce 1992:455).

During the pax Romana new cities were founded in Macedonia and Thrace (especially under Augustus and Tiberius in Macedonia and Trajan in Thrace). These included both settlements of Roman veterans (coloniae) and native settlements granted urban autonomy (municipia). These towns "provided civilian administration for newly conquered territory" (Talbert 1985:141). Older cities were given new plans, and grand building projects were undertaken, including agoras, temples, altars, and funerary buildings, all with accompanying inscriptions. However, the free cities (Thessalonica, Amphipolis, and Skotoussa) and the tribute paying cities retained their ancient forms of government (assembly, council, magistrates; Touratsoglou 1995:33).

The history of Macedonia during the imperial period is not well known. A number of emperors passed through the province on their way to or from some eastern campaign (Papazoglou 1988a:199). During the third century barbarian invasions continued to plague the province. Among Diocletian’s administrative reforms upon his assumption to power (280 CE) was the return once again of Macedonia to its natural boundaries (Touratsoglou 1995:34). When Galerius (293-311), one of the four tetrarchs, transferred his seat to the Macedonian capital of Thessalonica he introduced a number of new building projects in the city, including a magnificent palace complex, covering an area of approximately 150,000 sq.m., a hippodrome, and a triumphal arch (Pandermalis 1988:21). Later, in 322, Constantine the Great added an artificial harbour and established Christianity as the official religion (Touratsoglou 1995:73).
2.1.3. Socio-cultural Conventions of the Region

Since much of this dissertation will be concerned with the social location of the Pauline communities in Macedonian, we will briefly summarize Roman social ranking.5 This hierarchical view of society was held commonly throughout the Empire, including Macedonia. The Roman ordo ("rank") was as follows (in descending order from highest): senatorial, equestrian, decurion, freeborn, freed, slave. The first three orders were considered the elite, which comprised only a tiny fraction of the population of the empire. Below them in the official hierarchy came the great mass of the humble free, and at the bottom of the heap, the slaves. (Garnsey and Saller 1987:115).6

The senatorial rank was the most prestigious, being limited to the members of several hundred families "perceived to be worthy by the traditional standards of birth, wealth and moral excellence" (Garnsey and Saller 1987:112). Under Augustus a male was required to purchase his seat in the senate for a large amount (one million sesterces) and although it was not a hereditary rank, sons were encouraged to follow their fathers in joining the senate.

The equestrian rank was also one of the aristocracy, although the requirements of high birth, excellence, and wealth were somewhat lower than that to qualify for the senatorial rank. This rank was much larger than that of the senatorial rank, with numbers in the thousands. During the Principate some equestrians began to hold administrative and military positions, and some gained greater wealth than others, leading to a hierarchy within the rank itself. Within this rank the elite generally lived in Rome while the others, the majority, were local notables.

5. The following description of these ranks and their interrelationships is summarized from Garnsey and Saller 1987:112-125.

6. In the time of the emperor Hadrian there was a formal distinction between the elite (honestiores) and the masses (humiliores). The former category included those in the aristocratic ranks along with Roman veterans (as a reward for protecting the social order) while the rest of the free population comprised the humiliores (Garnsey and Saller 1987:115-16).
The rank of decurion or councillor also required respectable birth, wealth, and moral worth. Respectable birth was defined as the son of a freedman (to become an equestrian one had to be at least the grandson of a freedman or better). Members of this rank held political responsibility in the towns across the empire and were required to contribute to the public treasury upon entering the council or the civic priesthood (it was also expected that they would retain public favour through civic benefaction).

It is important to note that there was a vast gulf between the elite ranks and the rest of the population in terms of wealth. The majority of those in the category of freeborn and freed were not wealthy in comparison to the elites. In antiquity, "[t]here was no genuine ‘middle class’ in the sense of an intermediate group with independent economic resources or social standing" (Garnsey and Saller 1987:116; MacMullen 1974:89-90). Although some within the categories of freed did have considerable wealth, this was certainly not typical of persons in this rank.

There was a legal division of the category of free person between both freeborn and freed and between citizen and non-citizen. A freeborn person had a higher rank than that of a freedperson, although a freedperson may in fact have more wealth, should he or she have worked for a wealthy master who allowed the personal accumulation of wealth. Citizenship was important as it provided legal protection from flogging, torture, execution, and arbitrary abuse by magistrates; non-citizens faced all of these. During the time of the Principate the distinction between citizen and non-citizen began to lose its significance and a growing number of persons within the empire held this legal status.

In the Greco-Roman period slavery "was a basic, structural element of the household, affording owners and their families the leisure to indulge in the good life, 7. The peculium allowed slaves to have money for capital expenses but also to own property and other slaves. Often slaves ran their master's workshop or commercial operation with a great amount of freedom and some slaves were able to amass great wealth; see Garnsey and Saller 1987:119-20 for details.
however they defined it" (Gamsey 1996:238). Under Roman law slaves were not considered persons but property—a "speaking tool" (instrumentum vocale) or a living instrument. As such, they had no legal standing of their own and could be bought, sold, punished, or abused as the will of the master dictated. They had neither power nor honour. Although the institution of slavery was generally accepted, there were those some who voiced objections to it, resulting in explanations and justifications for its existence.

Within society a person's rank was indicated in a number of physical ways. Those of the upper-ranks wore the toga with a broad purple stripe (senators and their sons) or gold rings on their fingers and a narrow purple stripe on their toga (equestrians). Citizenship was indicated by the wearing of a toga and the use of the tria nominis. Those of the higher rank also received better seating in the theater and a larger and better quantity of food and money at public banquets and distributions.

The estimation of a person's status within society was tied in some ways to that person's rank, but was more dependent upon "the social estimation of his honour, the perception of those around him as to his prestige" (Garnsey and Saller 1987:118). Status could transcend the boundaries set up by rank and a person of elite rank could fall into poverty, while a free or freed person could amass great wealth. Since wealth,

8. A slave was also considered kinless. Slave families had no social reality; slaves were not married, they simply cohabited. Slave families were like a set of silver, which you may or may not break up, and often slave families were broken up. The threat of the break up of a slave's family was one of the most effective ways of keeping slaves under control. Nevertheless, the life of a slave was often better than that of the free poor persons, as a slave, particularly a domestic slave, had more security in terms of food and lodging (MacMullen 1974:92-93).

9. The evidence is presented in Garnsey 1996, although he concludes that "the overt attacks on slavery are few and isolated, and their impact limited" (Garnsey 1996:238).

10. The poorer members were not given more, but less, as an indication of their lower status.
and how one used it, was often the basis for gaining honour from others,\textsuperscript{11} this created some tension in the social order.\textsuperscript{12}

Within the freeborn group status was determined by a number of factors which might include family background and occupation. One of the most significant divisions was between urban dwellers (the minority) and rural workers (the masses), with the former looking down upon the latter. Freedpersons were at a particular disadvantage in society due to their servile background; "[F]reedom, citizenship and wealth, it was claimed, could not change the uncultured, servile spirit of a former slave" (Garnsey and Saller 1987:120). Slavery was also stratified into those who worked in households or in their master's business, and those who suffered under conditions of manual labour.\textsuperscript{13}

There was little social mobility between those of the lower ranks and the elite. Two groups seem to have been able to amass the wealth and status required to move upward. Those who served in the military were granted citizenship and were often discharged with enough money to establish themselves as landowners and take up political roles in their locale. Slaves who worked in commerce or manufacturing were also able, given the right incentives by their masters, to amass great wealth. Upon manumission they also were often able to purchase positions on local councils which

\textsuperscript{11} Honour was pursued through public benefactions and conspicuous consumption and benefactions to individuals (cf. the salutatio in which clients of a benefactor would congregate at his residence to pay their respects in exchange for food, money, clothing, or other favours; Garnsey and Saller 1987:122).

\textsuperscript{12} Namely, when a person of former servile rank gained sufficient wealth to own great lands or provide lavish banquets, more so even than those of the elite ranks. For a satirical take on this phenomenon see Petronius' "Dinner with Trimalchio" in his Satyricon.

\textsuperscript{13} Slaves could have any of a number of occupations: craftspersons (e.g., shoemakers, linen workers), builders, banking, book publishing, business, clerical occupations, entertainment, medicine, teaching, philosophy, public maintenance, urban peace-keepers, shop-keepers. The majority, however, were agricultural laborers and menial household servants. Household managers, or oikovòmyoi, were those slaves who worked as stewards of households or businesses, although it may also refer to plantation managers or financial bursars (even those in the civic administration).
were in need of an infusion of cash. Thus, they had a greater potential for movement than those born as free citizens.

Unfortunately little is known about the specific social conditions of the people in Macedonia during the Roman period. There were broad divisions of slaves and free as well as Roman and non-Roman. However, how these were interrelated is not known in detail except that the Romans led a privileged existence and were seen as representative of the ruling powers by the non-Romans. There is little evidence that has any bearing on the condition of farmers, nor on the artisan work-force and other labourers, although it is clear that under Roman occupation Macedonia enjoyed reasonable prosperity (see Papazoglou 1988a:200-01 for details). Nevertheless, it can be reasonably assumed that the Roman system of social ranking described above was extent in the region, as it was throughout the empire.

Many Roman veterans were settled in the regions where they had fought and many chose to remain there after demobilization. This is no less the case for Macedonia. In fact, in 49 BCE Pompey recruited a legion from those who had settled in Macedonia and Crete (Papazoglou 1988a:196). However, organized colonization began after Caesar, with the first cities being Kassandreia and Dion (43/42 BCE) followed by Philippi shortly thereafter.

Despite various urban centers being founded (or re-founded) as Roman colonies, Greek culture continued to persist in many of them. In fact, Edson has pointed out that in a few important cities during the Principate two distinct communities existed, one a Greek πόλις and the other a Roman colony (Cassandrea, Pella, Dium, and perhaps even Philippi; Edson 1975). In fact,

14. "In the eastern part of the province many of the older tribes appear to have been hellenised before the arrival of the Romans" (Gill 1994:407; Papazoglou 1979:334).

15. In 1988 Papazoglou (1988a:198) reiterated this theory (citing Edson) and suggested that it "deserves the attention of future researchers in this field."
Political Romanization did not affect language and national conscience... One became a Roman citizen without ceasing to speak Greek and feeling a Macedonian (Papazoglou 1988a:202).

The Romans built the Via Egnatia across Macedonia from the Adriatic coast to the Aegean Sea, over 800 km in length. It served as a main artery for military and civilian traffic through the province and led to a resurgence of the economic life in Macedonia during the Roman period (Papazoglou 1988a:196). This highway was the main thoroughfare for people, goods, and troops moving to and from Rome and its Eastern provinces (see further McRay 1991:282-83).

Many of the cults in Macedonia are of Thracian origin and thus are indigenous to the region. At the same time, there is also early evidence for most of the chief Greek deities (Edson 1972:634). During the Hellenistic and Roman periods the Oriental gods took hold in Macedonia, the most popular being Sarapis and Isis (Witt 1970). Popular gods in dedicatory inscriptions found in the north-central provinces of Greece during the Roman empire are (in descending order of frequency): Silvanus, Mithras/Sol, Diana, Hercules, and Liber (see MacMullen 1981:6; cf. Talbert 1985:79).

Cities and towns varied in their political organization but most retained either the structure of the Macedonian tribal system or the civic structure of a Greek πόλις (Gill 1994:405-06; Touratsoglou 1995:33). For example, a first century CE inscription from Kalindoia in Chalkidike refers to the city as a πόλις, and shows that the citizens (πολίται) were divided into tribes (φυλαί). The city had both a δημοκράτιο, which met in the ἐκκλησία, and a βουλή, and some civic magistrates were named politarchs (see Hatzopoulos and Loukoupoulou 1992:77-80 no. K2; Gill 1994:406).

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16. Built during the Republic and named after its builder, the proconsul Cnaeus Egnatius (see Papazoglou 1988a:196).

17. With the exception of Mithras, all these deities, and others, are attested in the inscriptions of the voluntary associations.
The politarchate was a political office attested primarily in Macedonian cities beginning from the second century BCE.\(^{18}\) It was a high-profile office held by those of the wealthy class. Its tenure was for one year although it could be held more than once and it could be held in conjunction with another office (Horsley 1982:34; 1994:421). The politarchs (\(\pi\omega\lambda\iota\tau\sigma\rho\chi\alpha\)) were limited to civic roles (i.e., they had no input into military affairs). They were "responsible for convening the \(\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\nu\) and introducing motions to it" and "they convoked the \(\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha\), introduced motions to it, and confirmed its decisions" (Horsley 1994:425; cf. Vacalopoulos 1963:13-14). Most often there was more than one politarch in a community and they organized themselves as a collegium (Horsley 1994:425).\(^{19}\)

2.2. Thessalonica\(^{20}\)

2.2.1. Geographical and Historical Context

Thessalonica has a long history which extends from its founding in Hellenistic times to modern times. The large, flourishing city of modern Thessalonica is built upon the ancient site. Its commercial success, both now and in antiquity, is due to its location "in the most favourable geographical position in Macedonia" (Vacalopoulos 1963:3). The city of Thessalonica is located on the Thermatic Gulf to the west of the

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18. Seventeen inscriptions containing either \(\pi\omega\lambda\iota\tau\sigma\rho\chi\eta\) or \(\pi\omega\lambda\iota\tau\sigma\rho\chi\omega\) are collected in Burton 1898. Of these, thirteen come from Macedonia, five from Thessalonica itself with others from Amphipolis, Lete, and Derriopus and perhaps Pella and Edessa (the latter locations are less sure) and some from unnamed locations (Burton 1898:627-28). Further evidence has come to light from Beroea (cf. Pilhofer 1995:194-95 n. 5) and from Anydron (Panayotou and Chrysostomou 1993:370-72 no. 6 = IAnydron 1 [10]). The Macedonian inscriptions date from the mid-second century CE to third century CE. These inscriptions attest to the office in these cities, but there is no evidence for it in Roman colonies such as Philippi (Horsley 1982:34). Although the office of politarch is attested to after the Roman intervention of 167 BCE it is not thought to have been created by the Romans (Horsley 1982:34). The office of politarch in Thessaly seems to be essentially the same as that of politarch in Macedonia.

19. Among our inscriptions of voluntary associations we find only one reference—a former politarch who has dedicated a monument to Zeus Hypsistos (IAnydron 1 [10]).

20. For a plan of the site see map 4 in Appendix II.
Chalcidice peninsula.\textsuperscript{21} The Axios River lies to the west and the Strymon River to the East. The city was probably founded near, but not on, the original site of Therme, a Corinthian colony (Vacalopoulos 1963:5; Hendrix 1992c:523; see Strabo 7 frags. 21, 24).\textsuperscript{22} Due to its physical location Thessalonica has a very hot summer and very cold winter (Vacalopoulos 1963:3).

Thessalonica was founded in 316 BCE by Cassander, one of Alexander’s generals, and named after his wife, a stepsister of Alexander. According to Strabo (7 frags. 21, 24), Cassander destroyed about twenty-six coastal and inland villages in the regions of Krousis, Anthemous, Mygdonia, and settled the villagers in the newly founded city. However, this information is only partially correct. While many inhabitants of these villages were moved to Thessalonica, archaeological excavation has revealed that at least some of the villages continued to flourish (Aineia, Chalastra). It seems more likely that they "kept part of their population and maintained their civic existence to some degree until their decline into desolation" (Vacalopoulos 1963:7).\textsuperscript{23}

Although Pella remained as the capital of Macedonia, Thessalonica became one of its more important ports and was the base for the navy and the mercantile marine.

Thessalonica was surrendered to Rome after the defeat of Perseus at the battle of Pydna (168 BCE). When Macedonia was divided into four districts ($\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\delta\varepsilon\varsigma$)

\textsuperscript{21} Thessalonica was about a three days walk from Philippi, according to ancient patterns of travel; see Murphy-O’Connor 1996:103.

\textsuperscript{22} Therme ($\Theta\varepsilon\rho\mu\alpha$) means "hotspring," the site being so named because of the hot springs of salt water there (Plummer 1918a:vii). Earlier commentators such as Plummer identified Thessalonica as being built on the site of Therme. Although the suggestion comes from Strabo (7 frag. 24), little archaeological data is available from Thessalonica from prior to IV BCE (R.F.Collins 1993:215). The conjecture has been called into question by more recent archaeological work elsewhere, although the exact site of Therme has not been identified. For a summary of recent debate see Papazoglou 1988b:190-96. Cf. Edson 1947:100-04, who concludes that Therme was a πόλις located at or near Thessalonica (1947:103); Hammond 1972:150-51.

\textsuperscript{23} Strabo (7 frag. 21) observed the towns in ruins and assumed it was the result of Cassander’s destruction. However, he visited the sites three centuries after the founding of Thessalonica, allowing plenty of time for a slower decline of the towns (Vacalopoulos 1963:6).
Thessalonica was made the capital of the second μερις, which lay between the Strymon and Axios rivers. However, the city retained the right to be governed according to its ancestral laws and to have its own officials (Vacalopoulos 1963:11). In 146 it became the capital of the reorganized province of Macedonia and the seat of the provincial governor. This brought with it many commercial and civic privileges, including the right to mint its own coins. Its commercial success was enhanced by its location both on the Via Egnatia and its secure harbour in the Thermatic Gulf (cf. above).

The internal strife within Roman leadership during the first century BCE had its effect on Thessalonica. Pompey made it his headquarters during the civil war (48 BCE). Later the city supported Brutus and Cassius, the assassins of Julius Caesar. Neither choice was prudent as both Pompey and Brutus and Cassius were defeated. However, at some point Thessalonica changed its allegiance to Anthony and Octavian. In exchange Thessalonica received many benefits, including its status as a free city (civitas libera) in 42 BCE "by the favour of the victorious triumvirs" (Papazoglou 1988a:198; Plutarch, Vitae, "Brutus" 46; Pliny NH 4.36).24 Once Octavian had defeated Anthony at the battle of Actium and secured his sole hold on Roman power, Thessalonica became a strong supporter.25

Many Roman senators and knights of the equestrian order resided there, making the city a "second Rome" (Hendrix 1992c:524). Nevertheless, despite such Roman occupation the city retained its Greek character and the dominant written and spoken language was Greek throughout the Roman period (Vacalopoulos 1963:15). Thessalonica was not without influence on a number of classical authors including

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24. The only other two Macedonian cities granted this privilege were Amphipolis and Skotoussa (see Pliny, NH 4.35, 36, 38).

25. At first the Thessalonians had held Anthony in high esteem and even inaugurated a new era in his honour. However, a number of erasures of these dates from inscriptions reveal the Thessalonians' "degree of embarrassment" after his defeat (Murphy-O’Connor 1996:115; Hendrix 1992c:524, citing IG X/2 83, 109).
Cicero (I BCE) who spent seven months in exile in Thessalonica. In the second century CE Lucian visited the city. Two of the more famous epigrammatists were Antipater and Philippus (Vacalopoulos 1963:15).

During the Hellenistic period Thessalonica followed the pattern of Greek civic administration with a council (βουλή), an assembly of the people (ἐκκλησία), and civic officials (πολιτικοί), although a number of other officials and delegates from the emperor were resident in the city (see Vacalopoulos 1963:10). As a "free city" under Roman rule Thessalonica could elect its own magistrates, known as politarchs (πολιτάρχαι; see above). The use of this title at Thessalonica was once questioned because the only evidence for it came from Acts 17:6, 8. However, a number of inscriptions have come to light which attest to the authenticity of the title. At the beginning of the I CE Thessalonica had a council of five or six politarchs.

Thessalonica had always been an important center of trade, but by the Roman period it was the junction of two important transportation routes which increased its importance. The Via Egnatia was the primary land route from Italy to the East. It passed through Thessalonica from the south-east to the north-west through the Golden Gate (Vardari Gate) on the west and the Gate of Kalamari (Cassander Gate) on the

26. Cf. Burton (1898:628), "we have definite monumental evidence that Thessalonica had politarchs from the reign of Augustus to that of Antonius Pius and Marcus Aurelius, or, in round numbers, from the beginning of the first century to the middle of the second."

27. The inscriptions collected by Burton show that "Thessalonica had five [politarchs] in the reign of Augustus and six in that of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. It is probably safe to assume that it had either five or six in the New Testament period" (Burton 1898:628).

28. Strabo, writing in the late first century BCE, refers to Thessalonica as "the metropolis of what is now Macedonia" (ἡ μετρόπολις τῆς νῦν Μακεδονίας; Strabo 7, frag. 21).

29. Built I BCE and demolished 1876. It was probably a triumphal arch for Octavian and Mark Antony; Touratsoglou 1995:86.

30. Later the site of the Arch of Galerius (c. 305 CE) celebrating the triumph of Galerius over the Persians in 297 CE.
Macedonia

1.50 east. The port of Thessalonica was the beginning of the main land route from the Aegean Sea to the Danube River. The Sea itself made Thessalonica accessible from all points in the circum-Mediterranean and beyond.

From Hellenistic times Thessalonica was a walled city. Although the extent portions today are mostly from the Byzantine period, it rests in part on earlier foundations from the Hellenistic period (cf. Vacalopoulos 1963:9). The street plan of Thessalonica was probably laid out at the time of its original founding (Vickers 1972:169). Its basic grid plan was then probably followed as the city was reworked during the Roman period (Vickers 1970:247). Unfortunately much of the modern city of Thessalonica lies overtop of the ancient site so a systematic excavation of ancient Thessalonica has never been carried out (R.F.Collins 1993:8). Most of what has been excavated was discovered by accident.

The Roman forum of Thessalonica measuring at least 64 x 100 metres has been uncovered. It dates from the late I to early II CE and may be built on the site of an earlier Hellenistic agora (Gill 1994:414-15). On the east is a double stoa with Corinthian columns and geometric floor mosaics. To the south is a stoa supported by a cryptoporticus, which covers a number of rooms which were later decorated with Christian wall paintings. In the late III CE an odeum was built. East of the forum the palace of Galerius (293-311 CE) has a peristyle courtyard and an octagonal adjoining building. This latter building had apses on each of the eight sides, and later became a church with a baptistry (the Church of St. George).31

2.2.2. Religious Context

The primary deities worshipped at Thessalonica were Pythian Apollo, Pallas Athena, and Hercules (Vacalopoulos 1963:14). However, by the first century CE the worship of mystery deities was thriving at Thessalonica including that of Dionysos,

31. For a detailed physical description of finds at Thessalonica see Elliger 1987:78-114.
Asclepius, and Demeter. A Sarapeum discovered in the 1920s and the subsequent finds of dedicatory objects, inscriptions, and building reveals a great interest in the Egyptian gods at Thessalonica (Donfried 1985:337; Witt 1970:324-33). The worship of the Egyptian gods may even date to as early as the third century BCE (Vacalopoulos 1963:8). However, Donfried (1985:338; 1993b:15) identifies the cult of Cabirus as "the most important religious cult of Thessalonica at the time of Paul," an identification with which Jewett concurs (see 1986:127-32; cf. Witt 1977:78-79). Although elsewhere it was the cult of the (two) Cabiri, at Thessalonica there is only evidence for one Cabirus in the cult (Donfried 1985:338). Although there is some evidence that in the Greco-Roman world the cult of the Cabiri was conflated with the cult of the Dioscuri, this is not the case at Thessalonica, where the cult of the one Cabirus seems to be different from the cult of the Dioscuri. The Dioscuri are attested at Thessalonica from 40 BCE (see Hendrix 1984:148-50; summary in Kloppenborg 1993b:286).

Honourifics granted to the emperor are particularly prevalent at Thessalonica and there is some evidence for the worship of the goddess Roma. However, it was only

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32. The Sarapeum and its surrounding area was first discovered at Thessalonica in 1917 has proved to be a rich deposit for archaeological information; cf. Donfried 1985:337. Unfortunately these remains are no longer visible as they are covered by modern structures (Dioiketerion Street; a private house).

33. Cabirus became the patron god of the city and appeared on coins at least as early as II BCE (Touratsoglou 1995:70-71). At a later date the worship of the one Cabirus was "transubstantiated, with all its fervour, into the cult of Saint Demetrius, the patron saint and protector of the city" (Vacalopoulos 1963:14). But see Walter 1989.


35. Of the mystery deities, only the Cabiri are not referred to in voluntary association inscriptions from Thessalonica, although they are probably the deities indicated in the dedication to "the Great Gods in Samothrace" in SIG3 1140 [49] from Amphipolis, since Samothrace was the centre of the worship of the Cabiri (cf. Guthrie 1949:150).

36. The system was developed "to attract and sustain influential Romans' commitments and favors" (Hendrix 1984:253).
later that Thessalonica was given the title Neokoros (under Gordian III, 238-44), acknowledging its temple of the imperial cult (and it was only made a colony under Decius ca. 250 CE). Many inscriptions were set up by the Thessalonians honouring Roman patrons and Roman client rulers who had benefacted the city. In fact, a cult even grew around these benefactors, including a special priesthood, the "priest of Rome and of Roman Benefactors" (ἱερεὺς Ρωμης και Ρωμαίων εὐεργετῶν; Vacalopoulos 1963:14; Papazoglou 1988a:540 n. 110; IG X/2 31, 32, 133, 226).37 This cult was interrelated to the honourifics given to Roman emperors.38 There was a clear recognition of "a hierarchy of benefaction extending from the gods to the emperor and Roman patrons to the citizens of Thessalonica" (Hendrix 1986:308; 1984:336-37)—"Romans received honors at Thessalonica not because of what they were but what they did" (Hendrix 1984:330, 332).39

The city of Thessalonica provides the richest evidence for voluntary associations in Macedonia. We have included twenty-six Greek inscriptions in our database,40 dating from the first to the third century CE and showing a diversity of associations and deities worshipped. The best attested associations were that of Dionysos (θιασὸς

37. Hendrix (1992a:42) notes that at Thessalonica "[t]he title 'benefactor' and 'soter' (savior) became personalized and regularized epithets of an increasingly divinized Hellenistic royalty (as, for example, with Ptolemy Savior or Eumenes Benefactor)" and that by "95 BCE, Roman benefactors had already become conventionally associated with the civic cult of 'the gods' as honorands of gymnasium activities" (Hendrix 1992a:50; cf. IG X/2 4 [text and translation in Hendrix 1992a:43-45]).

38. For a detailed study see Hendrix 1984.

39. Hendrix shows that, with perhaps the exception of Julius Theos, Augustus, and Trajan (and later Fulvus) the inscriptive evidence from Thessalonica does not indicate that the Thessalonians acknowledged the deification of the emperor. See Hendrix 1984, some of the pertinent information of which is summarized in Hendrix 1986:300-08; contra Papazoglou 1988a:206-07. In this respect, Thessalonica was different from many of the cities in the Empire, especially in Asia Minor.

40. Not including the two Jewish inscriptions from the IV CE. For a summary chart of the evidence to be discussed in detail see Appendix I, where the inscriptions are also included.
Arovihou) and a number of professional associations, although there is evidence for other types of associations.

2.3. Philippi

2.3.1. Geographical and Historical Context

The city of Philippi is located on the eastern border of the province of Macedonia. The theater was built into the southern slopes of Mt. Lekani while the city stretched south into the plain of Datos, with Mt. Pangaeus to the west. It was bounded on the west by the Strymon River and on the east by the Nestos River and was about 16 km (10 mi) inland from the Aegean Sea. A larger river, the Gangites, lies just over two kilometers from the city centre, close to a commemorative arch which marks the western edge of the sacred boundary of the city.42

Philippi was originally founded as Krenides by an Athenian exile named Callistratus, who brought with him a number of settlers from the island of Thasos (Strabo 7 frags. 41, 42; Diodorus Siculus 16.3.7). Soon afterwards, in 356 BCE Philip II, the father of Alexander the Great, seized the city because of the gold and silver mines of Mt. Pangaeus and renamed it after himself (Diodorus Siculus 16.3.6; 16.8.6-

41. See map 5 in Appendix II. Although Collart 1937 has remained the standard reference work for the city of Philippi, it has just recently been replaced by the thoroughly updated and comprehensive Pilhofer 1995 who has summarized most of the earlier studies and collected information from diverse archaeological reports, supplemented by his own work done at the site. See also Papazoglou 1988b:passim; Elliger 1987:23-77.

42. This arch was built in the early 1 CE but is no longer extant. It "marked the limit of Philippi's pomerium—an area which, according to Roman convention, was left uninhabited and uncultivated" (Hendrix 1992b:315). On the difficulty of determining the exact boundaries of both the territory and the pomerium of Philippi see the lengthy discussion by Pilhofer 1995:52-73, including maps showing various proposals.

43. Thought to be from κρήνη ("well, spring"), a reference to the springs and waters in the area.

44. He fled from Athens in 361 BCE.
7). He increased the size of the city and settled a number of new inhabitants in it. He also seized Neapolis, a city also colonized by the people from the nearby Thasos, to serve as the port for Philippi (McRay 1991:281).

The battle between the forces of Brutus and Cassius and the forces of Octavian and Antony took place on the plain to the west of Philippi (42/41 BCE) with Octavian and Antony emerging as victors. Antony settled his veterans there and renamed the city *Antoni iussu Colonia Victrix Philippensium* to commemorate his victory. However, after Octavian defeated Antony at the Battle of Actium eleven years later there was a fresh influx of immigrants. This was a mixture of Octavian’s own veterans along with Italian supporters of Antony who had to give up their Italian lands to supporters of Octavian (Dio Cassius 51.4.6). The new name of the city was *Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippensis*, indicating its new status as a Roman colony.

As a Roman colony Philippi was granted the privilege of *ius italicum* which gave it equal status with communities in Italy. It was governed by Roman law and was free from any kind of direct taxation on its lands or citizens (Papazoglou 1988a:197; McRay 1991:283-84). Its constitution would have been modeled on the municipal

45. There is some evidence that Philip II was invited to assist the Thasian settlers’ descendants in defending themselves against the hostilities of the indigenous Thracian population of the area (Hendrix 1992b:314).

46. Attested by two inscriptions, one from the library (Collart 1932:317) and one from the East Temple (Collart 1933:328); see further Meeks 1983:45; Lazarides 1976:704-05; Bruce, 1983:1-3.

47. The author of Acts correctly notes that Philippi was a Roman colony (using the transliterated Latin term *kolonía*; Acts 16:12).

48. The only three other Macedonian cities to be granted status as Augustan colonies and have this privilege were Kassandreia, Dion, and Pella, although there is some question concerning the status of Pella (see Dig. 50.15.6—8.8. Stobi was one of the few *municipia* in the Greek world to be granted the *ius italicum* (see Papazoglou 1988a:197).
constitution of Rome (Bruce 1988:310). As such, it had two collegiate magistrates governing it (Bruce 1978:341).49

Although the city of Philippi never officially held the title "first city,"50 the reading πρώτης τῆς μερίδος Μακεδονίας πόλεως ("a first city of the district of Macedonia) should be retained at Acts 16:12.51 This reading takes seriously the strong textual evidence without recourse to conjectured readings. On external textual grounds it is well attested by early manuscripts of varying text types and from diverse geographical areas. On internal grounds the principle of lectio difficilior suggests that this reading is more likely original. What has seemed to be an insuperable obstacle to this reading is not, once it is placed in the context of intercity rivalry and civic pride.52


50. Fillion (1922:275) claims that coins from Philippi attest to the title πρώτης πόλεως in the first century CE. As evidence he cites Rettig, Questions Philippenses (Giessen, 1831) 5. I was not able to obtain this latter work. Lemerle (1945:22 n. 3) also cites Fillion and he too could not obtain a copy of Rettig. As a result LemereIe ignores this evidence as inconclusive. For more on the factual inaccuracy of this reading see Wikgren 1981:176-78.


52. For detailed argument for this conclusion see Ascough 1998a (forthcoming). I do not think that this conclusion makes the text of Acts 16:12 any more factual or "trustworthy"; contra Pilhofer (1995:164) who accepts the emendation since it is historically accurate and, in claiming that Luke is a native of Philippi and the companion of Paul during Paul's time in the city (1995:155-58, 205), suggests that Luke would not have been mistaken. The account can still be "fictional" and the details problematic; as L.M.White points out (1995:241-51, esp. 243) other details of the text call into question the factual accuracy of the account of Paul at Philippi.
The city had a definite Latin character and reflected Roman culture (Meeks 1983:45; Pilhofer 1995:92). At the same time, however, there is strong evidence of the existence of a large native culture as well as many foreign immigrants (Meeks 1983:45-46). Edson (1975:97-102) cites a number of Greek inscriptions that lead him to conclude, albeit inconclusively, that there existed at Philippi a Greek polis even after the founding of the Roman colony. However, this city "was overshadowed by the great colony with its very numerous new settlers." (Edson 1975:102; cf. Sherwin-White 1963:177). Nevertheless, during the imperial period Philippi's population "was becoming less and less mindful of its Latin roots (Dorcey 1992:67).

Latin is thought to have been the official language of the colony of Philippi. Of 421 known inscriptions from the city, only 60 are in Greek (14%), some of which may pre-date the founding of the Roman colony (Gill 1994:413; cf. Pilhofer 1995:91). However, Greek was the language used at Philippi for common communication (Pilhofer 1995:86). Interestingly, however, of the 15 voluntary association inscriptions from Philippi 8 are Greek and 7 are Latin, an almost even split. When this is extended to the surrounding villages there are more Latin inscriptions (7) than Greek (3). However, in the Latin inscriptions we find four instances of thiasus, the Latinized form of the Greek word θίασος.

While the dominant occupation of the area seems to have been agriculture, there must also have been a large degree of commerce and trade, particularly among the non-Roman immigrants (Meeks 1983:46). The city was located on the Via Egnatia, which

53. In Paul's letter the most obvious reflection of the Roman character of Philippi is seen in his addressing the Philippians in 4:15 as Φιλιππησες which is derived from the Latin Philippenses, rather than the using the Greek forms Φιλιππαῖος or Φιλιππηνοί; see Ramsay 1899:116; Murphy-O'Connor 1996:213. I do not think that this warrants the conclusion that the Christian community had an essentially Roman character, especially as Greek culture was still prominent at Philippi, and Paul wrote to the Philippians in Greek. However, Ramsay (1899:116) is probably correct in noting that it shows Paul's sensitivity to the inhabitants of Philippi who would have doubtless been proud of their rank as a Roman colony.
ran 1 km between the gates of the city on a northwest-southeast axis, which would lend itself to an ease of trading.54 Philippi had its own marble quarry, although the marble had large crystals and was very brittle. Nevertheless many of the buildings and inscriptions made use of this marble (Collart 1937:402).

At Philippi the pattern of the city and the style and architecture of the buildings were copied from Rome (O’Brien 1991:4). Unfortunately, most of the archaeological finds date from the second century CE or later rather than New Testament times. For example, the forum was built c. 160 CE by Marcus Aurelius. However, there is some archaeological evidence from the Hellenistic age, such as an earlier agora and the theatre before its second century CE renovations.

Later buildings reflect a rich tradition at Philippi. At the east gate there are two churches, one as early as the fourth century, with four churches having stood on the spot. This may reflect a tradition that Paul met Lydia in this area (and not at the Gangites or Krenides Gate, both on the West side; McRay 1991:286-87). There exists a small crypt on the northwest corner of the forum which has been considered Paul’s prison since the fifth century (McRay 1991:288). Three compartments are connected to the east side of the Phiale of the Octagon at Philippi through a two column opening.55

The first compartment served as a religious place which continued the cult of a Hellenistic sanctuary. A vaulted tomb was found inside which contained the sarcophagus of the hero. "The Christians, as they usually did, continued this cult, perhaps under the name of a saint unknown to us today." (Pelekanidis 1967:124)

54. However, Hendrix (1992b:314) contends that the Via Egnatia was in a state of disrepair in eastern Macedonia and Thrace during the early Roman Imperial period, suggesting that Philippi’s primary trade and communication route was through the port of Neapolis.

55. The Octagon of Philippi was built at the beginning of the fifth century CE. I was built over an early chapel dedicated to Paul by bishop Porphyrios (312-42 CE). The Octagon also incorporated a second century BCE hellenistic funerary heroon of a man named Euephenes Exekestou, known to have been an initiate into the Cabeiroi mysteries on Samothrace; see Touratsoglou 1995:378.
2.3.2. Religious Context

The most popular deities at Philippi seem to have been Diana, the Egyptian gods, and Sylvanus, all of whom had a sanctuary there (Abrahamsen 1989a; 1995:25-44; cf. Beare 1959:7-9). Other open shrines found in the rock of the acropolis are dedicated to various gods including Artemis, Bendis, Cybele, and Dionysus. Since this material has a more direct bearing on our investigation we will investigate the relevant material in more detail in chapter six.  

Philippi and its surrounding area is one of the most extensive deposits of voluntary associations in Macedonia (second only to Thessalonica). Fifteen association inscriptions are attested at Philippi, with another ten from the surrounding villages (Reussilova, Proussotchani, Alistrati, Podgora, Kalambaki, Raktcha, Selian). A diversity of deities and a variety of names are attested in these Greek and Latin inscriptions. Some of the voluntary associations found a divine patron in those deities which predominated at Philippi (Diana, Sylvanus, Dionysus, and Sarapis and Isis). However, not all worshipers of these deities were necessarily part of a voluntary association nor was the association necessarily directly associated with the sanctuary dedicated to these deities.

56. Notably, a number of these deities are referred to in the in the voluntary association inscriptions from Philippi or the surrounding villages.
CHAPTER 3

THE SOCIAL LOCATION OF THE MACEDONIAN CHRISTIANS

That Paul wrote according to the ancient letter form has long been recognized.1 That Paul used the conventions of Greco-Roman rhetoric in his letters is also beyond doubt.2 Many scholars have analyzed Paul’s letters and shown how he employs ancient rhetorical strategies both in the overall structure of his letters3 and in the individual parts of letters.4 In this chapter we will analyze 1 Thessalonians and Philippians according to the rhetorical strategies used in each letter. We will provide an overview of the rhetoric of each letter to gain a perspective on Paul’s strategy. However, we are more interested in showing how various features within the rhetoric provides an indication of the social location of the recipients. A number of Paul’s rhetorical


2. On the classification of Paul’s letters according to epistolary and rhetorical conventions see Walton 1995:249-50. Walton points out that since Paul was writing letters, epistolary classification is entirely appropriate. However, since his letters would be read aloud "as a speech by Paul in absentia" classification according to rhetorical genres is also apropos. See also Doty 1973:12, 36-37; Malherbe 1988:1-11 and G.A.Kennedy 1984:86-87; Bloomquist 1993:93. Further justification for the application of classical rhetorical categories to Paul’s letters can be found in Hughes 1989:19-30; 1990:95-96; Saw 1995:19-31. We should also note the use of written exercises in training rhetoricians in the composition of speeches (V.K.Robbins 1996b:61-62; see particularly the various progymnasmata [Hock and O’Neil 1986; V.K.Robbins 1996a:52-56]).


strategies presuppose a certain social location and typical roles and functions of the audience.\(^5\)

The use of rhetorical criticism to determine the author’s intent and argumentative strategy has been the predominant focus of most studies of Paul’s rhetoric (Jewett 1986:63-64). However, there has also been a move towards using rhetorical analysis in order to better understand the audience addressed. Jewett’s summary of the position of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1971) and his analysis of its implications frames the discussion nicely and is worthy of a lengthy quotation here:\(^6\)

They contend that "since argumentation aims at securing the adherence of those to whom it is addressed, it is, in its entirety, relative to the audience to be influenced" [1971:10]. It follows that "knowledge of those one wishes to win over is a condition preliminary to all effectual argumentation," [1971:20] and that the social functions of writer and audience have a decisive effect on the rhetorical genre that is selected [1971:21]. These observations are relevant for historical research, offering the possibility of inferences drawn from the structure and genre of a writing to the identity and social roles of audience and speaker alike. (Jewett 1986:65; cf. Donfried 1993b:3-4)\(^7\)

The central task of this chapter of the dissertation is to draw inferences as to the identity and social roles of the Thessalonian and Philippian Christians from the rhetoric of Paul’s letters. However, our concern is not just the structure and genre of these letters, but also the way Paul uses ethos, pathos, and logos within the rhetoric which will help us to determine the social location of the audiences.

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5. Reflected in what Vernon Robbins calls intertexture and social and cultural texture; see V.K.Robbins 1996a:40-68, 71-88; 1996b:96-120, 144-76.

6. I have added the page references to the text of Jewett.

7. Donfried (1993b:3-4) makes a similar point, noting that identification of "strategies of persuasion" will allow us to gain 'greater understanding of the author, the audience, and the author's purpose in communicating with the audience,' citing an unpublished paper Hughes (1991). Also note the observation of Vernon Robbins (1996b:237) that, "socio-rhetorical criticism perceives texts to be located interactively between representing world and evoking world. Texts, then, display historical, social, cultural and ideological textures of discourse that are media both for transmission and for formation of culture."
This chapter begins with a brief survey of rhetoric in antiquity as an orientation to the approach. It then examines each of 1 Thessalonians and Philippians in turn, beginning with a survey of some of the introductory issues surrounding each letter (e.g., authorship, unity, date) and followed by a rhetorical analysis of the letter in which the rhetorical genus and structure are investigated. This is followed in turn by an analysis of the persuasive elements in each document which leads us to the establishing of the social location of the audience presupposed in the letter.*

3.1. Rhetoric in Antiquity

Analysis of ancient rhetoric generally involves a number of analytical moves which should be seen as a "circular process" rather than a sequence of steps (summarized from G.A. Kennedy 1984:33-38): 1) Determination of the extent of the rhetorical unit; 2) Definition of the rhetorical situation of the unit, i.e., the situation addressed, including the persons, events, objects, and relations; 3) Determination of the overriding rhetorical problem; 4) Determination of the species of rhetoric—judicial, deliberative, or epideictic; 5) Consideration of the arrangement of the material into subdivisions, persuasive effect of the parts, how they work together, noting assumptions, topics, formal features (e.g., *enthymemes*), and stylistic devices; 6) Review of the overall impact of the rhetorical unit and how the detailed analysis fits this larger unit. Before undertaking such an analysis we will briefly survey the nature of rhetoric in antiquity.

By the end of the fifth century BCE there existed the beginnings of three different rhetorical traditions (summarized by Mack 1990:26-28). The sophistic tradition focused

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8. Longenecker (1990: cix-cxix) designates these two tasks as "diachronic rhetorical analysis" and "synchronic rhetorical analysis" respectively. Kessler (1974:24 nn. 16, 17) uses the terms differently, defining synchronic methods as that "which deal with the meaning of the text in its present form, without reference to the provenance of it" and diachronic approaches as concerning "themselves with the question: How did the text get into its present form? Thus: source criticism."
on persuasive speech with a view to developing model speeches, mnemonic techniques, and strategies for winning arguments in the public forum. The philosophical schools viewed the sophists with suspicion as their rhetoric was not grounded in a prior commitment to a philosophical concept of justice, truth, or logic—instead, they emphasized style. However, the various philosophical methods of dialogue (Socrates), dialectic (Plato), and analysis (Aristotle) were developed as a result of the recognition of discourse as rhetorical argumentation. The third tradition was the technical school. This school produced handbooks which were used to develop in the student an understanding and skill in employing rhetoric (see G.A.Kennedy 1991:7-9). These were used extensively very early and throughout the Greco-Roman world.

By the first century BCE, the practice of rhetoric had been thoroughly enculturated, the system of techniques fully explored, the logic rationalized, and the pedagogy refined. Rhetoric permeated both the system of education and the manner of public discourse that marked the culture of Hellenism on the eve of the Roman age (Mack 1990:28).

In the first century CE rhetoric continued to be part of the Greco-Roman culture at many levels. Since Greco-Roman cities were spread throughout the Mediterranean world, so was the culture, including education. At this time rhetoric was introduced into the secondary level of education—young men (and occasionally women) fifteen to seventeen years old (Kennedy 1963:270-71). It is for this group that the special handbooks of progymnasmata, or "first exercises" were developed (G.A.Kennedy 1963:270; Malherbe 1988:6-7; Mack 1990:30; cf. Hughes 1990:95-96).

Education in the first century CE was a pursuit of the minority of people whose parents (or patron) could afford to pay for it (G.A.Kennedy 1963:269; 1972:318, 490). However, since education in rhetoric prepared for participation in the public arena, it is

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9. On Aristotle's debt to, but difference with, the sophist Isocrates see G.A.Kennedy 1991:11-12. These two figures represent the founding of competing schools of rhetoric; "it has become a commonplace to regard the subsequent history of rhetoric as falling into two traditions: the Aristotelian, which stresses logical reasoning, and the Isocratean, which puts emphasis on elegance of style and literary structure" (G.A.Kennedy 1991:11-12).
here that the general public would receive their exposure to rhetoric, although some
teachers of rhetoric even allowed the public into their lectures (G.A.Kennedy
1972:489-90).10 We can safely assume that the ears of a first century man or woman
living in the Roman empire would be sufficiently attuned to identify and understand the
rhetorical aspects of speech. That was part and parcel of being immersed in the culture
of Hellenism (G.A.Kennedy 1984:8-10).

Three types of rhetorical speeches were distinguished in the ancient world—
judicial, deliberative, and epideictic (Aristotle, Rhet. 1.3.1358b.5).11 Each had a
specific function for a typical occasion. The occasion of a judicial speech was a trial
before a judge or jury, whether in fact or as an assumed audience. The issue was the
fact or legality of a certain action or actions that took place in the past. The means of
persuasion was argument through accusation and defense and the categories being
decided were whether the accused was "just" or "unjust." The deliberative speech was
occasioned by a political debate within a council or assembly. The perceived audience
of the speaker were "critics" who had to be convinced, through persuasion and
dissuasion, of the expediency or disadvantage of a future action. The issue was whether
it would be more profitable to pursue one action over another. An epideictic speech
took place in the context of public occasions of memorial. Spectators were to be
convinced concerning questions of honour and the grounds for praise or blame in the
present. It was "less directed toward changing beliefs than to strengthening the
adherence to what is already accepted" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1971:54).

10. Some institutions were established by benefactors to provide education for free; G.A.Kennedy
1963:269.

11. Much of our summary comes from Aristotle. Olbricht's observation (1990:221) that "[i]f Paul was
affected by rhetoric, it was Greek rather than Roman," that is, Aristotle rather than the Rhetorica ad
Herenium, Cicero, or Quintillian, seems overstated. However, there is some sense in choosing for a basic
understanding Aristotle's Rhetoric as it was fundamental in antiquity (cf. Olbricht 1990:221;
12.
Concepts of noble and disgraceful actions were contrasted. The dominant means of persuasion was encomium, or warmly enthusiastic praise.

According to Aristotle there are three modes of persuasion involved in the course of a rhetorical argument (*Rhet.* 1.2.1356a). From the beginning the character, or *ethos*, of the speaker had to be established as trustworthy and knowledgeable. This was accomplished through the *exordium* which "attempts to ‘win over’ the audience and to prepare them for what is coming" (Fee 1995:15 n. 39). Appeals were made to both the good moral character and the good will of the speaker. If the speaker was unknown to the audience then his or her *ethos* could be established through the content of the argument itself. The speaker would then move to the *narratio* in which he or she would clearly establish a position relative to the issue at hand (*stasis*) and give a reason for taking this position (*ratio*) which might also include a history of the matter (past, present, and future) as a means to prepare the audience for the arguments to follow. The central component embodied the reasoned argument(s), or *logos*, put forth on behalf of the *stasis*. This can be designated variously as the *confirmatio*, *argumentatio*, or *probatio*. Finally, the speech was brought to conclusion through the *conclusio* or *peroratio*. Here the speaker would both summarize the issue and offer final arguments, sometimes in the form of exhortation, in order to persuade the audience to the course of action advocated (Fee 1995:15 n. 39). Since the goal of the argument was to get the audience to act according to the speaker's desire, *pathos*, or persuasion by emotion,

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13. Note that we here switch to Latin designations for the various parts of a rhetorical speech, in keeping with the convention of the discipline of New Testament studies; see Hughes 1989:30-43 for the connection between Aristotle and the Latin handbooks.

14. Bloomquist (1993:88) points out that while the *narratio* should be a brief and pointed statement of the issue at hand, allowance was made for considerable embellishment and even a lengthy excursus (citing Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 4.2.116-24 and 4.2.64).
was used throughout to show the benefits of choosing the speaker's position and the deficiencies of any alternative position. The entire argument would be developed along these lines (Hughes 1989:32-43):

I. Exordium
II. Narratio
III. Confirmatio/argumentatio/probatio
IV. Conclusio/peroratio

A number of supporting arguments, or proofs, were involved in rhetoric (Mack 1990:39-40). These were divided into two main types; non-technical and example. Non-technical arguments involved non-invented (atechnoi) proofs such as laws, precedent decisions, contracts, witnesses (including the torture of slaves), and oaths. Invented non-technical arguments included the strategies by which the rhetor used non-invented proofs, and supportive arguments such as, arguments from the opposite, the same, the greater, and the lesser. Supporting arguments in the category of example include historical example, analogy (parabole), and fable (mythos). These latter two were invented and taken from the worlds of nature and normal social practice.

3.2. Thessalonica

3.2.1. Introduction to 1 Thessalonians

There is little doubt among New Testament scholars that 1 Thessalonians was written by Paul. Most commentators place Paul in Corinth when he wrote to the Thessalonians, probably around 50/51 CE. It is probably the first letter that we have

15. For a summary of earlier arguments against pauline authorship see Best 1972:22-28.

16. Bruce 1982:xxxiv-xxxv; Williams 1992:9-10; According to Lührmann (1990:238) Paul must have been in either Athens or Corinth when he wrote 1 Thessalonians.
from Paul.\textsuperscript{17} Paul's primary purpose in writing the Thessalonians is to encourage the Thessalonians to persevere and make progress in their Christian life (Plummer 1918a:xviii). Paul also seems to be addressing a number of issues which are bothering the Thessalonians and about which he has received word,\textsuperscript{18} such as the fate of those Christians who have died before the parousia of Christ (4:13-18) and the signs preceding Jesus' return (5:1-11). Some have also suggested that in 2:1-12 (and 2:17-20) Paul is responding to criticism that he and the other missionaries preached for financial gain, a charge supported by their hasty departure and failure to return (Soards 1987:49-50; Bruce 1982:27-28).\textsuperscript{19}

One contentious issue surrounding 1 Thessalonians is the unity of the letter. Some have proposed that 1 Thessalonians is in fact a composite of two letters, an earlier letter

\begin{itemize}
  \item Some have argued for the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians and suggested that it was in fact written before 1 Thessalonians. Adherents of this position argue along the lines that the "present" trouble in 2 Thessalonians is in fact written as "past" in 1 Thessalonians, the internal difficulties are presented as new in 2 Thessalonians 3:11-12 but are familiar to all in 1 Thessalonians, the autograph greeting makes most sense in a first letter (2 Thessalonians 3:17-18), the Thessalonians do not need to be told of times and seasons (1 Thessalonians 5:1) because 2 Thessalonians 2:3-15 is already known, and Paul's direct responses (4:9, 13; 5:1) indicates that the Thessalonians raised questions based on 2 Thessalonians (see Manson 1953:438-47). However, in this dissertation we do not treat 2 Thessalonians as an authentic letter of Paul; see below.

  \item By using introductory formulae such as περὶ δὲ τῆς φιλαδελφίας (4:9), οὐ θελομεν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐγνοεῖν, ἄδελφοι, περὶ τῶν κοιμομένων (4:13), and περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν κοιμων (5:1) Paul seems to be responding to the Thessalonians directly. The issues he responds to may have been relayed through Timothy (1 Thessalonians 3:6). However, Malherbe (1990) raises the possibility that Paul wrote an earlier letter to the Thessalonians (which was not the canonical 2 Thessalonians) and the probability that the Thessalonians wrote back to him asking for advice. Manson (1953:443-44) suggests that Paul is responding to issues the Thessalonians raised upon receipt of 2 Thessalonians.

  \item Malherbe (1989b:35-48) suggests that Paul's antithetical style is being used to address criticisms which were typical of wandering philosophers but he is careful to note that it is not possible to determine whether Paul is defending his own actions at Thessalonica (1989b:48). Walton (1995:249) also suggests that no criticism of Paul exists at Thessalonica and that Paul is using the antithetical style "as a way of expanding and clarifying Paul's teaching." Such a position does not require the existence of external opponents of Paul at Thessalonica, as some have argued. For a summary of this position in the work of Schmithals (1972) and Johanson (1987) see Walton 1995:240-42. Schmithals (1972:123-218) understands Paul to be responding to Jewish Christian Gnostics while Johanson (1987:58, 89-93, 164-65) understands Paul to be defending his message, and himself, in light of possible questions which might be raised by the Thessalonians themselves as a result of the death of some of the community members.
\end{itemize}
(2:13-4:2) having been inserted into a later letter (1:1-2:12 and 4:3-5:28). This is based on the presence in the canonical form of two "thanksgivings" (1:2-10; 2:13-16). The earlier letter reflects Paul's warmth for the community he has recently left because of persecution, while the later letter is more didactic in tone, emphasizing Christian living and the Day of the Lord. Nevertheless, most scholars hold that 1 Thessalonians is a single letter, although some do suggest that material has been added to Paul's original letter.

The most frequently identified interpolation is the second thanksgiving (2:13-16). Arguments for this being an interpolation include the break in the material (2:13-16 do not fit the context and vss. 12 and 17 seem to fit together well without the break), the unusual language, the presence of a second thanksgiving section, the veiled allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE (2:16b), and the strongly anti-Jewish tone which contradicts Rom 9-11. All this suggests that this particular passage was added after Paul's death. It was inserted to reflect the developing tensions between non-Christians Jews and Christians after the Jewish war (66-70 CE).

Those who view 2:13-16 as authentic and original point to a number of other features: the concrete situation of opposition in 2:14 fits with the suggestion of suffering elsewhere in the letter (1:6; 2:2), the use of "imitation" in 2:14 is a typical pauline expression/motif, as is the liturgical or creedal language of 2:15, and vs. 17 fits no better after vs. 12 than after vs. 16. It is not our intention to mediate this position


nor to present compelling arguments of one over the other. Although I tend towards the interpolation theory, there are instances in which 2:13-16 does seem to confirm the predominant picture we will be developing of the Thessalonian church. The omission of this passage from the canonical letter suggest that the remaining material can be viewed as one letter, not two, as the second thanksgiving section, the basis for the two-letter hypothesis, is no longer present. Overall, it seems best to omit 2:13-16 from our discussion due to the controversy surrounding its authenticity.

The most contentious issue surrounding the Thessalonian correspondence is the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians. Strong arguments can be marshalled both for and against Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians, and again it is beyond the scope of our purpose to mediate between the two sides. Murphy-O'Connor (1996:111) states that "[t]he arguments against the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians are so weak that it is preferable to accept the traditional ascription of the letter to Paul" (for details see 1996:110-14). However, for our purposes, we will rest our arguments on that which is

23. For an extensive survey of the various theories see R.F.Collins 1979. A more recent survey and an extensive treatment of the passage is that of Schlueter 1994, who argues that the passage is genuine and that Paul uses hyperbole with reference to the suffering of the Judeans in order to create solidarity between the Thessalonians and the Judean Christians.

24. I.e., the reference to work; the reference to "your own fellow countrymen" who are distinguished from the "Judean Jews" and indicates that both the Thessalonian Christians and their persecutors are Gentiles, not Jews.

25. Some scholars also question 5:1-11 as an interpolation by a writer of the Lukan school who sought to correct false inferences drawn from 4:13-18 (Friedrich 1973). However, this position has not won general acceptance. See Jewett 1986:41-42 for a summary.

26. The primary points are summarized by Donfried (1993a:130-31; 1993c:84-86): "Factors most frequently mentioned in connection with the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians include: (1) the apparent literary dependence of 2 Thessalonians on 1 Thessalonians; (2) the tensions, if not contradictions, that are said to exist between 2 Thess. 2.3-12 and 1 Thess. 4.13-5.11; (3) the paucity of personal references and the formal, solemn tone of 2 Thessalonians; and (4) the references to forgery in 2 Thess. 2.2 and 3.17." For more detail see Menken 1994:27-43. A more detailed discussion of the history of scholarship is found in Jewett 1986:3-18 and Wanamaker 1990:17-28.
almost universally held to be authentically Pauline, namely 1 Thessalonians. 27 Nevertheless, we will periodically make reference to 2 Thessalonians in order to show where that letter can support some aspects of the Thessalonian Christian community we will examine in 1 Thessalonians. It seems reasonable to conclude with Donfried (1985:352; cf. 1993a:128-32) that 2 Thessalonians is "non-Pauline in the technical sense but that it is related to a concrete situation in Thessalonica." 28 As such, it can reflect on the social makeup of the Thessalonian church, albeit in a secondary manner.

### 3.2.1.1. The Audience of 1 Thessalonians

The question of the makeup of the audience is what we are investigating here. However, it is important to establish at the beginning that it does not seem to have been composed of any significant number of Jews. Some features of 1 Thessalonians confirms this aspect of the congregation. The primary evidence comes from 1 Thess 1:9 which indicates that prior to their conversion the Thessalonians had been involved in worshipping idols and thus were not Jewish or God-fearers. 29 In 1 Thessalonians Paul gives no special attention to Jewish persons or practices (cf. Best 1972:5), and there is little use of the Old Testament. While Paul may use words and phrases from

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27. I am most persuaded by the distinct differences in the body of the 2 Thessalonians on the events surrounding the coming (parousia) of Jesus and the timetable for Jesus coming ("thief in the night" in 1 Thess 5:2 verses Satan’s "power, signs, lying wonders" in 2 Thess 2:9), and cautiously maintain that 2 Thessalonians is not a genuine letter of Paul. Donfried (1993a:132-34) raises the interesting possibility that it is written by Timothy.

28. Donfried (1993a:134) also maintains that it is written not long after 1 Thessalonians.

29. Paul would not describe Jews (or God-fearers) as turning from idols to God; Vincent 1912:87; Plummer 1918:13; Neil 1950:27; Best 1972:82; R.F.Collins 1984:287; Jewett 1986:118-19; Wanamaker 1990:85 D.J.Williams 1992:35. Holtz (1986:10) suggests that Paul is referring to the time before they became "God-fearers" and attached themselves to the synagogue, but this is an unlikely interpretation which relies on the account of Acts 17:1-4. Note also that if 2:14-16 is taken as authentic then Paul’s distinction between the Thessalonians’ persecution by their "own countrymen" (ιπτό τῶν ἴδιων συμφύλτυκτων) and the persecution of those in Judea by "the Jews" (ιπτό τῶν Ἰουδαίων) also suggests that the Thessalonians are not themselves Jewish (nor in conflict with a Jewish group). "Fellow countrymen" (συμφύλτυκτοι) occurs nowhere else in the New Testament although "fellow-citizens" (συμπολίται) is used at Eph 2:19.
the LXX that occurred to him, he does not do so deliberately; Plummer (1918a:xx-xxii) lists eight possible cases where reference to the LXX may occur, none of which are obviously "deliberate." Thus, "although, consciously or unconsciously, [Paul] sometimes uses the language of the LXX, yet he nowhere quotes the O.T., which would have little interest for imperfectly instructed Macedonian converts" (Plummer 1918a:xiv). While we cannot say absolutely that there were no Jewish persons at Thessalonica, as proving a negative is impossible, it does seem that "Gentiles formed the bulk of the Thessalonian Church" Plummer (1918a:xvi). If there were any Jews and "God-fearers" in the congregation their presence was small enough that their Jewish background does not seem to be a factor in the overall ethos of the congregation. As Lühmann (1990:239) states, "no reader of this letter would think of former Jews among the Thessalonians if they had not been so informed by Luke." This is further

30. These are 2:4 (Jer 12:3); 2:16 (Gen 15:16; Dan 8:23); 2:19 (Prov 16:31; cf. Exek 16:12, 23:42); 4:5 (Ps 78[79]:6; Jer 10:25 [cf. 9:3]); 4:6 (Deut 32:32; Ps 93[94]:1); 4:8 (Ezek 37:14); 5:8 (Is 59:17; Wis 5:18); 5:22 (Job 1:1, 2:3).

31. More interesting are his suggestions of Paul's use of sayings of Jesus, particularly four Q passages (Plummer 1918a:xxii-xxiv). However, Tuckett (1990:160-82) has shown that, with the possible exception of 1 Thess 5:2, Paul does not have access to a block of Jesus tradition and that "Paul's language can be most adequately explained by Paul's use of other traditions and his own ideas" (1990:182, emphasis his).

32. Cf. R.F. Collins (1993:105): "Since Paul's letter contains no clear citation of the Jewish scriptures and since the community was composed of those who had been pagans (1:9), it is difficult to make the case, on the basis of possible analogies with Jewish synagogal services, that the community at Thessalonica gathered to listen to a reading from the Torah."

33. Most commentators acknowledge the predominance of Gentiles in the congregation, while allowing for a few Jews (usually based on the account in Acts): Eadie 1877:12-13; Dobschütz 1909:11; Frame 1912:3-4; Plummer 1918a:xvi; Rigaux 1956:20; Best 1972:5; Laub 1976:18, 20; Bruce 1982:xxii-xxiii; Jewett 1986:118-19; Wanamaker 1990:85.

34. As Plummer (1918a:xvi) asserts with regard to the Jews and "God-fearers" who converted according to Acts 17, "there is no trace of them in these two Epistles" (1918:24). We will take up the issue of the presentation in Acts, and particularly the Lukan presentation of the conversion of Jews and "God-fearers" at Thessalonica and Philippi in §4.2, below. Best (1972:5) notes that "[t]he variant reading of the Western text of Acts 17.4, 'many of the God-fearers and a large number of Gentiles', is probably an attempt to minimize the difference between Acts and 1 Th."
confirmed by the fact that there is almost no literary or archaeological evidence outside of Acts 17:1-9 for the presence of Jews at Thessalonica.\footnote{19}{"Even the famous passage from Philo's \textit{Embassy to Gaius} (281), where he tries to show how widespread Judaism was at the time, counts Macedonia only in general among other provinces, not Thessalonica specifically, as he does Corinth" (Lührmann 1990:239). We will investigate the evidence in more detail below in §4.2.5.}

\subsection*{3.2.2. Rhetorical Analysis of 1 Thessalonians}

As with most of Paul's letters, 1 Thessalonians reflects the characteristic features of ancient letters. The opening salutation and grace wish (1:1) is followed by a thanksgiving (1:2-10), and the letter ends with a characteristic letter closing (5:23-28). The body of the letter (2:1—5:22) is sometimes divided into two sections, the body proper (2:1—3:13) and a lengthy paraenetic section (4:1—5:22). This latter section has led many to classify 1 Thessalonians as a paraenetic letter (Boers 1975:158; Stowers 1986:96; Aune 1987:206; Malherbe 1989b:49; 1992:279-93), although Jewett (1986:71) has suggested that it best fits the category of "praising" or "thankful" letter.\footnote{20}{In this latter type of letter "approval is expressed, encouragement is given, and gratitude is shown" (Jewett 1986:71). A. Smith 1995 examines 1 Thessalonians as a letter of consolation.}

Those who analyze the rhetoric of 1 Thessalonians usually fall into one of two camps: those who understand the letter as deliberative (G.A. Kennedy 1984:142-44; Johanson 1987 [more cautiously]) and those who understand it as epideictic (Jewett 1986:71-72; Lyons 1985:219-21; Hughes 1990; Wueflner 1990; Wanamaker 1990:48; Donfried 1993b:3-5; Walton 1995:250).\footnote{21}{For a summary of the arguments used by each of these writers see Walton 1995:233-36 and/or Wanamaker 1990:46-48. For a further survey of rhetorical and structural analyses of 1 Thessalonians see Olbricht 1990:217-20. Walton (1995:239) points out that although Olbricht (1990) does not think that 1 Thessalonians can be classified according to one particular genre his description of the sub-genre 'reconfirmational church rhetoric' "sounds rather like epideictic."} We noted earlier that deliberative rhetoric attempts to persuade the audience to pursue a particular course of action. Those who
view 1 Thessalonians as deliberative focus on Paul's attempts to persuade the Thessalonians to "stand fast in the Lord" (3:8; so Kennedy 1984:142) or to adopt a particular lifestyle (i.e., 4:1-8; 5:12-22) or belief (4:13-18; 5:1-11; Johanson 1987:165-66). However, many others have noticed that 1 Thessalonians is "filled with praise for the readers because of their exemplary behaviour"—1:2-3, 6-10; [2:13-14]; 2:19-20; 3:6-9; 4:1-2, 9-10 (Wanamaker 1990:47). Even in the most obvious exhortation in the letter, 4:1-8, Paul is careful to reaffirm that the Thessalonians are already carrying out what he is advocating, he is simply encouraging them to do so "more and more" (ινα περισσεύητε μᾶλλον, 4:1b; cf. 4:10). This emphasis on praise for that which is already being done in the present is characteristic of epideictic rhetoric. Thus, 1 Thessalonians is best understood as epideictic.

The paraenetic nature of 1 Thessalonians also fits into the rhetorical designation of epideictic, as epideictic rhetoric could often include paraenetic (Wanamaker 1990:48; cf. Lyons 1985:220). Epideictic rhetoric sometimes included a focus on action. Funeral orations and panegyrics in particular "were intended to be persuasive and often imply some need for actions, though in a more general way than does deliberative oratory" (G.A.Kennedy 1984:73; cf. Basevi and Chapa 1993:354-55). They "take on a more or less subtle deliberative purpose" (G.A.Kennedy 1984:74). One of the chief goals of epideictic was "the strengthening of audience adherence to some value, as the basis for a general policy of action" (G.A.Kennedy 1984:74), which Kennedy illustrates from modern preaching, but is apropos for 1 Thessalonians (and Philippians): "it usually aims to strengthen Christian belief and induce a congregation

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38. Others note the paraenetic nature of much of the material as an epistolary designation without applying the categories of rhetorical criticism; so Malherbe 1992:279-93; Aune 1987:206; Boers 1975:158.

39. "This is a standard theme in paraenetic letters where authors assume their readers are living and acting as they should and wish to encourage them to continue putting into practice what they know" (Wanamaker 1990:149; cf. Stowers 1986:103).
to lead the Christian life" (G.A.Kennedy 1984:74). The epideictic character of 1 Thessalonians "indicates Paul's relative satisfaction with the progress of the Thessalonians and the absence of serious problems requiring correction" (Wanamaker 1990:47).

Using the categories of rhetorical analysis, 1 Thessalonians evidences the following structure:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Type</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exordium</td>
<td>1:2—2:12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Narratio</td>
<td>2:17—3:13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Probatio</td>
<td>4:1—5:11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peroratio</td>
<td>5:12-28</td>
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The central concern of the letter is found in 2:17-20:

'Ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἀδελφοί, ἀπορφανισθέντες ἀφ' ὑμῶν πρὸς καιρὸν ὠρας, προσώπως οὐ καρδίᾳ, περισσοτέρως ἐσπουδάσαμεν τὸ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν ἰδεῖν εἰν πολλῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ. διότι ἠθλήσαμεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐγὼ μὲν Παύλος καὶ ἄπαξ καὶ δίς, καὶ ἐνέκοψον ἡμᾶς ὁ σατανᾶς. τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐλπίς ἡ χαρά ἡ στέφανος καυχήσεως—ἡ οὐχὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς—ἐκπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ; ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε ἡ δόξα ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ χαρά.

40. Cf. Wuehler's conclusion (1987:460) that "epideictic rhetoric is no longer simply equatable with panegyric, but rather is viewed as essentially educational in orientation."

41. As far as I know, these are my own rhetorical divisions of the letter. While there is fairly widespread agreement that 1 Thessalonians is epideictic, there is little consensus as to how the letter is structured. Donfried (1993b:6-7) is in basic agreement with the detailed analysis of Hughes (1990:94-116) but these two are quite different from Jewett (1986:72-76), who has almost the same divisions as the "form-critical" divisions noted by Boers (1976; pointed out by Olbright 1990:217). Wanamaker (1990:49) has some elements in common with each of these camps. The primary differences lie in the extent of the exordium and the probatio. Olbricht (1990:235) classifies almost the entire letter as probatio (*proof* 2:1—5:11), as does Wuehler (1990:130-34).

42. In deliberative and judicial rhetoric the central concern is found in the partitio, at the end of the narratio (Hughes 1989:38-41). However, according to Aristotle, "[i]n the epideictic style the narrative should not be consecutive but disjointed" (Rhet. 3.16.1416b.1, LCL). G.A.Kennedy (1991:269 n. 215) notes that, "[t]o demonstrate the qualities of the subject the orator will need to narrate actions, such as valor in war; but these narrative passages will be scattered through the speech as needed in support of the claims made." Since Paul explicitly invokes honour-language in 2:17-20 in the context of an epideictic "speech" it is better to understand this passage as the primary expression of the stasis, although recognizing that it is recapitulated in the prayers of 3:11-13, where one would find the partitio in a deliberative or judicial speech.
Paul writes to reassure the Thessalonian Christians of the soundness of their faith and of his continued concern for them. Specific problems which have been raised by the Thessalonians are addressed (φιλοσελφιας, 4:9-12; those who have died, 4:13-18; times and seasons, 5:1-12), but are framed within Paul’s reaffirmation that they are fulfilling the obligations of their commitment to the living and true God (1:3; 4:1b, 9; 5:1-2, 11). At the opening of the narratio Paul affirms that they are his δόξα and his χαρά (2:19)—words of very high praise for the Thessalonians.

Following the epistolary opening (1:1) Paul’s thanksgiving begins the extended exordium (1:2—2:12). Paul exploits the function of the exordium to its fullest, both to introduce a number of topics of the letter and to establish his own ethos. Paul begins with high praise for the Thessalonians; apart from living out the triad of faith, hope, and love (1:3) they are chosen by God (1:4) and have become an example to believers elsewhere (1:7-8). The issues of their living out their faith in community (1:3) and the coming of Christ (1:10) are raised but not elaborated until later in the letter (4:1-12)

43. In keeping with the convention of most commentators on this letter I will speak of “Paul” addressing the Thessalonians as he is usually credited with the writing of the letter. However, it should be noted that the letter is opened with greetings from three persons—Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy—and the second person plural is used, for the most part, throughout the letter.

44. Cf. Boers (1975:158): “The purpose of the letter is identified correctly by Bjerkelund [1967:134] with the statement that Paul wished ‘to express to the congregation his joy about them and his satisfaction with them—and furthermore to spur them on to a way of life pleasing to God’.”

45. On Paul’s ethos throughout 1 Thessalonians see Olbricht 1990:228-30. Olbricht (1990:228) states, “I am prepared to argue that the major form of proof from an Aristotelian standpoint in 1 Thessalonians is ethos, as contrasted with Galatians, where it is logos.”

46. Ware’s attempt (1992:126-31) to show how 1 Thess 1:5-8 indicates that the Thessalonians were more than a paradigm of Christian community for others but were actively imitating Paul in his missionizing activity is unconvincing. Paul not only does not command his congregations to preach the gospel (Ware 1992:126), he does not expect them as congregations to do so (although some individuals within congregations clearly are “fellow-workers” with Paul). Barclay (1993:522-24) likewise misreads the evidence in suggesting that the αὐταχεία (1 Thess 5:14) are those who are have forsaken work to undertake aggressive evangelism in Thessalonica. He bases this on 1 Thess 1:8 and 4:10, which have to do with the Thessalonians reputation as an example to other believers, not their missionary efforts. I do not think that they were a missionary church.
and 4:13—5:11 respectively). However, the emphasis of the exordium is Paul's ethos as it is expressed in his relationship with the Thessalonians. He opens by reminding them that they already know "what kind of men we proved to be" in bringing to the Thessalonians the gospel in word and power, with the Holy Spirit and with conviction (1:5). It is noteworthy that the Thessalonians are the only group whom Paul notes already imitate him (1:6) rather than are exhorted to imitate him. In fact, in imitating the Thessalonians, other Christian groups also comment on this intimate relationship that the Thessalonians have with Paul (1:10).

Paul's ethos becomes the primary focus of the second half of the exordium. Paul and his companions brought the gospel to the Thessalonians with full approval from God (2:4). Their motives were not impure (2:5-6) nor did they act improperly (2:9-10) but treated the Thessalonians as care givers with children (2:7, 11-12)—"being affectionately desirous of you, we were ready to share with you not only the gospel of God but also our own selves, because you had become very dear to us" (2:8). Paul's self-praise is an example of ancient paraenetic. Paraenetic could be used in two ways in antiquity, either as a means to alter people's behaviour (as in deliberative rhetoric) or as a means to confirm people in their present behaviour (its function in epideictic rhetoric). It is in the latter sense which it is functioning in l Thess 2:1-12 (Wanamaker 1990:48).

47. De Boer 1962:123; Walton 1995:245-46; Lyons 1985:190-91; Malherbe 1989b:57; Castelli 1991:90-93. Stanley (1959:865) notes that the passive force of the verb ἀγαθοπράπειν indicates that God is the unnamed agent here, which excludes any ordinary kind of conscious imitation." Stanley (1959:866) also notes the addition of "and of the Lord" in verse 6 as an "afterthought." For other interpretations see De Boer 1962:120-21. On imitation of Paul see also 1 Cor 4:16; 11:1; Phil 3:17 (discussed below); cf. Phil 4:9; Gal 4:12.

48. We suggested earlier that 2:13-16 was probably not part of the original letter to the Thessalonians. However, we should mention that if it were found to be authentic then it would continue the exordium with the antithesis of the praise which has predominated to this point. In this section blame is placed on those who would attempt to hinder the Thessalonians faith, just as others have hindered Christians elsewhere. This "blame" is the antithesis of praise and is appropriate for an epideictic speech.
The narratio begins at 2:17 and extends to 3:13. Paul opens in 2:17-20 with the central concern of the letter. He has dwelt at length on his own ethos and his relationship to the Thessalonians in order to prepare them for the full impact of his claim—his honour is intimately tied to their faith (2:19-20). Paul emphasizes here his concern for his honour before God at the parousia of Christ (2:19) although he has already made it clear that the faith of the Thessalonians also brings him honour within the human realm (1:7-9).

Having already reviewed his past history with the Thessalonians he must, in the narratio, elaborate on their present and future history together. He has noted his desire to be with them again (2:17-18) so he next explains why Timothy was sent in his stead and praises the Thessalonians on the basis of the report he has received from Timothy (3:1-6). Although he was fearful that they might have given up their faith (dishonouring Paul) he is pleased to hear that their faith is growing stronger (3:5-6). As to the possibility of a future reunion Paul states that he is praying night and day for such (3:10), and he even includes an example of the type of prayer offered (3:11-13). This prayer serves to recapitulate Paul's central concern: that the Thessalonians continue in the way they are living the Christian life. Throughout both the exordium and the narratio Paul has affirmed the good relationship he has with the Thessalonians. Paul nowhere in the letter rebukes the Thessalonians as a whole, but encourages them to continue the path upon which they have embarked (4:1, 10); "Their faith required completion rather than correction" (Moffatt 1918:69). Timothy is sent to strengthen them (3:2) and Paul hopes to come that he may "supply what is lacking" in their faith (3:10) even praying that their faith increases (3:11-12).
Verse 4:1 opens the next rhetorical unit,49 the probatio, in which reasons are offered to support Paul's claim that the Thessalonians are his "glory and joy."

Although Paul offers some exhortation, it is provided in a context of encouragement and clarification. Verses 4:1-8 opens with an exhortation (ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν), although this aspect is tempered somewhat by Paul's note that they are already fulfilling this obligation (4:1), he simply wants them to increase their commitment to it (Wanamaker 1990:149; Richard 1995:180). This is true also for his response to their questions about φιλαδελφία in 4:9-12 (see vv. 9-10) and their concern about "times and seasons" in 5:1-11 (see vv. 1-2).50 In all these cases Paul takes the opportunity to affirm the Thessalonians in what they are already doing (4:1, 10; 5:11). In 4:13-17 Paul encourages the Thessalonians concerning the status of the "dead in Christ" but uses the opportunity to also note that "we who are alive," including himself with the Thessalonians, will meet the Lord at his parousia—tying this section to his affirmation in 2:19-20. All four of these units (4:1-8, 9-12, 13-18; 5:1-11) not only provide the Thessalonians with indications for their life of faith, but serve as opportunities for Paul to prove what he states earlier, that their faithfulness in the life of faith will be the source of his honour at Jesus' parousia.

The final rhetorical unit, the peroratio, forms the final summation of the letter and is found in 5:12-28. The peroratio can often include an exhortation and Paul follows this convention in exhorting respect for the community leaders and mutual exhortation and encouragement among the members of the community. The final benediction (5:23-24) recalls Paul's central concern by invoking God to sanctify

49. Cf. Achtemeier 1990:86 who notes that τὸ λαοῦτον acts in Philippians as a marker for the listeners that a topic has finished and another is about to begin.

50. Paul's opening περὶ δὲ in 4:9 and 5:1 and the περὶ in 5:13 suggest that Paul is responding to questions posed by the Thessalonians, either in writing or through Timothy; Malherbe 1990.
completely (ἀγιάσας ὑμᾶς ὀλοτελεῖς) the Thessalonians, keeping them complete
(ὅλοκληρον) and without blame (ἀμέμπτως) until the parousia of Jesus.

Of necessity this analysis of 1 Thessalonians has skipped over many important
details in the text, only some of which we will return to in the ensuing analysis.
However, it is important to have established an overview of how Paul’s appeal to the
Thessalonians works in his letter. We can now examine some of the rhetorical appeals
in more detail to see what information we can learn about the social location of the
audience presupposed in 1 Thessalonians.

3.2.3. Social Location of the Thessalonian Christians

3.2.3.1. The Thessalonians as Manual Labourers

In the opening thanksgiving of 1 Thessalonians Paul presents the triad of "faith,
hope, and love" with images of work: μνημονεύοντες ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐργοῦ τῆς πίστεως καὶ
tοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος (1:3). The triad occurs again in
1 Thess 5:8: ἑνδυσάμενοι θώρακα πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ περικεφαλαίαν ἐλπίδα
σωτηρίας. In 1 Thess these three aspects of the Christian life resonate throughout the
letter as Paul refers to each in a number of ways: πίστις (1:8; 3:2, 5, 6, 7, 10; cf.
ἀγαπάω, 1:4; 4:9; ἀγαπητός, 2:8).51

Bossman (1995:73) is correct in his assessment that the statement of 1 Thess 1:3
reflects "Paul’s reading of the assembly’s standards," especially as they are repeatedly
reaffirmed throughout the letter. The triad of "faith, hope, and love" reflect the
corporate values of the Thessalonians, as well as for others to whom they have become

51. Elsewhere Paul presents the triad simply as "faith, hope, and love" (1 Cor 13:13; cf. Col 1:4-5; see
also Rom 5:1-5). Often two of the elements are linked; see Bossman 1995:73.
the example to be imitated (Bossman 1995:73). Paul's thanksgiving statement serves as a word of praise "intended to create a positive emotion or pathos in the readers" (Wanamaker 1990:75). However, Bossman overlooks the significance of "work, labour, and steadfastness." Coupled with the assembly's standards, these too must reflect the "corporate values" of the Thessalonians. As such, they can be used to understand where their values lie.

Paul notes the Thessalonians "endurance of hope" (ὑπομονής τῆς ἐλπίδος, 1:3). Since the Thessalonians have experienced some type of distress (θλιψίς, 1:6) Paul's words would underline the strength of their commitment to the Christian life.

"Endurance" (ὑπομονή) can indicate "heroism" or inward strength in the face of outward difficulty. In the mythology of antiquity Heroes often underwent all kinds of stressful tasks in which they evidenced their courage and endurance (R.F.Collins 1993:249 n. 21; Dibelius 1937:3). Such heroic endurance would be familiar to Macedonians whose tombstones often make reference to or depict in relief two important heroes, the Thracian Horseman and Herakles. Thus, the third element of Paul's triad would have been received as high praise for the Thessalonians.

This makes the first two elements of the triad more significant for our study of the social location of the Thessalonian Christians. The overall appeal of Paul's statement must surely resonate with the situation of the Thessalonians themselves. Paul begins with reference to their "work of faith" (ἐργον τῆς πίστεως). The word ἐργον

52. Bossmann (1995:75) concludes that "[t]he social context of the assembly's faith, hope, and love, then is being in relationship with Jesus in response to a calling from God as Father of the designated messianic Son and Lord Jesus, who by his own suffering demonstrated his loyalty and obedience to the Father. Like him, the assembly as well as Paul accept adversity as requisite filial discipline."

53. On the meaning of θλιψίς see below.

54. According to Abrahamsen (1989b:61) there are literally thousands of depictions of the Thracian Horseman/Hero motif on grave monuments in Macedonia and Thrace (cf. Hoddinott 1981:169-75). For examples in our database see IG X/2 288 [25], 289 [26], CIG 2007f [46]. We will discuss this further in chapter 6.
has clear connections with work, being the most frequently used word for such.\textsuperscript{55} Paul uses it elsewhere in the letter to describe that which the community’s leaders do (5:3). The cognate verb \emph{ἐργάζομαι} is used of manual labour, both that of Paul and his companions while at Thessalonica (2:9) and that of the Thessalonians themselves (4:11). In 3:2 Paul also describes Timothy as a "fellow-worker" (συνεργάζομαι).\textsuperscript{56} However, unlike Epaphroditus in Philippians, Timothy is not simply Paul’s fellow-worker, he is sent with the recommendation of being "God’s fellow-worker" in the gospel of Christ.\textsuperscript{57}

Paul also makes reference to the Thessalonians’ "labour of love" (κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης). \textsuperscript{58} קפס indicates more than manual labour; "it includes charitable toil of all kinds, and it implies more energy, persistence, and fatigue than mere ‘work’ (ἐργαν)" (Plummer 1918a:8; LSJ s.v.). Paul uses קפס two other times in 1 Thessalonians, in

\textsuperscript{55} It is often applied by Paul for that done in the Christian life, that done by non-Christians, and that done under the law. However, its basic meaning is manual labour (LSJ s.v.). The word ἐργαν and its cognates is commonly employed not only in 1 Thessalonians and Philippians but throughout the Pauline corpus and the entire New Testament canon; ἐργαν is used 39x in the Pauline epistles, 9x in Ephesians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, and 20x in the Pastorals; ἐργάζομαι is used 12x by Paul, once in each of Ephesians and Colossians, 4x in 2 Thessalonians, and not at all in the Pastorals. We cite the examples in 1 Thessalonians not as unique instances but in order to highlight what they might suggest about the audience in this letter. The absence of such words would in fact be a more significant piece of data, given Paul’s tendency to use the word.

\textsuperscript{56} In the disputed section of the letter (2:13-17) ἐνεργεῖω is used of God’s work in the Thessalonians through his word (2:13).

\textsuperscript{57} There are a number of readings of this verse in the manuscript evidence. The external evidence (esp. κ, A, and the diversity of versions) suggests καὶ δικαίον τοῦ θεοῦ is the original. However, the reading καὶ συνεργάζον τοῦ θεοῦ (original reading of D, 33, some Old Latin mss, and Patristic writers) best explains the others, as a scribe would be more likely to object to Timothy being God’s fellow-worker by either changing συνεργάζον to δικαίον or deleting the words τοῦ θεοῦ (B, 1962); for a detailed discussion see Metzger 1971:631. The UBS committee gives the reading καὶ συνεργάζον τοῦ θεοῦ a {B} rating.

\textsuperscript{58} Paul uses קפס three times in 1 Thess and only seven times elsewhere (six in the Corinthian correspondence [1 Cor 3:8; 15:58; 2 Cor 6:5; 10:15; 11:23, 27] and once in Galatians 6:17; cf. 2 Thess 3:8). The two words ἐργαν and קפס are only used in combination one other time by Paul, in 1 Cor 15:58, although the verb קפס is used with the noun ἐργαν in describing the Thessalonian leaders in 1 Thess 5:12-13; see also 1 Cor 4:12 where קפס is used with ἐργάζομαι; cf. Eph 4:28; Col 1:29 (ἐνεργεῖω).
both instances with reference to the type of ministry Paul had among the Thessalonians (2:9; 3:5). The cognate verb κοπιάω is used of the community leaders (5:12).59 Clearly, there is an emphasis on work in 1 Thessalonians.

We saw above that Paul is particularly concerned to establish his *ethos* in the second part of the *exordium* of the letter: "You know what kind of men we proved to be among you for your sake" (1:5). This is elaborated in 2:1-12 where Paul notes his blameless moral conduct (2:3, 5-6, 9-10; cf. 4:1-7), his accountability towards God (2:5; cf. 4:1), and his encouragement and exhortation (2:7-8, 11-12; cf. 4:1, 18; 5:11).60 In the midst of this he emphasizes the nature of his ministry among the Thessalonians: Μημονεύετε γάρ, ἄδελφοι, τὸν κόπον ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν μόχθος νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐγραζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἔπιβαρήσαί τινα ὑμῶν ἐκηρύξαμεν εἰς ὑμᾶς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ (2:9). In using the verb ἐγράζομαι, Paul is clearly indicating manual labour (LSJ s.v.). The combination of κόπος and μόχθος indicates that the labour was physically challenging. Used together, they suggest "fatigue and weariness, hardship and distress" (R.F. Collins 1993:11).61 Paul does not underplay but in fact highlights his own manual labour in the midst of establishing his *ethos*. Later Paul encourages the Thessalonians to continue to live in a manner pleasing to God "as you learned from us" (4:1) and exhorts them to "work with your hands" (ἐργάζεσθαι ταῖς

59. Paul uses κοπιάω eight times elsewhere: Rom 16:6, 12 (2x); 1 Cor 4:12; 15:10; 16:16; Gal 4:11; Phil 2:16.

60. Cf. Lyons 1985:185-201 for a detailed examination. Lyons (1985:221) concludes that "[t]he autobiographical remarks in 1 Thessalonians function paraenetically to remind Paul's converts of the Christian ethical values they share, as embodied in the ethos of their *typos*.

61. They also suggest that the labour continued on for some time, certainly longer than the three week stay indicated by Acts 17.
Hock (1980:66) is correct in suggesting that Paul's tentmaking cannot be attributed to "his taking up a rabbinic ideal of combining study of Torah with the practice of trade" and thus seen by him as positive. Rather, Paul saw his trade as a necessary, but not positive, part of his apostolic self-understanding—he was able to "boast in his weakness as an artisan" (1980:67). This is due to Paul's social standing; Paul came from a rank which considered working at a trade "slavish and demeaning," namely, the provincial aristocratic class, and he reflects such an attitude in 1 Cor 9:19 and 2 Cor 11:7 (Hock 1978:555-64).

In antiquity an artisan's life was not easy, but not the worst place to be in the social strata of antiquity. For the most part artisans could earn their daily bread, if they worked long and hard enough (cf. 1 Thess 4:11-12). Some could even rise to modest affluence and thus have money to spend. However, for most, they could expect to earn enough daily for "a little bread and smoked fish," and thus feed their family, but savings were out of the question. By definition artisans were considered lower rank; their work was considered slavish, even if they themselves were freeborn, as was the case with Paul. Bending over to work was also considered a slavish position which no self-respecting elite person would willingly assume. A free man who took up a trade

62. The word ἰδιος is omitted in a number of important ms: the second corrector of Κ, B, the original hand of D, F G Ψ, 6, 104, 365, 1175, 1739, 1881, pc, syh. It is included in the Byzantine texts, along with the original hand of Κ, A, and the first corrector of D. The two readings have essentially equal weight in external evidence and internal criteria are not very helpful. The omission in the original would not much affect the meaning of the phrase.

63. In doing so he uses a phrase similar to that of 1 Cor 4:12 where he states that he worked with his own hands (ἐργαζόμενοι τοῖς ἰδιοῖς χερσίν). However, there is a difference in the two uses. In 1 Cor 4:12 Paul's handwork is linked to his hardships as an apostle and serves as a contrast to the Corinthians' claim to wisdom and riches. In 1 Thessalonians Paul is not contrasting the recipients with himself.

64. On the generally negative view of manual labour in antiquity see below.

65. Hock 1980:35; Finley 1973:73. Lucian (Fug. 12) illustrates this well: "Their trades, however, were petty, laborious, and barely able to supply them with just enough" (LCL).
was viewed as having done something humiliating. Plying a trade was also denigrated as it left no time for building friendships or developing one's virtue. Thus, artisans were considered incapable of attaining virtue or they were viewed as uneducated. Of course, many trades were harmful to the body, either by their requirement of physical exertion or by their sedentary character.

Artisans were "stigmatized as slavish, uneducated, and often useless" and "were frequently or abused, often victimized, seldom if ever invited to dinner, and never accorded status" (Hock 1980:36; cf. Joshel 1992:63-69; Garnsey 1980:35).66 Paul describes his own situation as enslavement (1 Cor 9:19) and a humiliation (2 Cor 11:7) and says he is without status (1 Cor 4:10) and reviled (1 Cor 4:12); probably all of this stems from his being an artisan. Thus, Paul's claiming to work "night and day" and his "exhausting toil" (1 Thess 2:9) are not exaggerations but reflect the conditions of the artisans of the first century. For a large part, his chosen profession combined with his itinerancy probably accounts for his hardships recounted in the peristasis catalogues: hungry and thirsty (1 Cor 4:11; 2 Cor 6:5; 11:27), cold (2 Cor 11:27), naked (1 Cor 4:11; 2 Cor 11:27), and tired (2 Cor 6:5; 11:27).67

Despite this negative attitude towards manual labour, in 1 Thessalonians Paul's language about work reflects a more positive attitude, a clear indication of where to locate the Thessalonians on the social map of antiquity. We saw earlier that Paul's central message in 1 Thessalonians is to reaffirm the Christians at Thessalonica that they are his "glory" and his "joy" (2:20). Throughout the letter Paul suggests that they

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66. MacMullen's "lexicon of snobbery" (1974:138-41; cf. 114-16) suggests that "[o]ccupations having to do with money or 'trade' are looked down on" (Grant 1977:81). On later Jewish and Christian attitudes to various occupations see Grant 1977:79-87. Cf. Plutarch's comment, "while we delight in the work [of craftsmen and artisans], we despise the workman... for it does not of necessity follow that, if the work delights you with its graces, the one who wrought it is worthy of your esteem" (Vitae, "Pericles" 1.4—2.2, LCL).

67. The artisan's life also explains Paul's need to rely on the patronage of others such as Phoebe (Rom 16:1-2; Whelan 1993) and the Philippian church (Phil 4:10-20; 2 Cor 11:9).
share his own social level and are themselves manual workers. To be placed in such a low ranking category as manual worker if one occupied a higher rank would represent not praise but denigration and dishonour—certainly it would be grounds to reject Paul and his message. In fact, it would represent a challenge to one’s honour which could not go unanswered; Paul would not gain friends but make enemies with such bold claims if they were being made among the elite. Thus, the Thessalonians must be among the lower rank persons of ancient society. That Paul does not disparage but rather commends work confirms that the Thessalonians are themselves manual workers.

3.2.3.2. The Thessalonians’ Occupation

Presumably Paul and the Thessalonians worked at the same trade, or at least trades within the same general area thus facilitating contact between Paul and the Thessalonians. And it was "while" at work that Paul preached the gospel and

68. Those who also understand the Thessalonians to be manual workers include Rigaux 1956:521; Best 1972:176; Hock 1980:42-47; Meeks 1983:64-5; Jewett 1986:120-21; Russell 1988:111-12; Schöllgen 1988:76; Kloppenborg 1993b:267; Murphy-O’Connor 1996:117; Frame (1912, although he suggests that they may have been involved in a trade other than that of Paul). Jewett (1986:120) points out that this was noted as early as the nineteenth century by Lünemann (1880:123). Cf. Jewett 1993:23-31 who shows that early Christians in Rome were mostly slaves and lower rank manual workers.

69. Barclay (1993:519) argues against Jewett’s view (1986:118-23) that the Thessalonians were impoverished manual workers as it is based on "somewhat flimsy evidence." He suggests that "all that Paul’s injunctions show is that he assumes that work means work with one’s hands. This is hardly a reliable basis for a social profile of the congregation." (1983:519 n. 23, his emphasis). However, he overlooks the fact that in identifying himself and the Thessalonians with handwork there are clear social indicators implied for the first century audience. Were they not in such a class Paul would lose his point in the negative (emotional) reaction to his rhetoric by those who considered themselves to be above this particular social location. Cf. Hock (1980:44) who notes that mori philosophers who write on work are often "encouraging those who were not privileged, that is the urban poor, to work for their living." Barclay is overly skeptical about the possibilities of understanding the composition of an audience from a text.

70. Hock (1980:46-47) suggests that Paul’s injunction to "work with your hands" (1 Thess 4:11) is meant to encourage the Thessalonian workers to choose suitable occupations. It is odd that, given his description of tradespeople working together at the same trade, and a Pauline missionary strategy of preaching while working, that Hock would not conclude that the Thessalonians already have a chosen profession, one that they share with Paul and with one another. Rather than look for a reason why Paul needs to "instruct" and "remind" the Thessalonians to find suitable work (Hock 1980:43), the passage can be understood as an encouragement to continue what they are already doing. This certainly fits better with the context (4:9-12).
presumably made his initial converts. Thus, the core of the Thessalonian community was comprised of hand-workers who shared Paul's trade. Unfortunately, Paul does not state the nature of his manual labour in 1 Thessalonians or elsewhere. However, Acts 18:3 suggests that Paul was a σκηνοποιός.72 It has a basic meaning of "tentmaker" (LSJ s.v.), but since tents were made primarily of leather, it could indicate that Paul was more generally a leather worker (Hock 1980:20-21, 72).73 In antiquity the trade of "tentmaker" covered a number of tasks involving leather, including the production of parchment codices (R.J.Forbes 1966:63-66; Donfried 1989; R.F.Collins 1993:12-13) or shoes and clothing (R.J.Forbes 1966:58-63).74 Paul's status as a tentmaker defined his social relationships both with his fellow workers and with those among whom he worked. To better understand the implications of this for the social standing of the Thessalonians we need to review the nature of manual labour in antiquity.

Hock (1980:26-42, esp. 31-37) describes what the life of a tentmaker, and many similar artisans, would have been like in antiquity. An artisan began work before sunrise and worked throughout much of the day (cf. 1 Thess 2:9). As a Jew, Paul

71. The participial clause in 1 Thess 2:9 is best translated, "working day and night we proclaimed to you the gospel of God" (R.F.Collins 1993:220 n. 69).

72. According to Lüdemann (1987:198), Acts 18:2-3 and Paul's connection in Corinth with Aquila and Pricilla is "a singular and quite untendentious report" suggesting that the tradition of Paul the σκηνοποιός is fairly reliable.

73. Michaelis (1971:394) notes that some patristic writers read σκηνοτόμος ("leather-worker") for σκηνοποιός at Acts 18:3 (see also BAGD s.v.). Goat hair was used to make fabric that could be woven into, among other things, tents (Michaelis 1971:394). Thus, some (Bruce 1977:36; Theissen 1982:105) have suggested that Paul was a weaver. However, as Raymond Collins (1993:12) points out, weaving was despised by the rabbis and was thus an unlikely trade for Paul to take up. Within the range of leather working, Paul was probably not a tanner as that occupation was seen as "unclean" by the Jews. Murphy-O'Connor (1996:117) accepts the traditional ascription of "leather-worker" suggesting that "there must have been a considerable demand for tents and other leather articles in a city which had so many travelling merchants."

74. For the production and uses of leather in antiquity see R.J.Forbes 1966:1-79.
himself probably took the Sabbath off, although many ancients would have worked seven days. As a leather-worker his tools would have been portable and thus well suited to travel. He probably found work in workshops in the towns he visited. The workshop was probably a room in a house, or a ground floor room in an apartment building, with the artisan’s family upstairs or in a back room or in the shop itself. However, the workshop could also be in a separate building. A workshop was usually located among other workshops, most often of the same type; for example, the Street of the Sandalmakers and the Street of the Harness Makers in Rome (R.J. Forbes 1966:54; CIL 6.9796; cf. Friedländer 1907:1:148; S. Mitchell 1993:1:202). Most shops were near the agora, although some were located outside of town. The tanneries would have been relegated to the margins because of the smell as leather was cured with urine (R.J. Forbes 1966:50-51) and the leather shops would have been close by.75

The size of the workshop varied. A poor but free artisan might work alone or with a couple of assistants. A different shop might employ up to one hundred slaves or workers. The "average" shop accommodated six to twelve artisans. Paul probably worked in a larger shop, at least one that could accommodate one more worker since, as a travelling worker, it is unlikely that he would keep setting up his own shop. Some shops were often noisy, dirty, and dangerous (smiths, sculptors) while others required large and expensive equipment (weavers). Most workshops were probably furnished with the basics of tables and stools. Since Paul was an itinerant worker he probably worked in one of the local shops at Thessalonica. Since Paul was there "night and day"

75. According to R.J. Forbes (1966:55), "[i]n the Imperial period the shoemakers, tanners and hide-dealers of Rome were concentrated in the ‘Corpus corollarum magnariorum solatorium’ in the Regio XIV of Rome." Presumably the pattern would have been similar in other cities, including Thessalonica.
he would have used the opportunity to share his gospel message with fellow-workers and customers.  

As a "tentmaker" Paul would have had customers such as soldiers, who needed large tents for shelter, persons whose occupation required travel and sleep outdoors (e.g., oarsmen), persons who could afford to travel in style and spend the night in a tent, and persons who were rich enough to use tents at festivals. In short, a wide range of customers and fellow workers would have opportunity to hear Paul speak. For some the workshop, including that of shoemaker or leather-worker, was recognized as a conventional social setting for intellectual discourse; it was a setting used often by Cynic philosophers. On occasion the philosopher was also the artisan, whose shop became known as a place to engage in philosophical discussions (Hock 1980:41).

76. On Paul's use of the workshop in his mission strategy see further Hock 1979:438-43. For a brief overview of the talking while working in antiquity see also R.F.Collins 1993:13-14. Socrates is said to have conversed with Simon the shoemaker in Simon's workshop (see Hock 1979:438); tradition also has it that Socrates spent much of his time in a variety of workshops (Xenophon, Mem. 4.2.1-39; 3.10.1-15) and in the marketplace (Plato, Ap. 17C). In this way, philosophical discourse was kept open and public. It became less so when Plato and Antisthenes chose to teach in the gymnasia.

77. The Roman military used leather for much of their equipment: boots, saddles, tents, shields, breastplates, wine and water skins, etc. In 1 Thess 5:8 Paul makes reference to a breastplate of faith and hope and a helmet of love. The breastplate and helmet were part of the standard equipment of a Roman soldier, and both were fashioned from leather. Perhaps Paul is using metaphorically that which he and the Thessalonians were producing daily in the workshop. Cf. in 58-55 BCE L. Calpurnius Piso Caesonius requisitioned most of the cattle in Macedonia for the production of military equipment (R.J.Forbes 1966:53; Cicer, Pis. 36.87).

78. However, the Thessalonians were not Cynics. While not denying that Paul's rhetorical style and the content of his letter (particularly chapter 2) has affinities with the style of the Cynic preachers (so Malherbe 1989b:35-48; Hock 1979:444-50), this reflects more on Paul than on his audience, as the Cynics did not organize themselves into communities as did other groups of philosophers (Epicureans; Stoics; see further chapter 4). See R.F.Collins (1993:18-25) for other differences between Cynic discourses and Paul's letter to the Thessalonians.

79. Many artisans catered only to affluence and luxury (painters, cooks, weavers, sculptors, dyers, hairdressers) and as such were looked down upon by the moral philosophers. However, special derision was reserved for merchants who travelled the world in search of luxury items to sell.
3.2.3.3. The Thessalonians' Economic Situation

There are a number of indications given by Paul of the economic situation of the Thessalonians. In 2 Corinthians 8:1-5 Paul attempts to shame the Corinthians into contributing to the collection for the Jerusalem church by noting that the Macedonian Christians have given not only "according to their means" (κατὰ δύναμιν) but "beyond their means" (παρὰ δύναμιν, 2 Cor 8:1-5; cf. Rom 15:26-27). The designation "Macedonians" probably includes both the Philippians and the Thessalonians (cf. 1 Thess 1:7-8). Paul was also supported financially by the "Macedonians" while he was living in Corinth (2 Cor 11:9), although it is likely that this refers to the support given by the church at Philippi as that church was the "only one" that supported Paul in his work outside Macedonia (εἰ μη ὑμεῖς μόνοι, Phil 4:15). Thus, the Thessalonians do not seem to have given financial aid to Paul personally.

Paul also notes more specifically that the Philippians supported him financially while he was working in Thessalonica (Phil 4:16). This would coincide with the previous note (Phil 4:15) about the support beginning soon after his departure from Philippi as Thessalonica was the next stop in Paul’s travels along the Via Egnatia (1 Thess 2:2; cf. Acts 17:1). Interestingly, Paul does not mention this support when writing the Thessalonians. In fact, he seems to claim to have been supporting himself in 1 Thess 2:9, probably in an attempt to avoid shaming the Thessalonians. Paul points out that he did not want to "be a burden" (ἐπιβαρέω) to the Thessalonians (2:9), not only indicating his reticence to rely on the Thessalonians' financial support for things

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80. There is perhaps another reference to this support in Acts 18:5, wherein Paul is enabled to continue to be solely occupied with preaching upon the return of Silas and Timothy from Macedonia. Prior to this, he worked at his trade (Acts 18:1-4). See Bruce 1983:153; O'Brien 1991:533.

81. Bruce (1983:153) suggests that Paul is aiming to shame the Corinthian Christians in 2 Cor 11:8-9 but wants to refrain from doing so when writing 1 Thess. Alternatively, Bruce (1983:153) suggests that the Philippians gift was too small to eliminate the need for Paul to work, thus not worthy of mention (so Hawthorne 1983:205). This latter suggestion is less likely.
such as food or lodging (Wanamaker 1990:103), but the lack of a wealthy benefactor upon whom Paul could rely among the Thessalonian Christians (contra Acts 17:4). All this suggests that the Thessalonian Christians are not well off financially (cf. Plummer 1918a:25).

There is some question as to whether Phil 4:16 indicates that Paul received help on more than one occasion while at Thessalonica or once at Thessalonica and on a number of occasions at other places. The text reads διότι καὶ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ καὶ ἀποξικαὶ διὲς εἰς τὴν χρείαν μοι ἐπέμψατε. Morris (1956) argues that ἀποξικαὶ διὲς is idiomatic for "more than once." Since it is used in the LXX without an initial καὶ, Morris suggests that the καὶ in Phil 4:16 is added before the expression as a connective giving the following sense: "For both (when I was) in Thessalonica and more than once (in other places) you sent me gifts to meet my needs." Such a reading broadens the pattern of help sent by the Philippians to Paul. However, the same idiomatic expression, including the preceding καὶ, is used in 1 Thess 2:18: διότι ἡθωλήσαμεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος καὶ ἀποξικαὶ καὶ διὲς. Morris (1956:208) suggests that the sentence can be translated with the καὶ as ascensive: "Because we wished to come to you, I Paul, and that more than once" (cf. Wanamaker 1990:121). The καὶ cannot function here as a connective. This being so, it seems more likely that at Phil 4:16 the phrase would be better rendered, "for also (when I was) in Thessalonica you sent gifts, and that more than once, to meet my needs," and taken to indicate that on a number of occasions.

82. Paul is also attempting to lay to rest any question about his motives for preaching. He was not preaching for his own gain, a fact his self-sufficiency underlines. Paul may even be indicating that he worked beyond the normal expectation of sunrise to sunset (Hock 1980:31).

83. He cites as uses of this expression the LXX texts of Deut 4:13, 1 Kgs 17:39, Neh 13:20, and 1 Macc 3:30 and the quotation of Deut 4:13 in 1 Clement 53.3. Morris is building on Frame 1912:120-21. Morris makes it clear that rendering the phrase "twice" (Vincent 1897:148; Michael 1928:223) is too weak but "repeatedly" is too strong (so also Best 1972:126).

occasions Paul received money from the Philippians while at Thessalonica.\(^8^5\) This
would confirm the social location of the Thessalonians among the poor. The financial
contributions of the Philippians along with the necessity for Paul to work at his trade
suggest that there was not even a patron of the Thessalonian Christians who would
support Paul during his time among them.\(^8^6\)

Early in 1 Thessalonians Paul makes reference to their receiving the word in
much \(\theta\lambda\iota\psi\varsigma\) (1:6). While \(\theta\lambda\iota\psi\varsigma\) is often taken to mean "tribulation" or
"persecution,"\(^8^7\) Malherbe (1987:46-48) emphasizes that the context of 1:6 must be
understood in light of the Thessalonians state at their reception of the gospel. He argues
that \(\theta\lambda\iota\psi\varsigma\) indicates that the Thessalonians are experiencing distress over the
acceptance of a new belief system and the consequential decisive break with their past.
However, Paul Marshall (1987:234) suggests that \(\theta\lambda\iota\psi\varsigma\) may indicate economic
hardship, not persecution or psychological distress. In writing of the contribution of the
Macedonians to the Jerusalem collection in 2 Cor 8:1-5, Paul connects the
Macedonians' \(\theta\lambda\iota\psi\varsigma\) to their "extreme poverty" (\(\beta\acute{a}\theta\dot{o}u\varsigma\ \pi\tau\omega\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha\), 8:2), and then later

\(^8^5\) So Lightfoot 1981:166; Plummer 1919:104; Beare 1959:155; Collange 1979:148; Hawthorne
indicating only one gift having been sent to Paul in Thessalonica seems to be to open the way for
understanding Paul’s stay in that city as very short. Although he does not say so, presumably this is to
reconcile Paul’s letter with the account in Acts 17:2, which seems to indicate only a three week stay at
Thessalonica (also Gnilda 1980:178). Our understanding of Phil 4:16 does not undermine the possibility
that Paul received monetary gifts from the Philippians while elsewhere, as may be indicated in 2 Cor
11:9.

\(^8^6\) Such was the case elsewhere. Paul seems to have been benefacted by Gaius at Corinth (Rom 16:23)
and Phoebe at Cenchreae (Rom 16:1-2, although Phoebe’s benefaction probably extended beyond Paul’s
stay at Cenchreae; see Whelan 1993:84-85).

\(^8^7\) Frame 1912:82-83; Best 1972:79; Bruce 1982:15-16; Marshall 1983:54; Wanamaker 1990:81-82; cf.
1 Thess 2:14; Acts 17:5-9. Barclay (1992:53-56; 1993:512-30) suggests that the \(\theta\lambda\iota\psi\varsigma\) experienced by
the Thessalonians (3:7; 1:6) is the mockery and abuse of the non-Christians who disparage a saviour who
is so ineffective as to allow his worshipers to die. The divisions were exacerbated by the Thessalonians’
tendency (stemming from their apocalyptic perspective) to treat non-believers as "outsiders" and protect
themselves as a distinct society, particularly in "their offensive abandonment of common Greco-Roman
religion" (Barclay 1993:514).
notes that he does not want others to be eased at the expense of the Corinthians experiencing θληψις, which in this context indicates economic stress (2 Cor 8:13). This understanding of θληψις in 1 Thess 1:6 would be consistent with the economic situation we have determined for the Thessalonian church. They accepted the gospel "in much poverty," and in so doing became imitators of Paul and his companions, who themselves were impoverished workers who had accepted the gospel. As a result, they became an example to others, not in their endurance of persecution, but in their acceptance of the gospel (contra Wanamaker 1990:81). 88

3.2.4. Evidence from Acts

It is axiomatic in New Testament studies that the Book of Acts is a secondary source for the life and ministry of Paul. 89 Nevertheless, many scholars admit that there may be some reliable tradition embedded in the account of Acts. Thus, in seeking to

88. Paul uses θληψις two other times in 1 Thessalonians. In 3:3-4, he indicates that Timothy is sent to them that they might not be moved by "these afflictions" (ἐν ταῖς θληψεσιν τοῖσ αἰσχυνοῖς). If 1 Thess 2:13-16 is an interpolation, then the "afflictions" here are most clearly the experience of separation from Paul (2:17-20). If it is not an interpolation, then it might be the experience of persecution, but this persecution arose after they had already accepted the gospel (Malherbe 1987:47). The θληψις of 1 Thess 3:7 is clearly that which Paul experiences in the situation in which he now finds himself. Thus, the meaning of θληψις must be determined by its use in context, not by a predetermined notion; Wanamaker's contention (1990:81) that "[i]t is questionable that the same word would be used in two very different senses in the same general context of the letter" ignores the fact that the meaning of words must always be determined in light of the context and an author is free to use the same words with different indications in any one piece of writing.

89. The problematic nature of using Acts as a source began to be recognized in the mid-seventeenth century; Gasque (1989:21) suggests that Acts was characterized as "apologetic writing" as early as 1721. However, it was the publication of Knox 1987 (first published in 1950) that has been most influential in overturning the traditional approach to understanding Paul's life and thought. The "Knox method" (as it has come to be called) involves treating Paul's authentic letters as sources of primary data about Paul and Acts as a secondary source. Knox was primarily interested in the chronology of Paul's ministry, but he also raises the much larger issue of Acts as a reliable source for early Pauline Christianity. Knox's method has been variously received and not all interpreters have accepted his conclusions (see Gasque 1989:198-99). While some have built on the work of Knox (e.g., Jewett 1979; Lüdemann 1984; 1987; Lentz 1993) others continue to maintain that the reconciliation of Acts and Paul is possible (e.g., Hemer 1989; the volumes in the series The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting [Winter and Clark 1993; Gill and Gempf 1994; Rapske 1994; Bauckham 1995; Levinskaya 1996]).
understand the social location of the Macedonian Christians we will examine carefully those elements which may or may not confirm the picture we have formed from the letters of Paul themselves.\textsuperscript{90} In attempting to determine which of the details in Acts can be accepted as reliable the method employed by Lüdemann (1987) proves helpful. Lüdemann examines the content of Acts to determine what material is redactional, what is from the tradition received by Luke, and what is historical. The framework of Acts is secondary and Luke has compressed into one account incidents which may have happened on separate visits to a city. However, many of the incidents themselves may reflect reliable data.

In his brief study of Luke's account of the founding of the Thessalonian church in Acts 17:1-9, Lührmann (1990:237-41) concludes that while some of the details of the story are confirmed in general by Paul's letters, showing that Luke did have some information, much of the story is modeled on what Luke thought Paul usually did: preaching in the synagogue, some success, rejection by the Jews, leaving the city.\textsuperscript{91} Hence, there is little to be gained for our study from the Acts accounts.

One issue which might bear some fruit is a look at those persons who are said to have been part of the Thessalonian church, since no one is named in 1 Thessalonians itself. There are three Thessalonian Christians mentioned by name in the New Testament, but all outside of 1 Thessalonians: Jason (Acts 17:5-9); Secundus (Acts

\\textsuperscript{90} We will leave aside until the second section of chapter 4 the issue of synagogues and their role in Acts, where the topic will be treated in detail.

\textsuperscript{91} Cf. R.F.Collins (1993:36) describes Luke's presentation in Acts 17 as "an account whose language and episodic presentation are characteristic of Luke. His narrative focus leads him to focus more on the adventures of Paul, his hero, than to give a detailed description of what actually happened in Thessalonica. He is more interested in the conversion of some Gentiles and the Jews' growing hostility to the gospel than he is in the real situation of the church at Thessalonica."
20:4), and Aristarchus (Acts 19:29; 20:4; 27:2). In all three cases there is nothing, outside of the fact that they do not bear the *tria nomina*, to suggest their social status.

The name Jason (Acts 17:5-9) was a common Greek name, "after the Thessalonian hero who led the Argonauts in quest of the Golden Fleece" (Bruce 1951:326). However, this person may be Jewish; "Hellenistic Jews living in the Diaspora frequently adopted approximative homonyms as a moniker while dealing with the Hellenistic world" in this case as a derivative of Joshua or Jeshua. Thus, some commentators assume Jason is Jewish (e.g., Bruce 1951:32; C.S.C. Williams 1964:198), an assumption which is strengthened if this is the same Jason as that mentioned in Rom 16:21. There Paul refers to Jason as being among his "kinsmen" (οἱ συγγενεῖς μου) presumably indicating that he is Jewish (Dunn 1988:909; Fitzmyer 1993:738). However, since Jason was a common Greek name in antiquity, the Jason of Acts 17:5-9 might also be a Gentile if he is not the same person as that mentioned by Paul in Rom 16:21 (so Malherbe 1987:15-17; Meeks 1983:63; cf. Haenchen 1971:507 n. 9).

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92. All three of the Thessalonians mentioned in Acts were made saints and their memory is still honoured: Jason on April 29; Secundus on December 28; Aristarchus on April 14 and September 27 (Vacalopoulos 1963:18). It is also possible that Demas was returning to his native city when he deserted Paul and went to Thessalonica (2 Tim 4:10), although there is some question whether this verse reflects any authentic information since it appears in what is most likely a pseudonymous work. Gaius is designated a Macedonian in Acts 19:29 but is said to be from Derbe, in Lycaonia, in 20:4. However, the original hand of D reads Δουβ[ῆ]ριος; Doberus was a town in Macedonia, 26 miles from Philippi (Bruce 1951:370-71, who accepts this reading). This probably represents a harmonization of Acts 20:4 with 19:29 on the part of the "Western" redactor and is not likely to be the original reading (Haenchen 1971:52-53). The only other Macedonian said to be accompanying Paul (leaving aside the ethnic identity of the writer of the "we" passages) is Sopater the son of Pyrrhus of Beroea (20:4). Lightfoot (1893:246) suggests that the patronymic is added "to distinguish him from the Sosipater who sends his salutation to the Church at Rome" (Rom 16:21); however Fitzmyer (1993:749) maintains they are one and the same.

93. The *tria nomina* would indicate status as Roman citizens. Even the inclusion of a patronymic would suggest free birth; McLean 1996a:84.

In fact, Malherbe (1987:13-14) points out that, in the Acts account of the founding of the Thessalonian church, Jason's house (οἶκος) becomes the base for Paul's work after Paul separates from the synagogue, suggesting that Jason is to be understood as a Gentile.95 That Jason was host to Paul and his companions, and perhaps to the Thessalonian Christians, as well as his posting bond for Paul and his companions suggests that Jason has some wealth (Malherbe 1987:15-16). However, Malherbe (1987:16) goes on to point out that this is precisely the type of convert Luke would present in his account—"socially prominent and well-off converts." This calls some aspects of Luke's account into question. Nevertheless, that a house could also function as a workshop96 suggests that Acts might provide some reflection of the social location of the Thessalonian Christians which we detected in 1 Thessalonians. As handworkers they would have had a place in which to carry out their work. This place might have been Jason's house (whether or not he posted bond for Paul and his companions).97

Secundus (Acts 20:4) is mentioned nowhere else in the New Testament. Although the name is Latin, it is known from Macedonian inscriptions.98 The ethnic background

95. Jason's οἶκος might also have served as the meeting place of a synagogue, but this is less likely in the context.

96. See Hock 1980:32-33. Malherbe (1987:17-20) describes what the workshop in which Paul worked would be like if it were attached to someone's household. It was not a domus but an insula, which had shops on street level and living quarters above and behind.

97. Although generally skeptical of Acts, R.F.Collins (1993:15) includes Jason as among the first converts of Thessalonica. He then assumes that Jason was not a leather worker, and questions Malherbe's suggestion of Jason's house as a workshop, citing in support Gaius in Corinth (Rom 16:23) and Lydia in Philippi (Acts 16:14-15), neither of whom worked at the same trade as Paul. However, these latter examples betray Collin's bias towards a uniformity in Paul's missionizing tendencies. We would rather suggest that each locale determine Paul's strategy and the nature of the resulting community. Only in 1 Thessalonians does Paul make a direct connection between his manual labour and the type of people who make up his audience.

98. CIG 1957 (Pydna); 1967; 1988; 1988b (all from Thessalonica); see Lightfoot 1893:246 n. 6. It is also common in the papyri; Preisigke 1967:367. Moulton and Milligan (1914:571) suggest that Secundus is probably a native Macedonian, but this would be difficult to show conclusively. It is also difficult to say whether he is Greek or Jewish or Latin as both Jews and Greeks could have Latin names (cf. Jewett 1986:119).
of Aristarchus is not given in Acts (19:29; 20:4; 27:2), but the deueto-pauline Col
4:10-11 mentions an Aristarchus who is among the "men of the circumcision" who
accompany Paul.99 In fact, an Aristarchus is said to be in prison with Paul (Col 4:10;
cf. Phlm 24). If all of these references are to the same Aristarchus, and can be trusted,
we may have evidence for a Jewish Christian at Thessalonica. However, that this data
comes only from secondary sources makes it impossible to draw any solid conclusions.
If it were the case that both Aristarchus and Jason are Jewish, then this might go
against our earlier suggestion that there is relatively little evidence for a Jewish
presence in the Thessalonian church. However, the evidence for their Jewishness is
flimsy at best and even were it to be the case, it does not undermine the fact that Jews
do not predominate either in the church or at Thessalonica itself.100

Acts 17:4 suggests that along with some Jews who were persuaded to join Paul
and his companions there were "a great many of the devout Greeks and not a few of the
leading women" (τῶν τε σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων πλήθος πολύ, γυναικῶν τε τῶν πρώτων ὀοι κ ὀλίγαι). If we can anticipate our later discussion, the "devout Greeks," or "God-
fearers" as they have come to be called, are most likely created by Luke in order to fit
into his narrative pattern of Paul converting Jews and "God-fearers."101 The phrase
"leading women" probably indicates women of wealth and some high standing,
precisely those whom we did not find evidence for in the text of 1 Thessalonians.
However, as Lüdemann points out (1987:185-86; cf. 156), their presence in the text
"seems to be redactionally suspect because of the parallels" in Acts 17:12 which tells of
the conversion of well-to-do women at Beroea and Acts 13:50 in which "the Jews" of

99. Aristarchus is a common name; BAGD s.v.. Later tradition has Aristarchus as the first bishop of
Thessalonica (Vacalopoulos 1963:18).

100. See further on the question of Jews in Macedonia in the first century §4.2.5.

101. More detail and supporting arguments will be given in §§4.2.3 and 4.2.4, below.
Antioch of Pisidia stir up women of high standing against Paul and Barnabas. It is a Lukan tendency to mention conversions from among the upper classes (see Haenchen 1971:507; Pervo 1987:77-78). However, given the temporal separation between the writing of 1 Thessalonians (50s) and Acts (80s) it may be the case that by Luke’s time a number of higher status women have become part of the Thessalonian community.

Overall, Luke’s picture of the founding of the Thessalonian community provides little help in determining the social status of the Thessalonian congregation. Those named as Thessalonians provide slightly more information in suggesting lower ranking Jews or Gentiles, although the nature of the evidence is such that the knowledge gained is meager. The base of the Christian community in the house of Jason might also support our picture of the Thessalonians as handworkers, if the house can also be understood as a workshop.

102. These leading women become stock figures in Luke’s drama, unlike Lydia in Acts 16, of whom the reader is given much more detail, lending some authenticity to the narrative (although not without some Lukan redaction). See further §3.3.4.

103. Pervo (1987:79) suggests that this is part of Luke’s "propagandistic fiction"; "[t]he upward mobility of many new religions encourages fictional propaganda about their adherents’ social status."
3.3. Philippi

3.3.1. Introduction to Philippians

During the past two centuries views on the authorship of Philippians have varied widely. During the nineteenth century an number of scholars rejected Pauline authorship, primarily on the basis of the letter’s use of "gnostic" ideas (i.e., the hymn of 2:6-11) and its lack of anything distinctly Pauline (summarized in O’Brien 1990:9-10). A second view is that Paul himself wrote the entire work, composing all of it himself, including the hymn found in 2:6-11 (cf. Fee 1995:43-46). Probably the most widely held position among modern interpreters at both ends of the theological spectrum is that Paul wrote Philippians, but he incorporated into it traditional Christian material, namely, the hymn of 2:6-11.104

While Paul’s authorship of Philippians is not generally contested, the unity of the letter is subject to much debate. There exists three basic positions: that the letter is a unity, that the letter is made up of two letters from Paul to Philippi, and that the letter is a composite of three Pauline letters. A number of scholars point to evidence which suggests that the letter we now have is composed of more than one letter written by Paul to Philippi.105 Some suggest that a later editor combined two letters, based on the shift in tone at 3:1-2. Paul wrote most of what follows, which is strong invective against his opponents, after he wrote the Philippians a thank you letter for money which they had sent him. The "three-letter hypothesis" breaks down the letter even further. The first letter is found at 4:10-20 and represents Paul’s immediate acknowledgement of the monetary gift sent to him from the church. The second (1:1-

104. Paul not only uses his hymn within the rhetoric of chapter 2, but also echoes themes from it in 3:20-21; see Flanagan 1956.

105. Such claims are bolstered by the suggestion of another extent letter to the church at Philippi, written by Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, between 98-117 CE. Polycarp speaks of Paul’s letters (plural) to the Philippians (Phil 3.2). However, internal evidence is the primary reason for suggesting separate letters.
3:1a; 4:4-7, 21-23) followed shortly afterwards and addresses some of the external problems faced by the Philippians and urges them to greater unity. The third letter (3:1b-4:3, 8-9) comes from a later time, perhaps after Paul’s release from prison and visit to Philippi (cf. 2:24; 1:26; Acts 20:1-2). In this letter Paul addresses the threat to the church posed by the Judaizers who are among them. A later redactor has taken these letters of Paul and pasted them together, although not very neatly. 106

The position of those who hold to the unity of the letter is only somewhat more straightforward—the letter we have in our canon reflects the letter sent by Paul to Philippi. However, this position has been argued variously with no agreement on the unifying elements within the letter. Russell (1982:295-306) appeals to ancient letter structure as a means for arguing for the unity of Philippians. Garland (1985:141-73) uses literary and rhetorical features to undergird the unity of the letter. Watson (1988:57-88) argues for the letter’s unity on the basis of his rhetorical analysis of the letter (although he differs from Garland on the identification of some of the rhetorical features). Wick (1994) suggests that Philippians is composed of ten blocks of material representing five distinct occasions, but that the entire letter was set up by Paul as a linguistic parallel, the themes of the first five parts of the letter being paralleled in the second five parts of the letter. 107

David Black (1995:16-49) uses textlinguistics as a precursor to rhetorical analysis to show the unity of Philippians. Luter and Lee

106. Recently it has been suggested by Sellew (1994:17-28; cf. Bockmuehl 1995:70) that analysis of the mid-second century Latin document called the Epistle to the Laodiceans proves the three-letter theory. Analysis of Laodiceans reveals that compiler systematically worked through a copy of Philippians but does not seem to have used anything from 3:2-4:3 or 4:10-20 suggesting that the compiler’s source document may also not have contained these passages. However, other important passages are also "missing," including the thanksgiving (1:3-11) and the hymn and its context (2:3-11; 15-30). This suggests that even if the compiler had a different version of Philippians, s/he was being selective, perhaps excluding material not relevant to the situation for which s/he was writing (namely, that most relevant for the Philippians’ situation). Once this process of selectivity is admitted for those passages ignored from the "non-interpolated" letter, the argument for an archetype without either 3:2-4:3 or 4:10-20 breaks down completely.

107. For my analysis of Wick’s arguments see Ascough 1995.
(1995:89-101) attempt to highlight a chiastic structure in Philippians as a means to show its literary integrity.

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to detail all of the arguments for and against the multiple letter hypothesis.\textsuperscript{108} However, the assumption made throughout the remainder of this dissertation is that the canonical form of Philippians reflects a single letter written by Paul. While this is far from an assured conclusion, I find myself more persuaded by those who hold to the unity of the letter on thematic grounds.\textsuperscript{109} Even the advocates of the compositional theory admit that the individual letters would have been written and received in fairly close proximity (within a couple of years). Thus, whichever compositional conclusion is accepted, it is agreed by most that the entire content of the canonical form of the letter comes from the hand of Paul and was written to the church in the city of Philippi at around the same time.\textsuperscript{110}

The place of origin of the letter to the Philippians raises some difficulties. Certainly Paul has sent this letter while in prison (1:7; 1:12-13). It seems likely that


\textsuperscript{109} In drawing this conclusion I find myself in good company among some recent writers on Philippians. Both Berry (1996:121) and Malherbe (1996:128) see the topos of friendship throughout the canonical form of the letter as indicative of its unity. Dahl (1995:3-15) and Peterlin (1995:217) have independently used the theme of unity in the letter to suggest the unity of the letter. Reed (1996:63-90) has recently suggested that 3:1 is actually a "hesitation formula" and not a badly made seam. In the following section I shall offer a rhetorical analysis of the entire letter, not as a proof of its unity but assuming its unity. See also Jewett (1970b:49-53) whose most persuasive argument is the point that topics announced in the thanksgiving (Phil 1:3-11) are connected with each succeeding part of the letter.

\textsuperscript{110} A mid-50s CE date is most often held for this letter, based on it being written from Ephesus. A later date, the early 60s, is held by those who suggest a Caesarean or Roman imprisonment (see below). Either way it is among the later of Paul’s letters. Paul’s ministry in Philippi was earlier than this, perhaps in the early 50s. In Phil 4:15 Paul talks about his work in Macedonia as the "beginning of the Gospel." Most have taken this to indicate that Paul’s time in Macedonia represented a renewal for his zeal for the Gospel (Lightfoot 1893:237), or the beginning of a new phase of his own ministry (Collange 1979:152). However, Suggs (1960:60-68) has argued that from Paul’s letters alone (i.e., without Acts; see Phil 1:5; 4:15-16; 2 Thess 2:13) we would be compelled to conclude that Macedonia was Paul’s first mission field. This being so, Paul’s mission in Macedonia would need to be dated in the early 40s. This seems to me unlikely and I would place Paul in Macedonia in the early 50s.
Paul is awaiting trial and expects to be released (1:19-26). Although he is not expecting imminent death, he does suggest that he would prefer to die "to be with Christ" (1:23b-26) rather than continue to live. However, he notes that "I know that I will remain and continue with all of you for your progress and joy in faith, so that I may share abundantly in your boasting in Christ Jesus when I come to see you again" (1:25-26).

A number of places have been posited for Paul's place of imprisonment: Rome, Caesarea, Ephesus. Each has strong evidence in its favour and it is difficult to judge among them. However, any theory must take account of a number of trips indicated between Philippi and Paul's location.111

The most likely location is the city of Ephesus in Asia Minor (cf. Jewett 1970a:363-64). Certainly it is close enough to Philippi for frequent contact between people in each city. Although no imprisonment of Paul in Ephesus is mentioned, either by Paul or in Acts, one might infer such an imprisonment from 1 Cor 15:32 where Paul notes (metaphorically) that he "fought with wild beasts at Ephesus" (cf. 2 Cor 1:8-10).112 Placement of Paul in Ephesus is held by a great number of scholars, and will be assumed for this dissertation to be the best location in which to place Paul in his writing of the letter, although for the most part locating Paul precisely has little consequence for the arguments presented herein as we are most concerned with the social location of the Philippians themselves.

3.3.1.1. The Audience of Philippians

The final preliminary issue which must be addressed is the nature of the audience of the letter. It is an issue to which we will return in a number of ways, for this is essentially what is under investigation. We will note at this point that we do not find

111. For an overview of the evidence see Fitzgerald 1992:522-23.

112. See Fee 1987:770-71; Snyder 1992:204-05; but see Malherbe (1989b:79-89) who argues that the metaphor of fighting with beasts was common among the moral philosophers for struggling with passions and with opponents.
any convincing evidence that there was a significant Jewish presence within the Philippian Christian community.\textsuperscript{113} The general lack of evidence for Jews in Macedonia in the first century CE (see §4.2.5) combines with a number of indicators within Philippians itself: there are no clear allusions to the Hebrew scriptures\textsuperscript{114} and the proper names in the letter are Greek and Latin (Epaphroditus, Syntyche, Euodia, Clement).

Although Paul's letter to the Philippians has no real indication of the presence of Jews in the church, it does polemicize against those who advocate Jewish practices (Phil 3:2-17). Certainly Paul holds no high praise for these opponents in Phil 3:2-17. He introduces them by immediately censuring their character and their practices. That these opponents are involved in some kind of Jewish practices is clear from Paul's third censure. Paul coins a term, \( \tau \eta \nu \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \tau \omicron \omicron \mu \nu \) which is an obvious play on the word \( \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \omicron \omicron \mu \omicron \) ("circumcision"; Beare 1959:104). This suggests that Paul's opponents were advocating circumcision. Immediately following this warning Paul draws attention to the "true" circumcision being found in Christ, a group which includes Paul and the Philippians.\textsuperscript{115}

Obviously Paul is presenting arguments to counter a group which advocates that Christians participate in Jewish circumcision practices. Two primary proposals have been put forth as to the identity of these opponents: non-Christian Jews and Jewish-Christian Judaizers. Most scholars take one or the other of these positions, although

\textsuperscript{113} The Gentile composition of the Philippian church was argued as early as 1833 and is now generally accepted; see Jewett 1970a:372 n. 1.

\textsuperscript{114} Dormeyer (1989:155) is certainly overly optimistic in suggesting that "[i]f all converted Philippians have learned the Old Testament, self-evidently they have also learned the metaphor of the Old Testament." I rather doubt that in the short period that Paul remained with them the Philippians would have learned much more than a superficial awareness of some of the primary themes of the Old Testament in so far as they intersected with Paul's understanding of Christianity. Any vague references to the Hebrew scriptures would very likely not have been noted by the Philippian Christians.

\textsuperscript{115} In using \( \eta \mu \varepsilon \zeta \ \delta \alpha \mu \epsilon \nu \) Paul is including the Philippians in his own group.
they nuance it variously. Without rehearsing all of the contours of the debate here we will note that we understand Paul to have been referring to Judaizing Christian missionaries in Phil 3:2-3. During Paul's ministry he was often confronted with Judaizing Christians to whom he was required to respond (i.e., in Galatia and in Corinth). Since there is no significant group of Jews in Philippi, these Judaizing missionaries must be coming from the outside and planning to target Gentile converts to Christianity. Paul gives no indication in his letter that these opponents have already adversely affected the Philippian congregation or are now present at Philippi. He is warning them of potential danger, not censuring them for actions already past (as was the case when he wrote Galatians). Thus, Paul's invective against those who maintain Jewish practices seems more likely to be aimed at Christian Judaizers whom Paul anticipates coming to Philippi in order to sow discontent among the worshipers there.


The entire third chapter of Philippians (vv. 2-21) is maintained by some to be aimed at three different groups—the "evil workers" (2-3), the "perfectionists" (12-16), and the enemies of the cross of Christ (18-19). See the summary in Fitzgerald 1992:323; cf. Klein (1989:297-301) who outlines six positions. We maintain that chapter three deals primarily with two different groups of opponents, the first addressed in 3:2-16 and the second in 3:18-21, with 3:17 serving as a bridge between Paul's addressing of the two groups (the nature of the second group, which is not Jewish, will be discussed in §6.8, below). See Jewett 1970a:376-87 and 1970b:40-49 (although I disagree with his identification of who the opponents are); pace Koester (1961:317-32) and Mearns (1987:194-204) who argue that Phil 3:1-21 reflects a single group of Judaizers.


118. As we will show in §4.2.5.


120. Nevertheless, Paul sees these Judaizers as a real threat; he is not simply holding up the Jews as a cautionary example (Murphy-O'Connor 1996:228; pace Garland 1985:165-66; Hawthorne 1983:125).
Paul's description of his Jewish background is presented in a way easily understandable to those who have only cursory knowledge of Judaism, particularly a Judaism presented by Judaizing Christians. Paul's lack of development of the place of the Law suggests that his references to it and to his blamelessness before it are more idealization and caricature (Phil 3:4-11). Paul has no need to nuance his comments because his audience was not steeped in the nuances of the Law. Paul uses the Law, as he does all references to his former status in Judaism, as part of his list of achievements. This list is impressive even without understanding the nuances. What Paul wants to present as more impressive to his audience is his giving up this derived honour for something even greater. All of this evidence argues against the early church in Philippi being formed from a Jewish group or its "sympathizers" (as Acts 16:13-15 would suggest). At least at the time of Paul's writing, his audience is predominantly Gentile (L.M. White 1990b:205-06).\(^{121}\)

### 3.3.2. Rhetorical Analysis of Philippians

Philippians reflects the common epistolary conventions of antiquity in its opening (1:1-2), thanksgiving (1:3-11), body (1:12 - 4:20), and final greetings and benediction (4:21-23). The specific epistolary genre is that of a letter of friendship.\(^{122}\) Both of these aspects of the analysis of Philippians are widely held among exegetes. However, there is little consensus to be found in the rhetorical analysis of Philippians. Thus, we will need to discuss this issue in some detail.

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121. So also Barth 1979:8; Gnilka 1980:3 (who also allows for a few individual Jews in the congregation); Schenk 1987:3289.

122. We will discuss this in more detail in chapter 6.
The overall rhetorical strategy of Paul’s letter is thought by some scholars to fit the category of deliberative rhetoric. The overall rhetorical strategy of Paul’s letter is thought by some scholars to fit the category of deliberative rhetoric.123 That is, it uses argument to urge a future course of action. Three valuable analyses of Philippians according to this type of rhetoric are that of Watson (1988), Bloomquist (1993), and Witherington (1994).124 The key passage for both Watson and Witherington, the "thesis statement," occurs in 1:27-30, where Paul urges the Philippians "let your life be worthy of the gospel of Christ" (Watson 1988:59; Witherington 1994:50).125 This is, however, a very general piece of advice, which is not what one would expect of a rhetorical strategy "intended to advise and dissuade its audience regarding a particular course of action" (Watson 1988:59). Deliberative rhetoric concerned with "what is advantageous and harmful, expedient and inexpedient" (Watson 1988:60) is not particularly clear in Philippians.126 Bloomquist (1993:124) suggests the narratio is only (unclearly) embedded in 1:12-14 and concerns whether Paul’s work, and the Philippian’s support of that work, has been in vain. The presence of such a "telegraphic" narratio raises a number of problems for the designation of deliberative rhetoric for the letter. For these and other reasons I find myself unconvinced that the species of rhetoric in Philippians is deliberative.127


124. Watson and Witherington have only slight differences in their analyses, while Bloomquist’s is somewhat different than the other two.

125. Watson and Witherington label this periocope differently, narratio and propositio respectively, although it has the same function in each of their analyses.

126. Although Paul does "give advice on the conduct of life" as is typical of deliberative rhetoric (J.W.Marshall 1993:363) it is only of a very general sort and not at all like the Sermon on the Mount (contra J.W.Marshall 1993:363); Paul is much more concerned to urge the following of specific examples: have the mind of Christ (2:1-11); "imitate me" (3:17).

127. Of the rhetorical analyses of Watson and Bloomquist (and by implication Witherington as his is similar to Watson’s) Fee writes that "neither carries much conviction as to the overall scheme of our letter" (1995:15) and that "[a] careful reading of these two pieces side by side does not lead to one’s finding one more convincing than the other, but to the conviction that both represent a basically wrong approach to the analysis of Philippians" (1995:16 n. 42). For a more thorough critique of Watson’s analysis see Reed (1993:314-22) who points out in particular how often the content of Watson’s choice of a rhetorical unit does not clearly fit the designation he gives it. However, Watson’s work is more
In a brief aside George Kennedy (1984:77) suggests that "Philippians is largely epideictic," a claim that is developed only slightly by Basevi and Chapa (1993:348-56). Philippians is full of the language of honour and shame, praise and blame, characteristic features of epideictic rhetoric. Even in the passage which Watson and Witherington find the "thesis statement," 1:27-30, the focus is on living a life $\alpha\xi\iota\omega\varsigma$ of the gospel. Throughout the letter Paul is concerned to give examples of how he and others have lived this out. Often in epideictic rhetoric, and unlike deliberative and judicial rhetoric, topics are repeated, restated, and revisited in order to make the point clear, all techniques which we find in Philippians.

It is telling that in discussing the features of deliberative rhetoric Watson (1988:59) is forced to concede that "although the usual time referent of deliberative is future and only occasionally present, the time referent in Philippians is predominantly present," a characteristic of epideictic rhetoric. Furthermore, even in his analysis of the arguments used (the $probatio$) Watson (1988:68) must admit that Paul’s $ethos$ underlies much of his use of example, personal example being a characteristic feature of epideictic (cf. J.W.Marshall 1993, esp. 363). Watson (1988:60) even notes that Paul’s "digressio" in 2:19-30 is epideictic rhetoric in which Timothy and Epaphroditus

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Fee does not seek to offer an alternative rhetorical reading but remains skeptical of using rhetorical analysis in the study of letters. He suggests that "[r]hetoric becomes applicable to letters only when they function as a substitute oration, or more commonly as a tract" (1995:14 n. 39). Although he notes the aural nature of letters (that they were to be read out loud; 1995:16-17) he does not take note that letters acted as substitutes for the presence of the writer, and as such would be thought of a "face-to-face" (and thus rhetorical) engagements between Paul and a group of listeners; see note 2, above.

128. Cf. Wuellner (1987:460) who suggests that both 1 Corinthians and Romans are, as a whole, "epideictic in character and purpose."

129. Cf. Walton (1995:239) who notes that a characteristic of epideictic is "the emphasis on exhorting the audience to hold fast to a point of view in the present."
receive praise. Thus, it is best to conclude that Philippians, like 1 Thessalonians, evidences the characteristics of epideictic rhetoric.

We noted earlier that epideictic rhetoric could include exhortation, particularly in advocating the continuation or strengthening of a value already adhered to. In Philippians Paul urges the Philippian community to greater endurance and unity in the face of opposition and dissension by means of epideictic rhetoric. His aim is not to argue that endurance and unity are necessary but to illustrate that the community life that the Philippians have chosen to live together is one of greater honour and reward than those around them, and thus must not be impinged upon by external or internal forces. Using a number of rhetorical strategies, especially positive and negative examples and encomia, Paul presents the necessity for the Philippians to overcome their various opponents and their internal quarrels. The reason undergirding this is nothing less than the fact that their honour is at stake. Their Christian life is being lived out in public, both before other residents of Philippi and before God. Paul uses himself and others as paradigmatic of how the gospel is put into practice (described below). They are already living their corporate life in this way; Paul’s letter is meant to strengthen their resolve to do so "more and more" (cf. 1:6, 9, 25b, 27; 2:12).

Using the categories of rhetorical analysis, Philippians evidences the following structure:

*Exordium* 1:3-26

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130. My own analysis differs from that of Basevi and Chapa (1993:349 incl. n. 34) who provide only a partial breakdown of the letter in suggesting the following divisions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1:3-7</th>
<th>1:8-11</th>
<th>1:12-20</th>
<th>1:21-2:11</th>
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<tr>
<td><em>exordium</em></td>
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<td><em>transitus</em></td>
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<td><em>narratio</em></td>
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<td><em>probatio</em></td>
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This is based on their understanding of 2:6-11 as an encomium of Christ, that is, a praise of Christ, and as such a center point in the letter. While we agree with this general analysis of the nature of 2:6-11, we see it as used in support of Paul’s thesis statement within the *narratio* itself. The centerpiece of Philippians as epideictic is rather Paul’s more fully developed encomium in praise of himself in which he advocates that the Philippians follow him (3:2-21).
Following the epistolary opening (1:1-2) Paul uses the thanksgiving section of his letter within the *exordium* (1:3-11). A number of strategies are employed. He begins by asserting that "the one who began a good work in you will bring it to completion at the day of Jesus Christ" (1:6). Faced as they are with pressures from within (competing groups) and outside Philippi (Christian Judaizers) along with dissension among themselves, the Philippians receive assurance from Paul that they do have a future hope that God will insure their well being. As a heavenly patron, God will insure that the "good work" already begun will be "completed." Although this draws on aspects of daily life (work and cult; see §6.3), it reflects God’s concern for the Philippians. Paul’s assurance is based on his own prayers for the Philippians (vv. 3, 4, 9), suggesting that he has a special connectedness to God and his intercessions (as broker) will ensure that God fulfills the promise made to the Philippians (as recipients of the divine benefits they are God’s clients). Paul uses an oath ("God is my witness"; 1:8) to underline his concern for the Philippians. In fact, the entire pericope from vv. 7 to 10 aims to show how closely connected Paul feels to the Philippians. Particularly important is Paul’s confidence that the Philippians will be "pure and blameless" (εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἀπρόσκοποι, 1:10) on that final day. These clearly place Paul’s rhetoric in the epideictic category of affirming what is praiseworthy, as does his concern that the Philippians’ lives may result in the "glory and praise of God" (εἰς δόξαν καὶ εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ; 1:11).

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131. The epistolary opening itself may support the following exordium as it reminds the Philippians of Paul’s *ethos*. Not only is he a slave (δοῦλος) of Christ Jesus, he is in a position by which he mediates the grace (χάρις) of God to the Philippians (this standard Pauline opening benediction has implications for Paul’s status as founder of each of the communities to which he writes).

Paul’s basis for this assurance is then illustrated from a number of examples, taken from his own situation, in which God has used what seems to be a bad situation for a greater purpose: although he is in prison, the gospel has spread (1:12-14); although some preach from impure motives, Christ is still proclaimed (1:15-18); although death seems preferable, life is necessary, but Christ is honoured in either case (1:19-26). What seems on the outside to be a lowly and often dangerous situation is held up by Paul as being used for the greater glory of God. Paul intentionally holds up as positive those situations which would seem to indicate a loss of status: imprisonment, dissension with others, possible death. Paul reaffirms his own character and role in God’s greater purposes as a means of underscoring his ethos, and thus his ability to speak to the Philippians as he does.\footnote{As J.W.Marshall (1993:363-64) points out, “on the one hand [Paul] gains trustworthiness by identifying himself with his audience; on the other, he gains authority by identifying himself with God and Christ,” both of which are accomplished by Paul showing that he shares common interests and goals with both parties. Paul’s appeal on the basis of his ethos pervades the letter in a number of ways highlighted by J.W.Marshall (1993:363-70): through identification, through solidarity with them, through the roles Paul plays (e.g. slave/envoy, partner, mediator, athlete, etc.), through Paul’s style (e.g., use of affectionate language), through the importation of texts into the letter (e.g., 2:6-11), and through “inartistic appeal” (e.g., working alongside them as a labourer during his stay at Philippi; imprisonment; miracles; cf. Acts 16).}

Having established his own ethos and anticipated a number of issues which will be raised in the following sections, Paul then moves to the narratio (1:27—2:30) in which he will introduce what is of primary importance in writing the letter. Verse 1:27-28a encapsulates both what Paul advocates for the Philippians and what he illustrates throughout the letter:

\begin{quote}
Μόνον ἀξίως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολιτεύσεσθε, ἵνα εἰτε ἔλθον καὶ ηδὼν ὕμᾶς εἰτε ἀπὸν ἄκουσον ἵνα τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅτι στήκατε ἐν ἔναν πνεύματι, μιὰ ψυχὴ συνανθλούμενες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ μὴ πτυρόμεοι ἐν μηδεὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντικειμένων.
\end{quote}

\footnote{The present ἀκούσω is supported by better external evidence than the aorist subjunctive ἀκούσω. The latter probably reflects a scribal change to the more “normal” usage (see Fee 1995:158).}
Although the primary purpose of epideictic rhetoric is the ascription of praise or blame, it also often includes exhortation or encouragement concerning behaviour. In the case of Philippians Paul wants to address the problem of some internal disunity within the congregation, thus he advocates a oneness of spirit and mind through urging the Philippians "not to engage in honor claims and challenges (2:1-4)" (Malina and Neyrey 1996:52). A number of examples are set forth to show that there is a basis for that honour that stands outside the usual competition for honour in the human realm (Malina and Neyrey 1996:52).

Paul’s use of πολιτεύομαι in 1:27 is noteworthy. Later, in 3:20, Paul will use the cognate noun πολίτευμα to remind the Philippians that "our citizenship is in heaven" (ἡμῶν τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει). Many attempts have been made to determine how these words are being used by Paul. Least likely is the contention that the Philippians would understand it in the Jewish sense of living "faithfully in the covenant relationship with God as manifested in obedience to Torah" (Miller 1982:90); despite there being very little Jewish presence at Philippi, in Philippians itself Paul is concerned to show how in becoming a Christian he has found something that surpasses the Torah (3:2-11). It is more likely that he is appealing to their sense of Roman citizenship. Since Philippi was a Roman colony we should expect that a number of the members of the congregation held Roman citizenship.

Paul’s exhortation in 1:27 would be heard as encouraging the Christians to "[c]ontinue to discharge your

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136. In both instances the same two verbs στήκετε ("stand") and συναθλέω ("strive; contend") follow; O’Brien 1991:147.

137. Possible background for Paul’s use of the term may be found in the various Jewish materials (LXX, Philo, Josephus) as Miller (1982) shows, but the social context of Philippi must also be considered for the audience’s awareness of the meaning of the word. Miller ignores this aspect of Philippians.

138. It is only in Philippians that Paul uses πολιτεύομαι and/or πολίτευμα. Elsewhere his exhortations invoke περιποεῖται or ἡχο (O’Brien 1991:146-47).
obligations as citizens and residents of Philippi faithfully" (Brewer 1954:83). However, his claim of heavenly citizenship for the Philippians in 3:20 would serve to remind them that they have dual citizenship, and must also reflect their heavenly citizenship in their civic life (Lincoln 1981:100-101).  

In the next section of the narratio (2:1-29) Paul’s concern for endurance and unity among the Philippians is placed into an historical perspective, reflecting the secondary duty of the narratio of a rhetorical argument—to give the past, present, and future history of the matter at hand. As illustrative of both a means to unity (humility) and glorification as a result of suffering Paul raises as first and foremost the example of Jesus himself. Having opened with a reiteration of the need for unity (2:1-2) Paul then encourages this through humility and service (2:3-4). To illustrate this Paul cites a hymn in 2:5-11, probably familiar to the Philippians, in which Christ’s self-humiliation is overcome by God "who highly exalted him" (2:9) to a position of supreme honour. Paul summarizes the significance of Christ’s example of humility by noting that it has been followed in the past, is being followed in the present, and should be followed in the future as the Philippians communally "work out [their] salvation with fear and trembling" (2:12-13; cf. 1:6). 

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139. We will explore the topic of πολίτευμα further in chapter 6.

140. Thus Fee (1995:16 n. 42) is incorrect in stating that "[a]t no point in Philippians does Paul use narrative to give a ‘history’ of their relationship or of the matters with which this letter deals."

141. This passage is affirmed, but not analyzed, as an encomium, or speech of praise, to Christ by Basevi and Chapa (1993:349). They are correct in this designation as the passage has a number of features of an encomium (see below) including the narration of origin (divine) and achievements (self-emptying; serving; obedient death) comparison (equality with God), and the reason for honour/memorial ("God has highly exalted him"). However, this is not as fully developed as Paul’s encomium to himself in 3:2-21 (explained below).

142. I agree with the interpretation of Michael (1924) "that the words τὴν εὐαγγελίαν κατεργάζομεν, in their primary reference, have to do, not with personal salvation of the individual members of the Church at Philippi, but with the welfare of the Christian community as a whole."
Following this, Paul employs three more illustrations of how the Philippians might stand firm and be united. First, there is an illustration from Paul’s own life. Although he is "poured out as a libation" he is able to rejoice in the future hope that he did not run or labour in vain (2:14-18). Next, Paul reminds the Philippians of Timothy, who, unlike others, ignores his own interests in his concern for the welfare of the Philippians (2:19-24). Finally, Paul tells the Philippians of Epaphroditus who almost gave up his life in service to God (2:25-30). All three are scheduled to make an appearance at Philippi, Epaphroditus in the present, followed by Timothy, and, later, Paul himself. By the end of the narratio Paul has set forth his concern that the Philippians stand firm in their faith in the knowledge of future honour bestowed by God.

Philippians 3:1 marks the transition to the probatio of the letter.143 This is the point at which arguments are made in support of the narratio. Since we have identified Philippians as epidectic rhetoric, concerned with praise and blame, it is appropriate that Paul should develop his probatio not along the lines of reasoned arguments (logos), as would be the case in judicial or deliberative rhetoric, but instead uses the rhetorical strategy of an encomium (3:2-21).144

The rhetorical strategy of an encomium "was to marshal examples from the life of an individual (or the history of an institution) that could demonstrate the person’s

143. According to Achtemeier in his study of the aural nature of letters (1990:26) the "closures" of 3:1 (τὸ λατρεύ) and 4:1 (ὁστατε) would have alerted the listeners of the letter that one topic had ended and another was about to begin. Putting this into our scheme works nicely as it is precisely at 3:1 and 4:1 respectively that we find rhetorical shifts, from the narratio to the probatio and from the probatio to the peroratio respectively.

144. An encomium could stand as a form of speech or writing in and of itself or as part of a larger rhetorical strategy; G.A.Kennedy 1984:74-75.
virtues and establish the basis for honour or memorial" (Mack 1990:47-48). They are bestowed upon persons who have already accomplished a good deed; "encomium deals with achievements—all attendant circumstances, such as noble birth and education, merely conduce to persuasion" (Aristotle, Rhet. 1.9.1367b.25, LCL). The encomium included a number of distinct features:

- Introduction
- Narration (origin/genealogy/birth)
- Achievements (education/pursuits, virtues, deeds, blessings/endowments)
- Comparison (with others)
- Conclusion (honour/memorial)

Since this was not an exercise in logical argumentation, the pattern was not followed as outlined. Instead, the rhetor followed a topical outline which included most or all of the elements of the encomium (J.L. White 1993:157; Hellholm 1995:130). This rhetorical strategy could be used in a letter and it is thus appropriate for Paul in writing the Philippians.

That Paul's strategy in Philippians 3:2-21 involves a personal element of self-recommendation has long been recognized, although few have identified this as an

145. Malina and Neyrey (1996:5) provide an interesting perspective on the assessment of ancient personality when they note that "[t]he encomium contained a summary of all the information the ancients thought necessary to provide rather full knowledge of some person and to present him or her adequately to an audience," that is, the encomium represents the "culturally acceptable description of another's character or 'personality'."


148. Pseudo-Libanius (Epistolary Styles 36; IV-VI CE) writes, "[t]he praising style is that which we praise someone eminent in virtue. We should recognize that praise differs from an encomium. For praise is laudatory speech praising one thing, but an encomium is encomiastic speech embracing many things in itself. Therefore, the letter that praises one thing is called laudatory (επιλογική), and that which praises many features is called encomiastic (εγκυμιαστική)." Text and translation in Malherbe 1988:70-71 no. 30.
Except for the warnings about his opponents (3:2-3), Paul's only imperatives in Phil 3:2-21 are found in 3:17: συμμεμνηταί μοι γίνεσθε, ἀδελφοί, καὶ σκοπεῖτε τοὺς οὕτω περιπατοῦντας καθὼς ἔχετε τίποτο ἡμᾶς. This sets it off from the rest of the passage as the focus of positive concern. Used with the vocative of address (ἀδελφοί) Paul's concern is clear—the emulation of his own life as the one typical of the Christian life. The appeal to the audience to imitate the speaker is one of the traditional means of argumentation in epideictic discourse (Wuellner 1979:184), and the urging of a course of action is one of the purposes of an encomium (Aristotle, Rhet. 1.9.1367b.35-1368a.9; cf. G.A.Kennedy 1984:73-74). In the scheme of an encomium this is also the place for honour or memorial. For Paul that honour is

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149. In a recently published work Malina and Neyrey (1996:51-55) identify Philippians 3 as an encomium and analyze the text in a manner similar to that found below. Malina and Neyrey's work came to my attention after my own analysis of the passage as an encomium and seems to me to confirm this as the correct understanding of the argument of the passage. Others have explained the passage differently. Fortna (1990:230) calls Philippians "Paul's most self-centered letter, the most subtly arrogant of all." D.A.Black (1995:41) twice reiterates that in Phil 3:12-21 Paul is "holding up his own life" as an example to the Philippians but does not identify how. Perkins (1991:99) calls Paul's rhetorical device "apologetic autobiography" but cites no ancient description of such a type of rhetoric (although her description coincides with what ancient writers called "epideictic"; cf. J.L.White 1993:157-58). Stowers (1991:115) highlights Paul's use of contrastive models in contrasting Paul with his enemies. Watson (1988:74-75) notes how Paul "holds up his own life of trust in the righteousness of Christ for emulation." I disagree with Murphy-O'Connor (1996:224) who sees in Philippians "Paul's self-absorption at this point in his career." Stanley (1959:870-71), followed by Castelli (1991:95), notes that Paul's exhortation to imitation is part of his larger call for unity in the Philippian congregation, but neither shows how it fits into the overall rhetorical structure.

150. Stanley (1959:871) notes the connection of 3:2-21 with the earlier hymn (2:6-11), particularly in the similarity of the phrases τὸῦτο φρονήμεν (3:15) and τὸῦτο φρονεῖτε (2:5). Castelli (1991:96) remarks, "Christian identity is linked, on the one hand, with the humility displayed by Christ on the cross and, on the other hand, with the imitation of Paul." Nevertheless, Paul does not use "imitation" in connection with Christ, an observation which Stanley (1959:95) thinks is "significant" but does not say how. I would suggest that although there are similarities between 2:6-11 and 3:2-21, Paul wants to keep their respective rhetorical functions within the letter distinct.

151. Epideictic rhetoric could often include parenetic (Wanamaker 1990:48), and "[a] major part of ancient paraenesis was the offering of a model to be imitated" (Malherbe 1989b:51, citing Seneca, Epistulae 6.5-6; 11.9-10; 95.72).
imitation of his life by others, which is one characteristic of honour in antiquity. In order to arrive at this conclusion Paul has to establish the basis for the demand by outlining the positive aspects of his own life.

Paul introduces his encomium (3:2-3) by censuring his opponents and praising his audience. The repetition of the imperative form of βλέπω introduces three negative characteristics of his opponents: κῦνας ("dogs"), κακονύς ἐργάτας ("evil workers"), and καταστομήν ("mutilators of the flesh"). The use of invective and ridicule (3:2; cf. 3:19) to castigate one's enemies is both natural and conventional in Greco-Roman society (P.Marshall 1987:35-69). Comparison is also an essential component of an encomium, either comparison with heroes or comparison with other notable persons as a means of showing the one praised to be better than the others (Aristotle, Rhet. 1.9.1368a.38-41; Stanton 1992:79, 83). For Paul the comparison is made in Philippians 3 with the group of Judaizing Christians he anticipates coming to Philippi. These persons are a negative example which will serve as a contrast to Paul's own

152. Cf. "In the ancient world there was also a great appreciation of the importance and influence of a close personal example. They recognized that under almost every circumstance the older, more experienced, and more advanced serve as a pattern for the younger, less experienced, and less advanced to follow" (De Boer 1962:25; cf. Castelli 1991:59-87, esp. 86; Bauder 1975:490). Paul's use of συμμυμητής here is a hapax legomenon (Fee 1995:363 n. 6) and probably indicates that the Philippians are to be united in their imitation of him (Stanley 1959:871; Hawthorne 1983:160; O'Brien 1991:445; Fee 1995:365; on various ways to understand the prefix συμ- see De Boer 1962:177-79, although he also thinks it indicates communal imitation). Paul and those with him are types (ὑπάρχον) for the Philippians (cf. De Boer 1962:17-23). For a survey of the use of others as models in selected works from antiquity see Fiore 1986:26-123. On the advocating of philosophers as paradigms see De Boer 1962:24-28; Malherbe 1989b:56-57. On imitation of worthy persons in the pseudepigrapha, Philo, and Josephus see Michaelis 1967:664-666; he also notes (1967:663) that the concept of imitation is foreign to the OT/LXX (cf. De Boer 1962:42-50).

153. The dog was a negative image in antiquity. For Jews it was synonymous with "unclean" and used of those outside the covenant (O'Brien 1991:354-55; Garland 1985:167 n. 92). In a Gentile context the dog was proverbial for its unpleasant characteristics such as greed, fawning, and shamelessness. While the Romans valued dogs as protectors, it was due primarily to their ferocity (Howatson 1989:196). Clearly, this is strong invective aimed not to describe Paul's opponents but to insult them (Koester 1961:320). See also Jewett 1970b:44.
positive example (cf. Fiore 1986:185). Paul and the Philippians are the "true circumcision" (3:3).

In the narration of the encomium (3:4-5a) Paul gives the details of his background, prefacing it with "if anyone else has reason to be confident in the flesh, I have more" (3:4). This is followed by a recounting of his own Jewish qualifications ascribed through birth: circumcised on the eighth day, membership in the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrews (3:5). Given his own Jewish background, the opponents could, at best, only equal his own background, and they probably did not. Given the set of standards advocated by the agitators (circumcision as representative of membership in the covenant community and of greater obedience to the Law) his audience would find it difficult to emulate Paul’s life. If anyone in his audience becomes circumcised it will be as an adult, not as an eight day old child, as the Law requires. This fits well into Paul’s recommendation of himself. His point here is precisely, "you cannot imitate this!"

Following the narration, Paul gives a description of his achievements, encompassing education (Pharisee), deeds (zeal in persecuting enemies), and virtues (righteousness under the Law, 3:5b-16). Paul begins by holding out an element of his previous way of life (3:5b-6) which is hardly attainable for his audience should they go the route of the Judaizing Christians. Taken together with his narration of his origins, Paul has established himself as one of impeccable virtue in one social context; he is firmly established in the covenant people of God (O’Brien 1991:369-72; Hawthorne 1983:132-33; Neyrey 1990:11-12, 156). Given that context, his audience could not help but be impressed. By appealing to the same virtues as that advocated by his opponents, Paul shows himself to be at least equal to them and probably better.

However, Paul quickly moves on to show that the context in which these virtues are honourable has now been changed. Using the language of market exchange Paul
shows that he now has a net gain far surpassing the value of his former achievements—a relationship with Christ (3:7-9). Those previous achievements are now considered "refuse" (σκόβαλον) in comparison with what he has gained. In the context of Christ, that which was once considered honourable and worthy of imitation is brought into dishonour by that which is greater.\(^{154}\) This is something which the Philippians can indeed imitate if they follow his new set of standards.

As part of the encomium Paul notes that the reward he will achieve is the resurrection from the dead (3:10-11). However, in further outlining his character, Paul is quick to point out that he has not already received this reward, nor is his achievement complete (3:12). By drawing attention to this fact he is able to circumvent any criticism that might be aimed at his character—for example, that his claim to δικαιοσύνην ("righteousness") from God (3:9) does not coincide with a life that does not always seem ἀμεμπτος ("blameless"). There is a contrast between what was obtainable under the older system of the Law (blamelessness, 3:6) and what is to be obtained in the new order of things ("future perfection," 3:12). His reference to being possessed by Christ (κατελήμφθην ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ [Ἰησοῦ], 3:12)\(^{155}\) reinforces his call for the Philippians to imitate him. A direct connection is made with Christ via Paul.\(^{156}\)

\(^{154}\) Both cannot be "honourable" at the same time. "Honour, like all other goods in first-century Mediterranean society, is seen to exist in limited amounts" (Malina and Neyrey 1991:29). When one person or thing gains honour, someone or something else must, of necessity, lose honour. For Paul, it is his former Judaism which loses honour. Sanders (1983:44) notes that "[t]hey became loss because in [Paul's] black and white world there is no second best" (emphasis his; cf. 1983:139-40).

\(^{155}\) Ἰησοῦ is omitted in some mss (B D\(^2\) F G 33 pc b; Tert Cl Ambst) but its inclusion in P\(^46\) κ Α (also P\(^61\) Ψ Byz vg sy) suggests that it was part of the original text. Paul uses both forms of the name so one cannot judge from pauline usage. Fee (1995:338 n. 3) shows that the omission could be due to homoeoteleuton, especially if the abbreviated form of the name was used (XY IY). However, just as possible was the addition of the name as a scribe "would often write the name in full without even thinking about it." In sum, Fee, a textual critic, suggests that this particular case "is nearly impossible to call" (1995:338 n. 3).

\(^{156}\) Cf. Stanley (1959:877), "the imitatio Christi which Paul proposes to his communities is a mediated imitation."
Paul's final comments before his call to imitation also reinforce his own character within the encomium. By referring to those who agree with him as "perfect" (τέλειος, 3:15) Paul again appeals to the sensibilities of his audience. To those who still are not convinced, Paul asserts that God will intervene directly to convince them that Paul's way is the correct one (3:15). One final assertion is used by Paul to keep the Philippians on his side—"let us hold fast to what we have attained" (3:16). A move towards the agitators is, for Paul, a move away from the achievements of the Philippians themselves, and thus dishonourable. This sets up the conclusion of his encomium with its call to imitation: συμμιμηταί μου γίνεσθε (3:17). In contrast to the impossibility of imitating Paul in his achievements within Judaism, Paul now asserts the possibility of imitating him in his Christian achievements.157

Having recommended himself and enjoined the Philippians to imitate his life,158 Paul returns to another immediate concern, the distraction of their task through the efforts of others (3:18-19).159 Paul ends the encomium by reminding the Philippians that by imitating his way they too will share in the achievements which he outlines for himself, particularly the resurrection (3:21). The honour/memorial held out to the Philippians is the promise of future resurrection. In describing his own achievement of establishing a relationship with Christ (3:10) and in outlining the results of the

157. This is Paul’s most extensive argument for imitation. He does make similar recommendations elsewhere. In 1 Cor 4:16 he writes, "I urge you, then, be imitators of me" and in 1 Cor 11:1, "Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ." In 1 Thess 1:6 he recognizes that they "became imitators of us and of the Lord." Cf. Gal 4:12, "Become as I am, for I also have become as you are." See Stanley 1959; De Boer 1962; Castelli 1991:89-117; cf. Fiore 1986:164-90 for more on Paul’s use of example.

158. In fact, they may already have done so in part by vicariously sharing in God’s grace with Paul in his sufferings (Phil 1:7); they have followed their founder in his experiences of the deity. Certainly Paul indicates that some present at Philippi are already imitating him and are to be counted for imitation along with him: καὶ σκοπεῖτε τοὺς οὕτως περιπατῶντας καθὼς ἔχετε τόπον ἡμᾶς, "and mark those thus walking (in imitation of me), since you have an example in us (them and me)" (3:17b). Cf. De Boer 1962:180-83, who thinks that Paul is indicating himself and those with him, rather than some of those resident at Philippi.

159. See further on this set of opponents in chapter 6.
Philippians' relationship with Christ (3:21) Paul draws on resurrection language. In both cases the contrast is made with those who seek honour in this lifetime (3:3, 19). Honour for Paul is the imitation of his life by the Philippians; honour for the Philippians is the transformation of their "body of humiliation" to a "body of his [Christ's] glory" (3:21).

The beginning of the fourth chapter marks the opening of the _peroratio_ in which the final arguments are made. Following a reaffirmation of the need for standing firm (4:1, cf. 1:27), Paul directly addresses a negative example drawn from a situation which has arisen within the Philippian congregation—the dispute between two leading women (4:2-3). As with most of his letters, as Paul comes to the end he addresses a number of situations which have arisen within the congregation to which he writes. However, in the case of Philippians he does not lose sight of his overall concern and reaffirms the need for unity. Two brief exhortations provide lists of what must be done in order to stand firm: prayer (4:4-7) and meditation on that which is good (4:8-9), both given with a reminder that Paul is the one to be imitated in such things (4:9b).

Paul's final example is again drawn from his own experience. No matter how difficult he found his situation God was able to provide the necessary strength for Paul to endure (4:10-13). In drawing his rhetoric to a close Paul draws on one final illustration of what it means to live the Christian life, this time from the previous actions of the Philippians themselves who have sacrificially given money to support Paul in his ministry (4:14-20). In exchange Paul once again reaffirms that God will "supply every need of yours" (4:19).

This rhetorical analysis of Philippians has suggested that Paul gives a call to endurance and unity in the face of opposition and dissension. However, rather than employ deliberative rhetoric to argue for this Paul uses epideictic rhetoric—examples illustrate how the Philippians should live, while the reward of divine honour is held up
as the final goal which they will obtain. Paul’s use of epideictic allows for the play between ethos (his character) and pathos (benefits offered) throughout the letter. This overall rhetorical strategy must be kept in mind as we examine in detail a number of features of the letter which indicate the social location of the Philippian congregation.

### 3.3.3. Social Location of the Philippian Christians

Having now seen the larger rhetorical strategy of the letter, we need to highlight those features which reveal the social status of the Philippians. Throughout the letter Paul reaffirms and illustrates his exhortation that the Philippians live a corporate life "worthy of the gospel." Paul’s subtle references to the Philippian Christians’ social status (e.g., their lower status; their familiarity with business and labour; see below) are used to affirm rather than denigrate the Philippians’ corporate life. The Philippians are already well on their way to fulfilling the ideal of this "life worthy of the gospel"; Paul’s rhetoric allows them see that this is the case.

#### 3.3.3.1. Paul’s Status

Much of the appeal of Paul’s rhetoric rests upon the recipients accepting not only Paul’s authority but also finding in his self-description points with which they themselves might identify. In fact, both at the beginning and at the conclusion of the letter Paul highlights the Philippians "partnership" with him (1:5; 4:15) and exhorts them to "imitate me" (3:17; cf. 4:8). Thus, a review of those aspects of his own life which Paul holds forth can help us locate the Philippians on the social map of antiquity.

It is important to note that at the very opening of the letter Paul identifies himself (and Timothy) as a slave (δοῦλος) of Christ Jesus (1:1).\(^{160}\) The position of slave, and even freedperson, brought with it very little status in antiquity (see §2.1.3). Thus,

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\(^{160}\) So also in Rom 1:1; cf. Tit 1:1. In both these cases Paul’s status as ἀποστόλος is added; this is not so in Phil 1:1. In Gal 1:10 Paul makes reference to his position as "slave"; cf. Eph 6:6; Col 4:12; 2 Tim 2:24. The same designation is claimed by the writers of James (1:1), 2 Peter (1:1), and Jude (1).
when Paul willingly identifies himself as a "slave of Christ" the position of "slave" brings with it no immediate sense of honour.\footnote{161} In fact, the very use of this word would repel, rather than attract, any listener who is part of the upper ranks of Roman society. Furthermore, when this is linked to Paul's concern to have his audience imitate him (3:17) and take on the mind of Christ, who took on the form of a servant (δοῦλος, 2:7), it becomes even more repugnant to those of the upper ranks.\footnote{162} On the other hand, those whose experiences have been grounded in the humility and servitude of the lower ranks of society would hear in Paul's opening the greeting of a person who was familiar with their own experiences and to whom they would gladly listen.\footnote{163}

\footnote{161} Sass (1941:24-32, also summarized in Beare 1959:51) argues that Paul's use of δοῦλος rests on the LXX background of God's chosen messenger (e.g., Moses, Joshua, David, Jonah) and as such is an honourific title for those who serve God (so also Michael 1928:2-3; Barth 1979:14; Gnulka 1980:31-32; Schenk 1984:77). Even if this is the case, Paul would not have been unaware of its effect on the largely non-Jewish Philippian Christians, who would have understood it in the common sense of "slave" (cf. Collange 1979:36; Bruce 1983:26; Hawthorne 1983:5; O'Brien 1991:45). It certainly would not have been immediately understood as a title of honour (Bonnard [1950:13] and Fee [1995:63] understand both connotations to be present). Hawthorne's suggestion (1983:4, building on Collange 1979:36) that Paul shares "his otherwise carefully and jealously guarded uniqueness" as a δοῦλος of Christ with Timothy in order to teach the Philippians a lesson in humility makes little sense, not only because nowhere else does Paul seem to be jealously guarding the title, but also because he invites all of the Philippians to imitate him (3:17), and thus become slaves of Christ. It is more likely that Timothy is included in order to enhance his status in light of his forthcoming trip as Paul's representative.

\footnote{162} D.P.Martin (1990) argues that for Paul Christians are to be good slaves, and in being such, find the means of salvation. Martin focuses on the possibility of upward mobility of slaves and shows how some were able to attain quite high status. In this context slavery can be understood as a positive aspect of the Christian life (cf. D.P.Martin [1990:130-31] on Paul's use of the slave metaphor in Philippians). However, in assessing the evidence Garnsey (1996:186-87) thinks that it is unlikely that Paul associated slavery with an ideology of success and that overall it was a highly undesirable position to be in. "In so far as Paul (and his followers) had something positive to offer the good (Christian) slave in this life, it boiled down to the message that a slave could be assured that in rendering good service to his master, good or bad, he was serving Christ—and even following Christ's example, where he was suffering under a cruel master" (Garnsey 1996:186-87). To those in the Greco-Roman world, the predominant imaged evoked by identifying oneself as a slave would be lower-rank status and powerlessness.

\footnote{163} If any status claims are being made by Paul it is only insofar as one serves an honourable master (God/Christ; D.P.Martin 1990:51; cf. 47-48; Garnsey 1996:184-85). Nevertheless, this type of designation "slave of so-and-so") would only be viewed positively among other slaves (D.P.Martin 1990:46-47). We should also note that Paul and his followers nowhere seem to challenging the prevailing social structure of slavery outside the boundaries of corporate Christian life (cf. Gal 3:28; Garnsey 1996:187-88).
Paul is also quite clear about his status as a prisoner (1:14). From all accounts in antiquity, imprisonment was not a desirable circumstance. Prisons were dark, overcrowded, and dangerous places. In the context of an honour-shame society, there was an obvious stigma attached to incarceration.

Ancient literary sources link prison with dishonour. The process of being publicly conducted there, particularly while in bonds, and even the wearing of chains when one was not imprisoned or prison-bound, was perceived (as was intended) to be degrading. Public exposure, irrespective of innocence of guilt, resulted in a shame that could be life-long. (Rapske 1994:283; see further 284-98)

A prisoner was not only able to receive help from others on the outside, it was necessary for his or her well being. Friends, relatives, or slaves were the source of a number of important things including food, clothing, writing materials, and news of the outside world. They also provided encouragement or could run specific errands (see Rapske 1994:209-19; 370-88). It was due to this type of situation that Paul could be in contact with others such as Epaphroditus and could dispatch him with a letter back to Philippi. However, the overwhelming sense of dishonour ascribed to incarceration often caused even close friends, associates, and family members to withdraw from a prisoner (Rapske 1994:293-94).

Despite Paul’s own incarceration he is able to affirm not only that he is not ashamed, but that he is content in whatever situation he finds himself (1:20; 4:11-12). Using himself and his own situation as exemplars within the rhetoric of epideictic discourse can only indicate that those to whom he writes share, in many ways, his humble and despised status. Paul offers no apology for his situation; he simply holds it up as part of the Christian life. Paul is not only emphasizing his own low status he is also advocating it as a desirable position to be in. The appeal to the Philippians is not that they should give up a higher status but that the status in which they find themselves, namely that which Paul occupies, is affirmed. In both their civic and heavenly citizenship they are to strive not for higher status in the present world but
greater glory in the world to come (cf. 1:6; 3:14, 21). For Paul's appeals to his own situation to be rhetorically effective, the Philippian Christians must surely occupy a low position on the social scale of antiquity.

3.3.3.2. The Example of Christ in Phil 2:5-11

The first exemplar in the narratio which Paul holds out for the Philippians to imitate is Christ Jesus (2:5-11). Throughout this hymn low status language is used of Christ in his human state, the state with which the Philippian Christians are to identify. First, he emptied himself of "his rightful divine prerogatives or status" (Witherington 1994:66). Thus, in his human state Christ was in a position in which he had no access to ascribed honour, that honour which comes through one's pedigree. Second, Christ took on the form of a slave (δοῦλος; 2:7). That is, in becoming human Christ chose to identify himself with the lowest rank of all those available within Greco-Roman society. Third, in this state Christ progressed even lower in that he "humbled himself," so much so that he willingly underwent a slave's death, death on a cross.

164. We saw earlier that Paul's use of πολιτεύομαι and πολίτευμα probably indicates that some of the Philippian Christians were Roman citizens. This does not indicate that they are within a high rank within society or that they have any degree of wealth. One could be a citizen and be a poor handworker (Garnsey and Saller 1987:115). Certainly this is the picture of Paul the Roman citizen which we gain from the account in Acts (see 16:37-38; 22:25-29; 23:27), although no mention is made of Paul's citizenship in the pauline letters. For a defense of Paul as a Roman citizen see Rapske 1994:83-112; the case against this is presented by Lentz 1993:23-61. On Roman citizenship generally see Lintott 1993:161-67.

165. We are not here venturing into the theological interpretation of this passage, an exegetical labour which has generated much secondary literature. A standard but somewhat dated work in English is R.P.Martin 1967, updated in 1983. In German see Holius 1991. An extensive bibliography is provided by O'Brien 1991:186-88.

166. This is all the more pertinent if Schenk is correct in his proposal that the hymn was actually authored by the Philippians themselves, on the basis of Paul's teachings about Christ (see 1984:173-75, 192-3, 195, 202, 209; 1987:3299-308; summarized in Reumann 1993b:444, who supports the hypothesis [1993b:444-46]).
Since the Philippians cannot give up divine prerogatives, since they are not "in the form of God," nor would they, for the most part, be forced to undergo crucifixion (if we are correct in that some of them may have been Roman citizens), Paul's appeal is an obvious exaggeration of what must be involved for the Philippians to "look to the interests of others" (2:4). Paul's exhortation to deliberately act at a lower status would not be rhetorically effective among the elite, who, although they could "empty themselves," would be more inclined to leave the community due to the wider social implications of such action. The pathos of the passage rests more in its appeal to those who are already in a lower rank—Christ willingly chose the same position in society which they (unwillingly) occupy. However, willingly living out one's obligations to others at that same social level rather than trying to rise above it (cf. 2:3-4) will result in a similar benefit to that which Christ experiences—"God has highly exalted him" (2:9). The point is not that one seek future glory though self-sacrifice in the present.

Is not the point rather that true greatness, the kind that God recognizes, is seen in service and humiliation? The effect of the hymn is to give a redefinition of greatness, to show that service is what really counts and is vindicated by God. It amounts to a glorification of service and the servant. (I.H.Marshall 1993:136)

For the Philippian Christians this is a reaffirmation of their present statuses as slaves and freedpersons.

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167. Crucifixion was, for the most part, a punishment for the lower rank (humiliores; Hengel 1977:34, 51-63). It was hardly ever imposed in the case of a Roman citizen (Hengel 1977:39); the exceptions involve cases of high treason or a particularly cruel ruler (Hengel 1977:40-44). The dishonourable nature of crucifixion for Roman citizens is illustrated in this comment from Cicero: "To bind a Roman citizen is an outrage; to scourge him a crime; it almost amounts to parricide to put him to death; how shall I describe crucifixion? No adequate word can be found to represent so execrable an enormity" (Inv. 5.66).

168. Hengel's comments (1977:45) on the Corinthian Christians are equally true of those at Philippi: "Even if the Christians in Corinth, a Roman colony founded by freedmen, were predominantly simple citizens . . . they must have found crucifixion quite as horrific a punishment as did the simple citizens of Roman cities, freedmen, and slaves at the time of the civil war."
Although Paul is here re-using a Christian hymn, we saw that its place in the letter serves to support Paul’s primary concern that the Philippians be united in exemplifying the "life worthy of the gospel." The rhetorical effectiveness of Paul’s use of this hymn within the letter depends on the lower status of the hearers.

3.3.3.3. Prosopography

In our rhetorical analysis we saw that at a number of points Paul also draws attention to others, particularly in the narratio. Like Paul, Timothy is included as a slave (δοῦλος) of Christ in the opening greeting of the letter (1:1) and serves with Paul as a son with a father (2:22). Thus, Timothy, who will be sent to Philippi to act as Paul’s representative (2:19), occupies the same social location as Paul. Epaphroditus was a member of the Philippian Christian community who was sent to Paul with a monetary gift (4:18) and whom Paul is now sending back, presumably with this letter (2:25). Epaphroditus is not known outside of Philippians. His theophoric name is formed from the name of the Greek goddess Aphrodite, and may indicate that Epaphroditus came from a family devoted to her cult (Beare 1959:98; McLean 1996a:61). If so, Epaphroditus was a Gentile, and probably a convert to Christianity. The name, which means "lovely," "charming," or "amiable," was

169. This is the only occurrence of the ascription of δοῦλος to someone other than Paul in a Pauline letter opening (cf. Rom 1:1; Tit 1:1).

170. D.A. Black (1995:23) suggests that "in 1:1 Paul breaks with his normal procedure and condescends to grant Timothy the same title as himself (δοῦλος)." However, Paul is not "condescending" to do so, but is affirming Timothy's position alongside himself in order to support his recommendation of Timothy who will be coming to Philippi in his stead.

171. Epaphras is a shortened form of the name, but there is no reason to identify the Epaphras mentioned in Col 1:7; 4:12 and Phlm 23 with the Epaphroditus of Philippi (Bruce 1983:99; Horsley 1987:22).

172. Gender had little bearing on theophoric names; a male could be named after a goddess or a female after a god; McLean 1996a:61. On theophoric names see McLean 1996a:59-65.

173. The time period does not allow for him to have been born and raised in a Christian family. Also, his theophoric name is an unlikely one were his parents or his master Christian.
common during the first century, particularly among those in the lower ranks of society, namely, slaves or freedmen. Thus, neither of these representatives of Paul who receive his recommendation come from the upper ranks of society. For them to be effective leaders at all within the Christian community that congregation must be predominantly composed of lower status members.

It is unfortunate that we only know the names of two or three other members of the Philippian Christian community itself. However, in each case, these names also point to lower status membership. In Phil 4:2 Paul names two prominent women within the community: Euodia and Syntyche. We do not know anything of either women outside of Philippians. The name Euodia is well attested and means "success" or, more literally, "prosperous journey" (Fee 1995:390 and n. 29). Syntyche is likewise

174. Preisigke 1967:100. Horsley (1987:21-22) calls the name Epaphroditus; "exceedingly common" and notes that it is "the thirteenth most frequently attested Greek personal name" at Rome (294 attestations from I BCE—III/IV CE, most of them in I CE). Josephus' patron was called Epaphroditus (See Ant. 1.8; Vit. 420; Ap. 1.1; 2.1, 296), although this does not mean that he was not a freedman (cf. Bruce 1983:99; O'Brien 1991:329).


176. Although some have attempted to read these as masculine, the αὐτοῖς in 4:3 clearly indicates that they are women (Fee 1995:390). Scholars of the Tübingen school attempted to show that the two names Euodia and Syntyche represented two competing factions in the church (Jewish-Christian and Gentile-Christian) but their thesis is not widely held (O'Brien 1991:478).

177. Attempts to link either Euodia or Syntyche (and even the γνήσει σὺνυγε of Phil 4:3) with Lydia of Acts 16:14-15 (reading her name there as "the Lydian") are conjectural at best; we lack any solid evidence for such a connection (Dahl 1995:4).

178. Moulton and Milligan 1914:263; Preisigke 1967:112; Reilly (1978:49) lists one instance as a slave name.

179. Names beginning with Εὐ (and κολλατ- and κολλο-) were meant to "express the idea of a propitious idea or a good omen" (McLean 1996a:66).
a well attested Greek name. The name means "Lucky" and is a derivative of Τυχή, the Greek goddess of fortune or fate (cf. Latin Fortuna), a goddess who played a significant role in everyday life in antiquity (cf. Fee 1995:390 n. 30). In the case of Syntyche at best we can conclude that she is from a pagan background and that either her parents or her owners wished the best for themselves in naming her.

In the same passage Paul also names Clement (4:3) which is a Greek form of a very common Latin name (Clemens). In fact, "Clement" is a common slave name. Although Clement was a fellow-worker of Paul's at Philippi it is not stated clearly that he is from Philippi or that he is still resident there. Paul's reference to him simply shows the Philippian's familiarity with him. However, most commentators assume that he is present there. If so, he clearly is not in a position of leadership,

180. Moulton and Milligan 1914:615. There may also be one instance of Συντυχή as a slave name; see Reilly 1978:115. Since Euodia and Syntyche may be slave names it may indicate current servile status. If they had been freed they might have taken on another name, one not commonly associated with servile status, as was sometimes the practice (McLean 1996a:92). However, the evidence is not clear enough for either name as a widely attested slave name so it is difficult to judge their exact status.

181. Cf. In the voluntary association inscriptions from antiquity Tyche is invoked frequently with the formulaic Ἄγαθή Τυχή which precedes declarations and decrees made by the associations; see IG II2 1298; 1329; 1366; 1368. The other common invocation is Θεοί; see IG II2 1256; 1283; 1297; 1323; 2499; IG IV 840.


183. Moulton and Milligan 1914:346; Preisigke 1967:1176; Lightfoot 1891:169; Gnìka 1980:168. The last of the 69 names in the membership list of Philippian association dedicated to Sylvanus is Valerius Clemens (CIL III 633/II [57]), certainly not the same man as our Clement but indicative of the name in Philippi, albeit from the second century.

184. Dahl (1995:3) suggests he was a descendant or a freedman/client of the Roman veterans settled at Philippi by Antonius or Octavian.

especially over Euodia and Syntyche, as Paul does not appeal to him to intervene in the conflict between the two women.\textsuperscript{186}

Paul indicates, but does not identify by name, another person in 4:3: \textit{ναὶ ἐρωτῶ καὶ σέ, γνήσιε σύζυγε}. This person is to intervene in the dispute between Euodia and Syntyche, indicating some authority within the community. Some have taken \textit{σύζυγε} as the proper name Syzyrus (so Michael 1928:191; Gnilka 1980:166-67). If this is the case there is a pun on the name \textit{Σύζυγος} in that it means "yoke-fellow" and he is described as being truly so with Paul (\textit{γνήσις}).\textsuperscript{187} There is evidence of its use as a proper name in analogous compound names such as \textit{Συμφέρων} (O'Brien 1991:480-82). However, there has yet to be found a single example of \textit{Σύζυγος} as a proper name in antiquity. Thus, it is more likely that Paul is describing an unnamed colleague here.\textsuperscript{188} This has led to a number of speculations as to this person's identity: Timothy (Collange 1979:143; Schmithals 1972:76-77, 252), Epaphroditus (Lightfoot 1881:158), Silas (O'Brien 1991:480 notes Bengel 1971), Luke (Hájek 1964:261-62; O'Brien 1991:8; Fee 1995:394-95 [cautiously]), the entire Philippian congregation (Hawthorne 1983:180), and even Paul's wife (Lydia?).\textsuperscript{189} However attractive any one of these hypotheses is, the fact remains that the "true yoke-fellow" remains unknown to us

\textsuperscript{186} There have been some attempts to connect the Clement of Philippi with Clement the writer of \textit{1 Clement} and an early bishop of Rome. However, there are a number of difficulties with this theory, not least of which is the differences in location (Clement was collected with Philippi, while \textit{1 Clement} was sent from Rome to Corinth) and date (Clement was a leader in Philippi in the 50s CE or earlier while \textit{1 Clement} was written around 96 CE). For an elaboration of the arguments for connecting the two Clements and the evidence against it see Lightfoot 1881:168-71.

\textsuperscript{187} See Michael (1928:191) who suggests the translation "you who are a Synzygos (comrade) not in name only but also in very deed." Cf. Paul's pun on the name Onesimus in Phlm 11.

\textsuperscript{188} Cf. Paul's predisposition to use \textit{σω-} compounds, four of which occur in this verse (Fee 1995:393).

\textsuperscript{189} Clement of Alexandria, \textit{Strom}. 3.6.53.1; see Bruce 1983:140 (cf. Delling 1971:749), who points out the impossibility of the hypothesis because of the masculine adjective \textit{γνήσις} modifying \textit{σύζυγε} (cf. Michael 1928:190).
(although was perfectly obvious to the Philippians) and as such is no help in our prosopographic study.190

Finally, Paul sends greetings from "those of Caesar's household" (οἱ σὲ ἐκ τῆς Καῖσαρος οἰκίας, 4:22), suggesting some affinity between those at Philippi and those with Paul. The familia Caesaris would have numbered in the thousands in Rome itself. Outside of Rome there would have been thousands more employed in the civil service of each town and city. The reference here is not to members of the imperial family but to those employed in the domestic and administrative aspects of the Empire. The majority of such people would be slaves and freedpersons, with a number of them being from the eastern provinces such as Greece, Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt (Beare 1959:158; Meeks 1980:116; more thoroughly Weaver 1972).191 To be a slave or freedperson within the familia Caesaris was to be better off than to be of the same status within the general population of the empire.192 Many of the members of the familia Caesaris, held important administrative positions such as dispensatores, arcarii, vilici, exactores, and contrascriptor, all of whom were responsible for imperial funds

190. Cf. Bonnard (1950:74), Beare (1959:145), and O'Brien (1991:481), who note the impossibility of determining the identity of this person. Barth (1979:71-72) and Bruce (1983:140) point out that the Philippians would have know to whom Paul was writing.

191. According to Plummer (1919:107), among the many members of Caesar's household there were a number of Jews, some of whom might have become Christians. However, it is not necessary for an understanding of Philippians to promote their Jewish background; without denying the possibility that some were Jews, non-Jews might also have converted to Christianity.

192. Horsley (1983:8) highlights an interesting point in the fragmentary letter P. Oxy. 3312: "A person might be born into Caesar's household as a slave, or his master might sell him into imperial service; but until this fragmentary letter came to light there had been nothing in our sources to suggest that an outsider could take the initiative of gaining access for a career." The letter itself notes that, "Herminos went off to Rome and became a freedman of Caesar in order to take appointments" (LL. 11-13). Herminos was probably not a free person, but a freedman who thought more was to be gained by entering the familia Caesaris (for which he would need both money and a patron).
in some way (see Weaver 1972:200-06). However, many of the imperial slaves held domestic positions, serving either the elites or the freedpersons and slaves who held administrative positions (see Weaver 1972:207-11). Thus, even within the familia Caesaris itself there was social differentiation.

Those in the clerical-administrative service, whether through background or connections within the Familia Caesaris, patronage, training or ability, began their professional careers early and were distinctly superior to those who spent their lives in sub-clerical or domestic occupations. With the exception of posts of special opportunity or responsibility within the Palace, there was little chance of crossing the occupational dividing line upwards into the administrative service. (Weaver 1972:295)

One would expect that greetings from a group of slaves and freedmen would be most appropriate if the recipients were of the same social makeup; that is, freeborn, elite persons are not likely to welcome familiar greetings from slaves and freedborn, even those of the imperial household. Thus, we have here an indication that the predominant social position of the members of the Philippian congregation was among the slave and freedmen ranks of ancient society.

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193. Weaver divides the administrative professions of the familia Caesaris into two categories: vicarii and vicariani, both having to do with finances, but the latter being one grade higher in legal and social status (see 1972:200-06 and 212-23 respectively). On the various administrative grades within the familia Caesaris see Weaver 1972:227-94.

194. Weaver (1972:207) suggests that "personal slaves of Imperial slaves must have existed in considerable numbers." This is evidenced in the case of “Musicus Scurranus dispensator ad fiscum Gallicum at Lugdunum, who was attended on his journey to Rome, where he died, by no fewer than sixteen personal slaves, including cooks, footmen, butlers, secretaries, and so on" (Weaver 1973:201).

195. Since Paul is probably writing from Ephesus, not Rome, those who send greetings are not from the very top of the administrative workers within the familia Caesaris, as these persons would be found in Rome (with the exception perhaps of the higher level freedmen who moved frequently from one provincial center to another (cf. Weaver 1972:295).

196. Such members of Caesar's household could form into smaller groups for the worship of a particular deity. Beck (1992:12) points to an inscription (CIMRM 511) which lists a freedman who was "priest and Father of the Unconquered Mithras of the imperial house (domus Augustanae)" which Beck suggests implies a palace mithraeum, "not of course for the imperial family itself but for those members of the palace staff at lower levels who were initiates." Cf. Beck 1996a.
The composition of the Philippian Christian community from among lower rank persons at Philippi is indicated in the few names that are mentioned in the letter (Epaphroditus, Euodia, Syntyche, possibly Clement) and the reference to affiliation with members of Caesar’s household. The lack of specific mention of anyone of higher status by Paul probably indicates that no such persons existed within the Philippian Christian community. If they did, one would expect that they would be noticed by Paul, especially in the context of acknowledgement of monetary support as higher status persons would presumably have contributed more to the fund.

3.3.3.4. The Marketplace

Paul uses a number of metaphors taken from the world of the marketplace and trade when writing to the Philippians. These show a concern not with the high finance of the elite but with the ordinary practices of common merchants. This has clear indications for the social location of the Philippian Christians.

Marketplace metaphors particularly predominate in chapter 3 of Philippians. In the midst of his encomium of self-recommendation (Phil 3:2-17) Paul lists a number of his former achievements in his former way of life as a Pharisee. While his interlocutors are claiming that their way is better, Paul suggests that he has tried their way and found it to be lacking in comparison to a personal knowledge of Christ. Paul uses the language of marketplace\textsuperscript{197} to show how he has exchanged the value of his former virtues under Judaism for something of greater value. Verse 7 states Paul’s premise while verse 8 emphatically reiterates it by reversing the thoughts and then repeating them:\textsuperscript{198}

\begin{quote}
But whatever gain (κέρδη) I had, \\
I counted (ηγημον) as loss (ημίαν) for the sake of Christ.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{197}. Metaphor has the rhetorical function of amplifying a topic in an encomium; see G.A. Kennedy 1984:82.

\textsuperscript{198}. The pattern is A B' A' B A'.

Indeed I count (ηγούμαι) everything as loss (ζημίαν) because of the surpassing worth (υπερέχον) of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord. For his sake I have suffered the loss (εξημιωθήν) of all things, and count them (ηγούμαι) as refuse (σκύβαλα), in order that I may gain (κέρδησον) Christ . . . .

Paul makes extensive use of marketplace language in these two verses. Three times he uses ηγούμαι ("regard"), a word which can be used in contexts of accounting (Schlier 1965:672). This context is confirmed by Paul's use of κέρδος and ζημία and the cognate verbs κέρδησον and εξημιωθήν, which involves loss-gain language reminiscent of bookkeeping. The word ζημία originally meant "disadvantage," but in settings of the marketplace it indicates loss or damage in money or material goods (Moulton and Milligan 1914:273; O'Brien 1991:385). Its use here in the singular is contrasted with the plural use of κέρδος; Paul regards his former "gains" as one great loss in the light of Christ (O'Brien 1991:385). Paul uses the word κέρδος one other time, in Phil 1:21, where it is the result of his death. Here the clear implication is that Paul will be given rest from his present troubles of earthly existence (as is well illustrated by Palmer 1975:203-18). Yet the use of the word here is also clearly drawing on the imagery of the marketplace, where Paul states that it is more "profitable" for him to die.

199. The terms were commonly used outside of the marketplace, but were clearly recognized as coming from that world. Aristotle states, "The terms 'loss' (ζημία) and 'gain' (κέρδος) in these cases are borrowed from the operations of voluntary exchange (Eth. Nic. 5.4.13, 1132b, LCL). "Paul is using the figure of a balance-sheet, showing Assets and Liabilities (Beare 1959:110; cf. Hawthorne 1983:135). For illustrations see Moulton and Milligan 1914:273.

200. The only use of ζημία outside of Philippians is Acts 27:10 and 21, where Luke presents Paul twice noting that the sea voyage to Italy would involve injury and "much loss" of ship and cargo. Indeed, the cargo was thrown overboard and the ship wrecked on some rocks at Malta (Acts 27:18).

201. The plural of κέρδη is often used of money; Moulton and Milligan 1914:341.

202. The only other New Testament use of κέρδος is Tit 1:11 where it is used of false teachers who teach "for base gain" (αἰσχροὶ κέρδους χάριν).

203. For a more fully developed theological investigation of Phil 1:19-26 see Dailey 1990:18-28.
Returning to Phil 3:7-8 we can also note that Paul continues to use the loss-gain language through the verb ἐξημιώω in the phrase: τὰ πάντα ἐξημιώθην (3:8). The form used, ἐξημιώθην, is found only in the passive elsewhere in the New Testament, but here it should probably be understood as the middle with the action ascribed to Paul himself. Paul has not been deprived of everything so much as he has willingly given up all things. Here the thought is even more intensified through the use of this verb and the addition of σκύβαλον to the equation. Continuing with the metaphor of exchange, in 3:8 Paul outlines what he has received by giving up his former achievements, this time using κέρδησω, a cognate of κέρδος. In the language of market exchange, Paul was able to have a net gain far surpassing the value of his former achievements—a relationship with Christ (see O'Brien 1991:387-88; Beare 1959:115). However, when Paul does a final calculation he still has not attained that which he is called to. Again, his "calculation" is noted using a commercial term, λογίζομαι (3:13).

Paul also uses commercial metaphors extensively in Phil 4:14-20. The language of exchange is found in the phrase εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λημψεως ("in the account of giving and receiving," 4:15). Εἰς λόγον is found in many business transactions from antiquity and is probably a technical phrase meaning "to the account of" (Moulton and Milligan 1914:379; Beare 1959:151; P.Marshall 1987:158-59; O'Brien 1991:533). The two nouns δόσεως and λημψεως "refer to monetary transactions

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204. Matt 16:26; Mark 8:36; Luke 9:25; 1 Cor 3:15; 2 Cor 7:9. The passive used with τὰ πάντα would indicate "I have been fined everything" or "I have been deprived of all that I have" (O'Brien 1991:389).


206. The term σκύβαλον is "vulgar" and expresses "the force and totality of his renunciation" (Hawthorne 1983:139). In the larger context of the encomium it is used in a comparative manner. Paul’s former achievements are not "refuse" in and of themselves, they are "refuse" in comparison with what Paul now has.

207. Recognition of the commercial nature of this passage goes back at least until the fourth century and the Homilies of John Chrysostom; see H.A.A.Kennedy 1900:43; Capper 1993:198.
on two sides of a ledger" (O'Brien 1991:534). Even the word καταγράφω used here could denote a business transaction.\footnote{So O'Brien 1991:534. This is probably the case in this context, although it has even stronger resonances within the contexts of comparison with the voluntary associations, as we shall see in chapter 6. What we do not have here is any clear evidence that καταγράφω should be taken in a technical sense to indicate that the Philippians entered into a formal societas relationship with Paul, as Sampley 1980 suggests; see Witherington 1994:118-19. P. Marshall 1987:163 suggests that the entire phrase should be understood as an idiomatic expression indicating friendship.}

The word "fruit" (καρπός) used in 4:17 can be used of the profit which comes from a business transaction (Beare 1959:155) or more specifically as "interest" (H.A.A.Kennedy 1900:43).\footnote{The word καρπός also appears in Phil 1:11 and 1:22, but less obviously as a commercial metaphor.} This latter sense is more likely the case here since the following word is πλεονάζοντα (lit. "continuing to multiply"), a word which can indicate compounding interest (so Beare 1959:155; Berry 1996:119). The business context is further confirmed in Paul's use of εἰς λόγον again (cf. on 4:15 above). In acknowledging the receipt of the Philippians' gift, Paul uses ἀπέκρω ("received") in 4:18, a word very common in business transactions, to indicate the receiving of money or goods. The word ἀπέκρω was often written at the bottom of a receipt (O'Brien 1991:540 n. 180; Berry 1996:120). It was "a word as unmistakable as the mark of a rubber stamp on a bill, PAID" (Beare 1959:150; cf. 156).\footnote{For evidence of this use see BGU II 584.5-6; 612.2-1; Wilcken 1899:1:80-87; Deissmann 1988:229; 1995:110-12; Moulton and Milligan 1914:57 (cf. Matt 6:2, 5, 16; Luke 6:24).} Its use in the phrase ἀπέκρω δὲ πάντα καὶ περισσοῦ (lit. "and I have everything and more") clearly indicates that Paul expects nothing else from the Philippians. In the concluding thoughts of this passage Paul assures the Philippians that "God will supply (πληρώσει) every need of yours" (Phil 4:19). The verb πληρώσω can mean "fill" but it is also very commonly used as "pay" (Moulton and Milligan 1914:520). Thus, God will pay for what the Philippians need, keeping with the theme of the marketplace.

\footnote{209. The word καρπός also appears in Phil 1:11 and 1:22, but less obviously as a commercial metaphor.}
This extensive use of the language of the marketplace has implications for the type of audience Paul addresses. The appeal of Paul's metaphors rests not on the familiarity of the audience with business transactions (most people in antiquity would have been familiar with such) but on the positive place that such language plays in his rhetoric. Paul's dealings with the Philippians over their financial contribution and especially his account of the Christian life indicates that the world of business is not denigrated but held up as a positive metaphor for what takes place among Christians. Among elites the marketplace, and small-scale traders generally, were held in low regard (Josel 1992:63-69; Grant 1977:81).211 Cicero reflects this attitude:

Trade, if it is on a small scale, is to be considered vulgar; but if wholesale and on a large scale, importing large quantities from all parts of the world and distribution to many without misrepresentation, it is not to be greatly disparaged. Nay, it even seems to deserve the highest respect, if those who are engaged in it, satiated, or rather, I should say, satisfied with the fortunes they have made, make their way from the port to a country estate, as they have often made it from the sea into port. (Off. 1.151, LCL)212

Slaves were those whom an elite would send to transact daily business.213 Although this reflects the position of the minority elite, it would have been the culturally dominant position; that is, even those involved in trade would have been aware of the general denigration of their profession. Even those who gained great wealth through trade and were able to purchase their way into the elite circles adopted this elite attitude towards the marketplace and its traders (Garnsey and Saller 1987:44-45, cf. 115). For

211. For Roman satirists "lying, cheating, vulgar tradesmen are stock figures along with rich, obnoxious freedmen, greasy foreigners, decadent nobles, needy clients, insensitive patrons and unchaste women" (Josel 1992:63).

212. Cicero (Off. 1.150-51) catalogues respectable and base trades and occupations, but even those that are respectable are only so for those whose rank suits the occupation; "Although retail trading is vulgar, commerce on a large scale that involves importing and wholesale distribution, if not entirely respectable, ought not to be extensively criticized. It does not require deceit and, like medicine, architecture, and teaching, has a social utility" (Josel 1992:67). See also MacMullen 1974:115-16.

213. The marketplace itself was a venue for the display of the wealth and benefaction of the elite and the place for social and philosophical discourse and would not have been avoided by the elite (cf. F. Dupont 1992:162). However, the actual purchasing of goods would have been the task of the household slaves.
Paul’s rhetoric of the marketplace to be effective, therefore, his audience must be predominantly non-elites, either slaves or freed and free persons, for whom participation in the marketplace was an everyday experience and integral part of their social world.

3.3.3.5. Work

Along with the use of the language of the marketplace Paul makes frequent reference to work. The word Paul uses most frequently for "work" is ἐργοῦ, both by itself and in various compounds of both the noun and the verb, which is the common word for manual labour. In Phil 2:30 Epaphroditus is said to have nearly died for the work (ἐργοῦ) of Christ. Slightly earlier Epaphroditus is described as Paul’s "fellow-worker" (συνεργῶν, 2:25).214 Reference to other "fellow-workers" (συνεργών) occurs in 4:3.215 For Paul, choosing "life" means fruitful labour (καρπὸς ἐργῶν; 1:22). And in 2:12-13 the Philippians themselves are told to "work out (κατεργάζεσθε) your own salvation . . . for God is at work (ἐνεργῶν) in you."217

In Phil 1:6 the Philippians are assured that God will complete the good work (ἐργοῦ ἁγιάζων) he began in you. This stands in contrast to a group which threatens the Philippian group from the outside (Phil 3:2). The members of this group are described

214. Συνεργών occurs in an interesting first century CE (80-90) honourary inscription from Kibyra (Phrygia), which was set up by "the most venerable guild of leather-workers" (ἡ σημειοτάτη συνεργασία τῶν σκυτοβιτρέων; IGR 4.907 ll. 5-7). It also occurs in tomb inscriptions with reference to a guild of flax-workers (İsmýrna 218) and fullers (Saitta, Lydia; 152/53 CE; SEG XXIX 1184, p. 296).

215. Euodia and Syntyche are said to have "laboured side by side" (συνήθλησαν) with Paul and his "fellow-workers," but here Paul uses an athletic metaphor; they are fellow-athletes. However, it is clear in the context that the categories of "fellow-athlete" and "fellow-worker" are interchangeable.

216. Twenty of the twenty-two New Testament occurrences of κατεργάζομαι occur in the Pauline letters.

217. Paul uses the verb ἐνεργέω twelve of the twenty-one New Testament occurrences, while six other occurrences are in Ephesians, Colossians, and 2 Thessalonians.
variously, including the epithet "evil workers" (κακοὶ ἐργάται, 3:2).\footnote{Hawthorne (1983:125) sees ἐργάτης here as indicating the works demanded by God's law. Such work is bad because it does evil to one's own self and to others by instilling a sense of self-reliance. However, it more likely refers to a group of opponents (Judaizing Christian missionaries) because of the two other descriptions, both of which indicate persons. Cf. on Christian missionaries, in Q 10:2 those who are sent out are called "workers" (οἱ ἐργάται).} The use of the adjective κακός is a direct contrast to the use of ἐργαθός used in 1:6 of the work God is doing in the Philippians. These κακοὶ ἐργάται also stand in contrast with the συνεργοὶ mentioned by Paul both before this passage (2:25) and after (4:3).\footnote{If the Philippian church had at its core workers of some sort, the placing of the adjective κακοὶ with a term appropriate to the Philippians themselves serves as a strong contrast of the "opponents" with the members of the Christian community.} Paul also uses another word for "work" in Phil 2:16 when he notes that he did not "labour (ἐκοπίασα) in vain."

Paul's uses of ἐργον and κόπος (and their cognates) clearly places Christian work in a specific social location. Elites did not "labour" or "work"; that was the purview of the lower ranks of society including lower rank free persons, but especially freed persons and slaves.\footnote{See above on 1 Thessalonians; Hock 1980:35-36, 44-45.} Clearly for these metaphors of work not to have been offensive a lower socio-economic status must be assumed for the audience.\footnote{Other ancient writers, including the moral philosophers, wrote of work and encouraged those who were not privileged to undertake work (Hock 1980:44-45). However, they did not do so for the privileged elite nor did they include themselves among those who participate in handwork.} In fact, Paul's own attitude towards work, along with the positive benefits he upholds as a result of work, indicates an assumption of the basic dignity of work and labour, both for himself and for his audience. Thus, it is clear that the Philippian Christians come from the lower ranks of society where such an attitude would prevail. However, we do not know whether the Philippians themselves were handworkers as Paul nowhere in the letter addresses the Philippians directly on their attitude towards work or encourages them in their work, as he does with the Thessalonians.

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2018. Hawthorne (1983:125) sees ἐργάτης here as indicating the works demanded by God's law. Such work is bad because it does evil to one's own self and to others by instilling a sense of self-reliance. However, it more likely refers to a group of opponents (Judaizing Christian missionaries) because of the two other descriptions, both of which indicate persons. Cf. on Christian missionaries, in Q 10:2 those who are sent out are called "workers" (οἱ ἐργάται).

2019. If the Philippian church had at its core workers of some sort, the placing of the adjective κακός with a term appropriate to the Philippians themselves serves as a strong contrast of the "opponents" with the members of the Christian community.

220. See above on 1 Thessalonians; Hock 1980:35-36, 44-45.

221. Other ancient writers, including the moral philosophers, wrote of work and encouraged those who were not privileged to undertake work (Hock 1980:44-45). However, they did not do so for the privileged elite nor did they include themselves among those who participate in handwork.
There are a number of indications in the text that confirm that the Philippian Christians were not well-to-do, despite their generous contributions to Paul and to the collection for Jerusalem. In fact, Paul makes explicit reference to their poverty in 2 Cor 8:1-2 where he points out that the churches of Macedonia contributed despite their "extreme poverty" (βάθος πτωχείας). In Philippians itself, Paul’s assurance that God will supply "all their needs" (πᾶσαν χρεῖαν ἵματος, 4:19) suggests that they have material needs to begin with. Furthermore, Paul’s statement of contentment when facing "poverty... hunger and... want" (4:12) may also suggest that the Philippians need to possess such contentment, with the larger context implying that it is contentment in "want" not "wealth" that they must possess.

3.3.4. Evidence from Acts

The Lukan account of the travels of the early Christian missionaries places Paul and Silas in the city of Philippi during Paul’s second journey. They are passing through the city on their way to points farther east. At this point in Luke’s narrative the first "we" passage begins. Although some have used this as evidence that Luke is here recording his own observations, others have suggested that rather these are the

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222. The parallel with "my need" (χρεῖαν μοι) in 4:16 indicates that the reference in 4:19 is to the Philippians’ material needs similar to the needs of Paul which were fulfilled with the Philippians financial contribution; so Hawthorne 1983:207-08.


224. That Paul faces poverty, hunger, and want is probably due to his lower status and life as an artisan, compounded by his itinerancy. Times of "plenty" would result from certain benefactions from others, including perhaps the Philippians.

observations of an unnamed source writer whom Luke has incorporated into his narrative, although not without changes.226

According to Acts 16:14-15 the first convert to Christianity was a woman named Lydia, which probably reflects a well-established tradition (Lüdemann 1987:183; Abrahamsen 1987:18). A number of elements of Lydia’s background and social position can be gleaned from both the explicit and implicit information Luke provides in the text of Acts. As to her ethnic origin, she is from Thyatira a city in the Roman province of Asia (Acts 16:14).227 The name "Lydia" may be an ethnic appellation which designated her place of origin, as Thyatira is in the area of Lydia (Horsley 1982:27; Haenchen 1971:494; cf. McLean 1996a:68). A number of inscriptions which suggest that several people involved in the purple trade were ex-slaves cause Horsley (1982:27) to suggest that "this may well be the most appropriate category in which to locate Lydia." However, three first or second century inscriptions attest to women of status who use the name Lydia, making the assumption of former servile status somewhat conjectural.228 Her status of freeperson, either freeborn or freed slave is indicated by her control over a household and a house (see below).

That Lydia is a woman of some financial means is attested in two ways. First, she is a dealer in purple (πορφυρόπωλος, Acts 16:14), which indicates the means to buy

226. I tend towards this latter position. Such a position also makes best sense of the civic pride reflected in the well attested reading πρώτη τῆς μερίδος Μακεδονίας πόλεως in Acts 16:12 (see Ascough 1998a). However, I think that the identification of the "we" source with "Luke" himself is tenuous and not likely insofar as the text of Acts 16 seems to reflect some traditions with an overlay of Lukan concerns (as we shall see below).

227. It is interesting to note that Thyatira was first settled by Macedonians in the third century BCE; see Bruce 1951:314.

228. Hemer (1983:54 cf. 1989:114 n. 32; 231): "Julia Lydia of Sardis (L. Robert, BCH 102 [1978] 405; cf. SEG 928; after 17 CE), and Julia Lydia Laterane of Ephesus, high priestess and daughter of Asia (SEG 869; cf. 857, where the name is restored; both dated I/II)." Cf. Lüdemann (1987:183) who also doubts that she came from Lydia. McRay (1991:246) thinks Lydia was likely a wealthy woman from Thyatira "whose business took her as far as Philippi."
and sell this commodity. Second, she has both a "household" and a "house" (Acts 16:15). Her "household" would include any children that were still living with her as well as their families, her slaves and their families, and any workers employed by her for the purple-trade (i.e., slaves who were hired from others on a contractual basis).

There are two ways in which Lydia may have acquired her wealth. If she had been a slave she may have gained her money through the financial responsibility given to her during her period of servitude. Slaves were often allowed to keep some of the profit they made, thus giving them an incentive to work hard (Garnsey and Saller 1987:124). As well, many slaves were granted substantial bequests along with manumission at the death of their master (Garnsey and Saller 1987:124). As many freed slaves maintained a close relationship with former masters they also often received a legacy when the master died.

Lydia may also have had access to her dowry and her father's property. In a sine manu marriage, the most common form during the Augustan age, a woman who married remained in her father's familia and legal power. Upon the death of her father she could become the primary inheritor of his wealth, over which she maintained control. Despite her dowry transferring to her husband at their wedding, it was only his property for the duration of the marriage. Upon divorce or the death of the husband, the woman received back her dowry, thus limiting the husband's power to use the dowry (see Garnsey and Saller 1987:130-36).

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229. Dassmann 1984:83. Cf. Treggiari 1979:76. An inscription from the late Republic indicates that a woman, Veturia, is engaged in the purple trade, possibly without her husband, and is quite wealthy (Treggiari 1979:71, 78). For the use of πορφυρόταλεις in antiquity BAGD (s.v.) cite CIG 2519 and P.Fl. 71, 641 (IV CE) which refer to women involved in this occupation, although the former text is restored. For more details see Horsley 1982:26-27, who notes other epigraphical texts.

230. See Hopkins 1988:765, who cites the case of a female slave hired out as a weaver for one year. On the broader definition of αἰχος see Meeks (1980:118) who suggests that it may also include business associates and tenants.
As to marital status, Lydia was perhaps divorced or widowed with three or four children. Two Augustan laws, the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* (18 BCE) and the *lex Papia Poppaea* (9 CE), gave a number of rights to freeborn women with three children and freed women with four children. Such women were allowed to be involved in legal (including financial) transactions of their own accord. They did not need to act through their legal male guardian (*κύριος*). This law was commonly referred to as the *ius (triwm) liberorum* (Horsley 1982:29; Portefaix 1988:9 n. 4).

Divorce was common in the Augustan age, especially in light of *sine manu* marriage laws, and the practice of older men marrying younger women would lead to many women being widowed at a young age (Garnsey and Saller 1987:131). From the scant evidence that Luke provides we can determine that Lydia was involved in financial transactions and was in charge of a household (in the broader sense of children, slaves, and workers). As well, she was able to offer hospitality to the missionaries, according to Luke, without the approval of anyone, particularly a husband. This suggests that the *ius liberorum* was applicable in her case and that she was not married.231

Acts 16:15 and 40 underscores Lydia’s place in the formation of the Philippian church. Upon the conversion of Lydia and her household Lydia insists that Paul and his companions stay at her house (16:15).232 And it is at her house that Paul and Silas encouraged τούς ἀδελφούς before leaving the city (16:40).233 Thus Luke indicates that Lydia allowed her home to be used as the meeting place of the initial Christian converts

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231. For papyri examples of how the *ius liberorum* was employed in antiquity see Horsley 1982:29-32. He does caution that what was applicable in Egypt may not have been so in Macedonia in the first century (1982:32).

232. No impropriety is suggested in this, especially as "[t]he writer of Acts is so very cautious about propriety, it would be quite unlike him to allow any element of immodesty in the story of Lydia’s invitation to Paul" (Cotter 1994:364, citing Cadbury 1920:90-96).

233. The ἀδελφοί may be both men and women, as the word is not gender specific in this context (cf. Phil 4:1-2). Properly ἀδελφοί refers to "sons of the same mother," (LSJ s.v.) which is clearly not the case when used by Paul or Luke of members of a Christian community.
at Philippi. This probably reflects the historical situation as it would explain the preservation of the account of her conversion. Thus we have some evidence in Acts for the foundation of the Philippian church as a house based group, the patron of which was an independent business woman. Nevertheless, Luke’s proclivity to present men and women of substance as founding members of Christian communities means that this the presentation of Lydia must be used with caution. However, that Lydia is named, and the details that are given (in contrast to Acts 17:4, 12) suggest that there may be some veracity in the tradition (cf. Luke 8:1-3).

Acts 16:25-34 finds Paul and Silas in a Philippian jail. A midnight earthquake provides an opportunity for the prisoners to escape, although they do not avail themselves of it. The jailer’s suicide is averted and he and his household (οἶκος) are baptized into the Christian community. This unnamed jailer was probably not a Roman official or a Roman military veteran. The Romans tended to employ a variety of men within the various levels of prison personnel (see Rapske 1994:244-54). In the case of Philippi, there is some evidence that the jailer would be a public slave (Rapske 1994:261-64). A prison was often near, or even part of, the jailer’s place of residence, as is the case indicated in Acts 16, since Paul and Silas are "brought up" (ἐφαγαγαγών, 16:34) from the prison, presumably to a second floor, where they meet the jailer’s household (Bruce 1988:318; cf. Rapske 1994:126). Unfortunately the entire incident is overlain with Lukan redaction (Lüdemann 1987:182-83) and it is almost impossible to determine if there is any historical core to the account, except perhaps in the arrest, imprisonment, and release of Paul and Silas at Philippi (cf. 2 Cor 11:25 and 1 Thess 2:2; Lüdemann 1987:184). However, the conversion of a jailer and his household may reflect a Philippian tradition as well.

In Luke’s account of the origins of the Philippian church there is little to be learned about the people who make up the first converts at Philippi: a Gentile woman
and her household, perhaps a jailer and his household. However, should these traditions be authentic, the social location of such persons certainly coincides with the social location which we determined for the Philippian converts—lower status persons of mixed gender who are most at home in the world of the marketplace. In addition, if there is any stock in the tradition concerning Lydia, we learn that at least one member of the Philippian Christian community was wealthy enough to host the whole assembly in her house, although she was not a particularly high ranking person. Thus, Luke’s description of the founding of the Philippian Christian community provides a secondary, if limited, confirmation of our study of the social location of the Philippian Christians reflected in Paul’s letter.

3.4. Summary and Conclusion

We have now come to the conclusion of our analysis of the social location of the Macedonian Christians at both Thessalonica and Philippi. An examination of 1 Thessalonians showed how Paul’s upholding of his own example, his appeals to work, and especially his encouragement that the Thessalonians continue to work with their own hands (4:11), all would be most rhetorically effective if the audience is located among the lower ranks of society, particularly among artisans and labourers who presumably worked at the same trade as Paul. Their poverty was further confirmed by Paul’s need to rely on his own skills as an artisan (2:9) and outside help from the Philippians while he was in Thessalonica. Acts 17:1-9 was of little help due to the overlay of Lukan redaction, although some aspects of the text could point to a tradition

234. There is no indication in Acts that the slave girl who was exorcized of a demon joined the Christian community (Acts 16:16-24).

235. Namely, if she comes from former servile status; see on slavery, above.
of the founding of the Thessalonian church among artisans (namely, the interpretation of Jason's house as a workshop).

In Philippians we discerned a number of features which indicated a lower status audience. Paul's central appeal that the Philippians imitate him (3:17) must be read in light of his depiction of himself as lower status ("slave"; prisoner). Paul also holds forth Christ in his humble state as an example for the Philippians. The Philippians lower status as slaves or freedpersons is confirmed by a study of those named in the letter, who seem to come from the lower ranks. Finally, Paul's extensive use of marketplace metaphors suggests that this is the arena in which the Philippians are most comfortable, again an indication of lower status. At the same time, the contributions of the Philippians to both Paul and the Jerusalem collection suggest that they are financially in a somewhat better position that the Thessalonians, although nothing in the letter indicates a rich congregation or the presence of significant benefactors. Some limited confirmation for this picture of the Philippian Christian congregation was found in the traditions in Acts, particularly in the person of Lydia, a business person of some means.

Thus, in the case of both Thessalonica and Philippi a number of features within the material appropriate to each Christian community indicates that the majority of Christians came from the lower ranks of society (slaves and freedpersons) and were intimately involved in the arena of the marketplace and trade. In the case of the Thessalonians, they seem to have been manual labourers. The Philippians seem to have been somewhat more financially better off than the Thessalonians, but are still to be located among the lower ranks of society. From this conclusion, we can take the next step and examine how such persons would have constituted themselves in their corporate life.
CHAPTER 4
ANALOGOUS MODELS OF COMMUNITY

Having determined from 1 Thessalonians and Philippians the social location of the Macedonian Christians we are now in a position to examine how these Christians would have formed themselves into a community. A number of possible analogous models have been put forward by scholars for understanding Pauline community formation, either in general or with respect to specific Pauline communities. In this chapter we will begin by noting the role households played in the formation of various forms of community in antiquity. We will then examine in turn synagogues, the mysteries, and philosophical schools. We will investigate each model in turn, describing what the associative community was like, tracing how it has been used by New Testament scholars in the past, and evaluating its applicability for understanding the Macedonian Christian communities. In the next chapter we will look in considerable detail at voluntary associations. We will argue that it is this latter form of association that is the most appropriate analogous model to be used in understanding Christian community in Macedonia.

4.1. Households and House Churches

In antiquity (as also today) various institutions might be labeled "public" or "private" (Banks 1994:6; Winter 1994:2). Public institutions traditionally were concerned with the πόλις, the day to day business of the city. The private sphere was the ὀίκος, or "the household," to which an individual belonged (through birth, slavery, or employment). In the Hellenistic age the strict division between the public sphere and the private sphere became increasingly blurred, although one can still speak of institutions as being in one of these two spheres. Paul's churches, as well as each of the
analogous groups that we are considering, can be placed in the sphere of the "private." For the most part they do not have a significant role in the public life of a city, at least during the first century.

The basis for "private" life in antiquity was the household. The household was usually an extended household. Under Roman law the oldest male was the head, the *paterfamilias*, and all other members of the household were under his authority, including children, grandchildren, slaves, and even employees if the *paterfamilias* happened to be a landowner or manufacturer (cf. Garnsey and Saller 1987:127). In the absence of a male *paterfamilias* (usually due to death) in certain cases a woman could assume the headship of a household (see Garnsey and Saller 1987:130-36; Horsley 1982:29).

The household was the place of solidarity in terms of both kinship ties and religious belief. Personal loyalty to the household was such that when the head of a house undertook a different way of life or adopted a new belief (a philosophical school or a different religion, including some of the mysteries, Judaism, or Christianity) he or she did so with the entire household (Judge 1960b:35-36). This household would then become the nucleus of the newly formed group, especially if the family involved was wealthy. It this way households were often the basic cells of church formation and a vital factor in the church's development (Filson 1939:112; Meeks 1983:75; Stambaugh and Balch 1986:140).

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2. Clearly not everyone in the household would necessarily be content with the new allegiance, thus creating social tensions (see Meeks 1983:76-77). Such was probably the case with Onesimus in Philemon's household, who, despite his master's conversion to Christianity, was not a Christian when he met Paul at a later date.

A careful reading of both Acts and Paul’s letters quickly reveals that in a number of cases the Christian community at a particular location was composed of a "household" or a collection of households. According to Acts the early church was first formed from a number of smaller cells of Christians, seemingly composed of household units (Acts 2:47; 5:42). Probably they met in a large room within the house, perhaps even an "upstairs room" as is indicated in Acts 1:13 and 20:6-9. This pattern was continued throughout Acts where we find a number of households converting to Christianity, including that of Cornelius (Acts 10:1 - 11:18), Lydia (Acts 16:15), the Philippian jailer (Acts 16:31-34), and Crispus (Acts 18:8).

In Paul’s letters there are a number of references to the meetings of Christian households, identified by the individuals in whose home they met: Stephanas (1 Cor 1:16; 16:15), Prisca and Aquila (1 Cor 16:19; Rom 16:3-5), Philemon (Phlm 2), Aristobulus (Rom 16:10), Narcissus (Rom 16:11); cf. Nympha (Col 4:15). Along with this there are other, more vague references that most likely indicate Christian house churches (e.g., those named and unnamed in Rom 16:14-15 [Meeks 1983:75], the factions mentioned in 1 Cor 1:11-12). In light of these striking references to Christian "households" some have proposed that the household is the best analogy for understanding the formation of Paul’s communities.

The early house church can characterized as a domestic residence which has not been altered structurally and is used, in whole or in part, by the local Christian community for casual assembly (L.M. White 1990a:104-05; cf. Blue 1994:125).


5. In Corinth, as elsewhere, the "entire church" of the city was composed of a number of smaller congregations from around the city; see Branick 1989:23-28.
Christians would meet there for any number of reasons, including convenience, want of another place of worship, in imitation of synagogue worship, because the setting provided facilities necessary for the fellowship (i.e., a kitchen and dining room), or to remain inconspicuous and retain privacy (Blue 1994:121). A number of such house churches have been identified, and some excavated, particularly in recent years.6

One of the first scholars to highlight the significance of understanding early Christianity in light of house churches was Floyd Filson (1939). Filson suggested that an understanding of the actual physical conditions under which the early Christians lived and met together would enhance one's exegetical understanding of the New Testament texts. Filson pointed out the large amount of evidence for the existence of these house churches that can be found in the New Testament itself, in the writings of the early church Fathers, and in the archaeological record (namely, at the church of San Clemente in Rome, Dura Europas in Syria, and Priene in Asia Minor). In fact, the archaeological records indicate that a small group meeting in a private house eventually grew and developed into a larger body which needed more space than available in private dwellings, necessitating extensions to these dwellings to the point at which they became separately identifiable buildings ("churches").7

Filson (1939) outlines five ways in which understanding early Christian groups as formed from households into "house churches" can further our understanding of the

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7. Prior to Constantine's edict of 313 CE recognizing Christianity as the religion of the Empire, there were three stages in the development of Christian places of worship (see L.M. White 1990a:102-39, also summarized in Blue 1994:124-30). The first period covers 50-150 when Christians met in private homes belonging to members. In the second period, from 150-250, private residences were renovated for exclusive use by the Christian communities for worship. During the final stage (250-313) larger buildings and halls were constructed, anticipating the basilical architecture of Constantine (L.M. White 1990a:4-5). L.M. White (1990a:24) is careful to point out that overall there was a "subtle process of architectural adaptation through incremental renovation of existing structures" rather than radical and deliberate changes.
early church more generally. First, rather than seeing the early Christians being rooted exclusively in the synagogues of Judaism, the house churches help us see how Christians were able to develop their own distinct worship and fellowship. Second, it explains why great attention is paid to family life in the letters of Paul (and others). Third, the existence of more than one house church in a city explains the divisions extant at a particular location. Fourth, we are better able to get a sense of the social status of early Christians—while the majority were undoubtedly poor, some must have attained modest wealth and success, enough that they could own a home in which a larger group could meet. Finally, the fixed church leadership structure can be best understood if seen as a development out of the concept of leadership in the household.

In all cases, later exegetical study of Pauline texts based on an understanding of ancient households has proved useful.

Filson’s study is not without some limitations. While it is clear that an understanding of ancient households is very helpful for understanding the formation of the earliest Christian groups this model is not mutually exclusive of the other models such as the synagogues, mysteries, philosophical schools, and voluntary associations. In fact, there is evidence from each of these other models that in some cases the groups formed themselves using the household as a base, either in having entire households join or in using fictive kinship language to reflect a new household. We have evidence

8. For example, some scholars understand the divisions at Corinth as centered around competing house churches (e.g., Branick 1989:118; Snyder 1992:21). Peterlin (1995:125-26) suggests the same scenario for the division between Euodia and Syntyche at Philippi. Klauck (1981b:35), Malherbe (1983:70), Dassmann (1984:88), and Schöllgen (1988a:78) suggest that a number of house churches existed at Thessalonica, based on 1 Thess 5:27.

9. Filson’s juxtaposition of the synagogue and the house church is too stark (see note 10, below). He seems to imply that the development of church leadership on the basis of the household was somehow unique among ancient groups; it was not. However, this should not over look the important contribution Filson’s study made to New Testament scholarship.
of households which were the basis for synagogues,\textsuperscript{10} the mysteries,\textsuperscript{11} and voluntary associations.\textsuperscript{12} Private households were also the locus for much philosophical teaching and even some philosophical schools.\textsuperscript{13} That early Christianity was based on the use of households does not exclude profitable investigation of other models which built on this foundation.

It is likely that at both Thessalonica and Philippi the nascent Christian community met in the house of one of its members; certainly this is the picture portrayed in Acts (16:15, 40; cf. 17:5-6). However, this model only lets us see where they may have met, not how they might have structured themselves. Other ancient models of community formation are much more helpful for this task. It is to these other analogous models of early Christian community formation to which we will now turn our attention.


\textsuperscript{13} De Witt 1954a:93, 52; Stowers 1984:66-68; Maier 1991:21-22. Stowers (1984) argues that the primary location of Paul's missionary preaching and subsequent teaching was private homes rather than public places. In this, Paul was like many of the philosophers of his day.
4.2. Synagogues

According to Acts there is a basic pattern to Paul’s missionary strategy for each city he visits: Paul and his companions go first to the synagogue where they have some success with both Jews and "God-fearers." They then experience opposition by the Jewish leadership and turn instead to the Gentiles, who more favorably accept their message (see Acts 13:13-51 [Pisidian Antioch]; 14:1-6 [Iconium]; 17:10-14 [Beroea]; 17:16-22 [Athens]; 18:1-11 [Corinth]; 18:1, 8-10 [Ephesus]; 28:17-18 [Rome]; cf. 13:5 [Salamis]). This is certainly the basic paradigm in the case of Thessalonica (Acts 17:1-9) and Philippi (Acts 16:11-40). Unfortunately, Paul never describes the logistics of his missionary strategy in detail in his letters. However, he probably did not follow the pattern outlined in Acts since he considered himself to be an apostle to the Gentiles, not the Jews (Gal 1:16, 2:7-9; Rom 11:13-14). Nevertheless, many have still maintained that when Paul formed his new Christian communities he did so among mostly Gentile God-fearers and some Jews and that they were organized on the basis of the synagogue model.

14. Throughout Acts opposition to Christianity is perpetrated by the Jewish leaders and not "the Jews" generally. For a survey of the considerable literature on this topic and for this conclusion see Ascough 1992, esp. 1-31 and 181-224.

15. Nanos (1996:15, 18, 239 and n.1) thinks that Paul’s mention of “to the Jew first and then to the Greek” (Rom 1:16; cf. 2:9-10) reflects Paul’s two-step missionary strategy similar to that described in Acts. In fact, this assumption is the basis of much of Nanos’ interpretation of Romans. However, Nanos’ understanding of these verses is neither well-argued nor well supported by other interpreters. It is more likely that Rom 1:16 and 2:9-10 are describing the overall plan of God in salvation history; see Byrne 1996:57; Fitzmyer 1993:256-57, 303.
4.2.1. The Structure of First Century CE Synagogues

It is clear that in antiquity Jews gathered together on the Sabbath for meetings focused on prayer and study (Maccoby 1989:59; Kee 1990:8-14).16 This is true both in Palestine and in the Diaspora. Synagogues were formed by Jews inside and outside of Palestine not as a replacement for the Temple and the worship and sacrifices there but as a local meeting place.17 Although there seems to have been some early connections between the synagogues and the Temple, "as time went on, the synagogue achieved greater independence from Temple worship, and developed an ethos and atmosphere of its own" (Maccoby 1989:60). For Jews in the Diaspora it "was the institution that provided cohesion and continuity" and "was all-important in preserving Judaism in the Diaspora" (Maccoby 1989:62).

The earliest archaeological evidence for synagogue buildings comes from second or first century BCE Delos.18 Other extensive excavations of synagogues have taken place at Priene, Sardis, Stobi (cf. CIC 694 [02]), Ostia, and Dura-Europas.19 All but the Sardis synagogue seem to have developed from the modification of a private residence (L.M. White 1990a:62), and in all cases the evidence suggests that the

16. Kee (1990:8-14) suggests that the synagogues were also centres for personal purity and places where a meal could be shared together.

17. There are suggestions in the rabbinic literature, Philo and Josephus, and even the New Testament (Acts 15:21) that the synagogue practices go back to the time of Moses. However, the institution is not likely to have been in evidence in some recognizable form until, at the earliest, the sixth century BCE or, at the latest, the early second century BCE (Burrow 1992:202-04; Urman and Flesher 1995:xx-xxiv). Cohen (1987:111) suggests that a "long and complicated process" led to three separate institutions, a prayer-house, a study hall or school, and a meeting-house, eventually being combined as a "synagogue."

18. The identification of this building as a Jewish synagogue is controversial. See the brief summary of the debate in McLean 1996b:192-95; McLean thinks that it is a Samaritan synagogue (1996b:193). L.M. White (1990a:66) argues that it functioned for the Jews on Delos in much the same way buildings served other ethnically based professional associations on the island: "It is quite likely that an early Jewish enclave on Delos, as in other places, would have established such an ethnic association to advance their professional interests and to preserve their ancestral worship, but with little to distinguish their building from other houses and associations in the Hellenistic environment."

building would not be identified as a distinctive "synagogue" until the second century CE or later (L.M. White 1990a, passim). In fact, there is little evidence at all prior to the first century for synagogue buildings as distinct from domestic residences, which probably explains the lack of testimony to them in the archaeological record (Gutmann 1975:xii-xiii). Nevertheless, there is some literary evidence to suggest that the pattern of Jews meeting together on the Sabbath was widespread throughout the Roman Empire in the first century (cf. Leon 1995:135-37). Philo records that "each Sabbath day there stand wide open in every city thousands of schools of good sense, temperance, courage, justice and the other virtues, in which the scholars sit in order quietly with ears alert and with full attention . . . " (Spec. Leg. 2.15.62, LCL). The Gospels, and especially Acts, also indicate that synagogues were widespread in the first century.

The most common term used for Jews who "gathered together" was συναγωγή. However, the evidence from the first century CE and earlier indicates that the word συναγωγή refers to the organized community of Jews who met for worship and not to a particular building wherein they met (Burckhardt 1992:202; cf. Urman and Flesher 1995:xix; Cohen 1987:111). Prior to the first century CE a physical location for a Jewish meeting place was referred to as a προσευχή, or "prayer-house" (Hengel

20. Kee (1990:9) notes that prior to 200 CE there is no evidence that the synagogues in Palestine were architecturally distinguishable edifices; but see Mattila 1996:267 who summarizes some archaeological evidence for buildings constructed as public assembly halls in pre-70 Palestine (at Gamla, Masada, and Herodium). For a survey of Palestinian sites see Meyers and Kraabel 1986:175-83, although it is already ten years out of date, a significant factor in archaeological investigation, particularly in ancient Palestine. Jaffee's assessment (1997:176) is correct that, "[i]n contrast to the diaspora situation, synagogues seem to have been less prominent in Palestinian Jewish society prior to the third century CE . . . Jewish ethnic dominance within the Palestinian population, and the influential presence of the Jerusalem Temple, may have hindered an essentially diasporic institution from making much headway in the homeland until the Temple was destroyed. Fine (1996) shows how the synagogues in Palestine became for the Jews "the bridge between the loss of their cosmic center and the hope for the rebuilding of the Temple" (1996:41).

21. The earliest non-biblical references to Jewish meeting places in the Diaspora are found in two inscriptions from Upper Egypt dating between 246 and 221 BCE. One honours King Ptolemy and Queen Berenice and their children by dedicating to them a "prayer-house" (προσευχή, CPJ 3 no. 1440). The second commemorates the dedication of a separate προσευχή by the King and Queen to the Jews at Crocodilopolis (CPJ 3 no. 1532).
At some point during the first century \( \sigmaυναγωγή \) was applied to both the assembly and the building (Urman and Flesher 1995:xix). However, at what point in the first century \( \sigmaυναγωγή \) came to be used of the building is the subject of much debate. Kee (1990) has argued that this shift from \( προσευχή \) to \( συναγωγή \) happened in the late first or early second century CE.

A general description is often given for the organization of the Diaspora synagogue: The synagogue was governed by a group of elders in a presbyterial form of government (Burtchaell 1992:204). As an organization the synagogue provided a number of services for the Jews living in a particular locale. During the Greco-Roman period the synagogues would undertake any number of civic administrative matters depending upon the amount of active government on the part of the imperial authorities. In those places with little government the synagogue could take on "the full apparatus of a civil municipality" (Burtchaell 1992:206). Alongside the religious functions, a local synagogue might also take on roles such as tax collector, social welfare agency, hospitality to strangers, archive for important documents and valuables, and community hall. For the Jew "all communal aspects of life beyond the family—religious, civic, economic and educational—was found in their local synagogues" (Burtchaell 1992:227; cf. Feldman 1993:63). Each local assembly was governmentally autonomous, with no greater outside authority. Each saw itself as a "microcosm of the full assembly of Israel" (Burtchaell 1992:215). Nevertheless, there were connections with the Temple in Israel in the form of a "temple tax" sent by each

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22. "Das bis in die frühe Kaiserzeit in der griechisch sprechenden Diaspora nicht \( συναγωγή \), sondern \( προσευχή \) die vorherrschende offizielle Bezeichnung für Synagogengebäude war" (Hengel 1971:171). On the use of \( προσευχή \) and \( συναγωγή \) in the Diaspora and Palestine more generally see Hengel 1971.
assembly to Jerusalem,\textsuperscript{23} although local autonomy and local allegiance remained high.\textsuperscript{24} Unfortunately, much of the evidence for this description of the synagogue comes from later than the first century, primarily from the Talmud and the Mishnah, and sometimes inscriptions, which is read back into the first century CE or earlier, often without justification (e.g., Feldman 1993:63).\textsuperscript{25} Nevertheless, what is important, and what the evidence does seem to bear out, is that in various Diaspora locales in the first century "the Jews were organized" to some degree (Feldman 1993:64).

A number of scholars have suggested that the synagogue is the best analogy for understanding the formation and structure of the early Pauline churches, primarily because these churches are thought to be structurally similar to the synagogues.\textsuperscript{26} For example, John Gager (1975:126-29; 135-40)\textsuperscript{27} argues that Diaspora Judaism provided the "blueprint" for Christianity when it was adapting to the Greco-Roman world outside of Palestine in a number of ways: sacred scripture (the LXX), methods of interpretation, recensions of Jewish documents (e.g., Sibylline Oracles), the influence of Philo, and the provision of a place for Christian missionaries to attempt to win

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23} Every adult male Jew was required to contribute a half-shekel annually to the Jerusalem Temple (Feldman 1993:65). The temple tax was imposed in the post-exilic period or later, and in the first century CE it was still controversial, with a number of groups (i.e., priests; Qumran) claiming exemption; see Horbury 1984:277-82.
\item \textsuperscript{25} One instance of inscripational evidence cited for such diverse functions, the "Theodotus" inscription from Jerusalem (\textit{CIJ} 1404), is often assumed to come from the first century CE (e.g., Cohen 1987:112-13). It now seems more probable that it dates from at least the second century or later (see the detailed investigation by Kee 1995a).
\item \textsuperscript{26} Below we discuss only a few representative positions. Others could be cited (cf. Ascough 1998b [forthcoming]). For example, Georgi (1995) argues that all of the evidence from early Christian texts point to Christianity as emerging as one faction of first century Judaism rather than as a separate religion diametrically opposed to it. Kee (1995) assumes that the communities which Paul founded were very much grounded in Jewish ways of thinking and living; cf. Kee (1990:1-24), who makes the connection between Christian groups (\textit{ἐκκλησία}) reflected in the Gospels and the emerging rabbinic groups, which adopt the name \textit{συναγωγή}.
\item \textsuperscript{27} For an analysis of Gager see J.Z. Smith 1978.
\end{itemize}
converts—the synagogue. The Christian communities adopted the basic structure of the Diaspora synagogues for their meetings in terms of leadership, liturgical practices, and social practice. Christianity triumphed over Judaism in socio-political terms because Diaspora Judaism never reached its potential as a "major universal religion" (1975:139) and Hellenistic Christianity offered all of the advantages of Jewish religion without the obligations of the ritual law or the connections with a national identity (1975:139-40).28

Burtchaell (1992) shares this view that Christians and Jews had much in common in terms of community structure.29 He examines the evidence from the ancient Jewish communities and shows how the Christian churches actually continued the offices of the synagogue. After sketching the history of the synagogue and describing briefly the various functions which it had within the Jewish community (in Palestine and the Diaspora) Burtchaell turns his attention to his central concern—the officers of the synagogue (1992:228-63). He concludes that within the vast array of evidence there is a tradition of community program, services and offices that could be characterized as "typical" of the Jewish synagogues. This is important as he turns to the Christian churches to attempt to show that an analogous pattern can be discerned that shows the continuation from synagogue to church.

Methodologically, Burtchaell wants to allow for "shifts in nomenclature" and "distinctively Christian developments" when explaining how the structure of Christian groups arose from the synagogue model (1992:274). This methodological caveat,

28. Gager explicitly rejects the mysteries (1975:129) and the philosophical schools (1975:134-35) as valid models for understanding early Christian formation. In fact, he claims that had Christianity adopted the institutional pattern of one of these other groups it would not have survived much past the first century (1975:129; 134).

29. See also Rajak and Noy (1993:77); cf. Rajak (1985) who suggests Jews and Christians shared many habits (scripture-reading, hymn-singing, prayers, common meals) and many problems (i.e., those which arose from participation in city life and interaction with pagans).
however, quickly becomes the weak link in his argument. Burtchaell argues for the direct continuity from synagogue to church, but almost immediately with nomenclature for the groups (i.e., Paul's use of ἐκκλησία and never συναγωγή) and the group officials he has to allow that "the Christians were beginning to differentiate themselves" from the Jewish communities (1992:278). He attempts to diminish this problem by suggesting that "nomenclature is not structure" (1992:278) but has not proved this. In fact, Burtchaell seems to assume what he seeks to prove throughout his investigation. That is, he assumes that there was continuity from synagogue to church and then seeks to explain all of the differences as the Christians breaking away from the Jewish groups. However, he never presents a compelling argument for the continuity he assumes. The differences that he notes in membership, leadership, property ownership, and nomenclature (summarized 1992:340-48) seem to outweigh vastly the similarities in function he describes (1992:339-40). In fact, some of the functions (prayer, ritual meals, discussion of community policy, enforcement of discipline, choosing of officers, burial of the dead and maintenance of cemeteries) are general enough to be true of many types of groups, with no obvious link required between churches and synagogues. The similarity he discusses in the world-wide organization of both Jewish and Christian groups, including the contention that there were no locally autonomous communities, simply misreads the evidence (see Ascough 1997a; further §5.3, below).

Compounding these problems is Burtchaell's blending of Palestinian Christianity with Christian groups elsewhere (i.e., Pauline groups in urban areas; cf. 1992:336, 352)30 and thus his failure to recognize fundamental differences among the Christian groups themselves.

30. Along with a somewhat uncritical understanding of the picture of the expansion of Christianity described in Acts.
In describing briefly the various models available for understanding early Christian group formation Meeks (1983:80-81) calls the Jewish synagogue "the nearest and most natural model" for understanding the urban Christian groups, as these groups were an offshoot of Judaism (1983:80; cf. 1986:110). There are a number of similarities. First, Jewish groups and the Christian groups both had a sense of belonging to a larger movement, beyond the local group. Second, Paul’s use of ἐκκλησία is similar to the "special" use of the word by Greek speaking Jews (although Meeks can cite no evidence that it was used of a synagogue). Third, both groups used private dwellings for meetings and the structure of the meetings were "probably" similar. However, Meeks also has to admit to a number of differences. Terminology for officers seems to be different, women are accorded a greater role in churches, the membership requirements of the churches are broader than ethnic background, and Paul rejects certain Jewish rituals (e.g., circumcision). Thus, while the synagogue is, for Meeks, the best model, it is still deficient for fully explaining the phenomenon of the formation of Paul’s churches.

The problem of determining the nature of the first century synagogues and the structural differences between synagogues and Christian groups discussed above have caused a number of scholars who uphold synagogues as an analogous model for early Christianity to use arguments from Jewish missionary strategies and the large number of Gentile God-fearers as the basis of connecting Christian groups to the synagogues.

31. He does allow that the synagogues were "construed legally as collegia and adopted many aspects of collegial structure" (Meeks 1983:80; cf. 35).

32. But see Brooten 1982.

33. Elsewhere Meeks (1985) argues that the form of organization for Pauline Christian groups was the household, not the synagogue, and, apart from some conflict between Paul and the Jews, there was very little conflict between the two groups. Although theologically Judaism played a central part in the identity of Pauline Christianity, socially the Pauline groups were not a sect of Judaism but "organized their lives independently from the Jewish associations of the cities where they were founded, and apparently, so far as the evidence reveals, they had little or no interaction with the Jews" (1985:106).
For example, in a recent book Mark Nanos (1996) has argued that Paul writes Romans to Gentile Christians in Rome who were originally God-fearers and, as Christians, still participate in the local synagogues as "righteous Gentiles." Problems have arisen because these Gentiles are "developing a subgroup identity" and are being tempted to disregard the Jewish rules of behaviour required of them (1996:14). Paul writes in order to reconcile them to Judaism so that they will not alienate the non-Christian Jewish community before he arrives to preach the gospel in Rome, first to the Jews and then to the Gentiles. However, before such a scenario can be fully adopted as an understanding for Pauline churches generally, it should be noted that the concept of a Jewish mission to attract Gentiles into the synagogues raises a number of important issues for scholars. Each of these needs to be examined in turn.

### 4.2.2. Jewish Missionary Strategies

It has always been a fairly certain assumption on the part of scholars that in the first century Jews, particularly Pharisees, sought converts to Judaism through aggressive missionary practices (see the summary in McKnight 1991:1-4). The appeal of Judaism for the Gentiles was its monotheism, privileges within the Roman Empire, and emphasis on morality, all of which were used by the Jewish missionaries to attract converts. This missionary impulse is seen to be confirmed in Matthew when Jesus condemns the "scribes and the Pharisees" because they "cross sea and land to make a single convert (προσηλυτείς)" (Matt 23:15). This missionary zeal, it is suggested, was the prototype for the Christian missionaries, who likewise went into the world to make

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34. Nanos' book is full of engaging and challenging interpretations. For example, he argues that the "strong" and the "weak" in Rom 14:1-15:12 are the righteous Gentiles and the Jews (not "Jewish-Christians") respectively. He understands the command of obedience to rulers in Rom 13:1-7 to be directed to the Gentile Christians who are disobeying the synagogue rulers. However, the overall approach is marred by an incorrect assumption about Paul's missionary strategy based on Acts and a disregard for other Pauline letters (such as Galatians) while making widespread assertions about Paul's thinking with regard to Jewish-Christian relations.
converts, first to their own branch of Judaism and ultimately, to their new religion. Thus, Paul the Christian is understood to be doing the same thing he did as Paul the Pharisee, just for a different cause. The corollary is that Paul would have been concerned to structure his resulting communities as synagogues.

Recent studies have called this assumption into question. Scot McKnight (1991) argues that although the ancient texts indicate that there were Gentile converts to Judaism, "Second Temple Judaism was largely unconcerned with missionary activity" and "was not a missionary religion" (McKnight 1991:7). McKnight surveys a number of ways in which Jews were integrated into their Hellenistic environment while at the same time they were antagonistic towards it. So while Hellenistic education, friendliness towards Gentiles, and assimilation of some ideas led to an openness towards the Gentiles, the conviction of being God's chosen people and the covenant of Abraham and Moses caused the Jewish people to guard themselves from contamination by setting up social boundaries which kept Gentiles at a distance (McKnight 1991:11-29).

McKnight’s second and third chapters are the most crucial, as he re-examines ancient material which discusses converts to Judaism. This material shows that although "Jews were generally favorably disposed to Gentiles who were willing to convert to Judaism" (1991:45), "there is almost no evidence that Jews were involved in evangelizing Gentiles and aggressively drawing Gentiles into their religion" (1991:48). Most of the means whereby Gentiles converted to Judaism involved "passive" evangelism. God's mighty deeds might convince some while others might be exposed to Jewish literature aimed at establishing Jewish identity and thus be convinced. Certainly synagogues were open for Gentiles to come in and be taught and the education of abandoned Gentile babies by Jews led to their being brought up "Jewish." Most effective was the living of a good life and the doing of good deeds which would
serve to attract others to Judaism. In this regard, the Jewish attitude towards outsiders was to be "a light among the Gentiles" (1991:48). What is clearly lacking from the ancient testimony is evidence for anything but a few evangelists who actively sought to convert Gentiles (1991:75). "In short, it can be said that Judaism was not a missionary religion" (1991:77).

Two studies published by Martin Goodman (1992 and 1994) independently concur with McKnight's conclusions. His re-examination of the evidence for an active first-century Jewish mission to win proselytes concludes that it is "very weak" and in fact, there is good reason to deny the existence of such a mission (1992:70). Although there is some evidence of Jewish attempts to win Gentile sympathizers to Judaism, it "is a far cry from the universal proselytizing mission" that is often assumed for the first century (1994:87-88). Although Gentiles would not be denied access to Judaism, most Jews saw their role as passively bearing witness to their faith; "how the Gentiles reacted to such a witness was up to them" (1992:72).35

What is most significant from the studies of McKnight and Goodman for our purposes is the evidence amassed against what in the past has always been thought to be the case: that the synagogues of the first century were the base of an aggressive Jewish mission to convert Gentiles (see Jeremias 1958:11-19; Georgi 1986:83-151, esp. 84). The synagogue based "Jewish mission" can no longer be seen as the prototype of the

35. Other studies with similar conclusions have also been done; e.g., Levinskaya 1996:19-49. Kraabel (1994) shows how archaeological evidence from Sardis and Aphrodisias support the claim that much of Diaspora Judaism in the first century was inward looking rather than a missionizing religion. He then suggests that the literary evidence must subsequently be read as serving an apologetic purpose to Jews, not Gentiles. Some studies continue to reaffirm the existence of a Jewish prototype for the missionizing consciousness of early Christianity; e.g., Paget 1996.
Christian missionary impulse as it simply did not exist. What we find instead is that the evidence suggests a more passive role for the synagogue in accepting the few converts and Gentiles sympathetic to Judaism without actively pursuing them. It is to this latter group that we now turn, as once again recent scholarly inquiry has made it a controversial topic.

4.2.3. The Existence of "God-Fearers"\textsuperscript{38}

At a number of points in his narrative Luke suggests that early Christian groups were formed from members of a group attached to the synagogue and described in Acts as \textit{οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν} and \textit{σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν}.\textsuperscript{39} The designations do not seem to be used of Jews but indicate Gentile sympathizers who were attracted to the Jewish religion and had a close relationship with the synagogue, even attending meetings. However, it is unlikely that people designated as such had fully converted to Judaism thus becoming proselytes (\textit{προσήλυτος}; Lüdemann 1987:155; Acts 2:10; 6:5; 13:43; cf. Matt 23:15). Such a group of "sympathizers," often designated by the technical

\textsuperscript{36} This is disputed most recently by Feldman 1993:293-332, who argues that while "there is, in truth, no single item of conclusive evidence, as we shall see, the cumulative evidence—both demographic and literary—for such activity is considerable" (Feldman 1993:293). However, that evidence shows, at best, that there were some converts, but not that this was a large scale program, at least not in the first century. Cohen's methodological care (1992) is important. He notes six possible stances towards converts and conversions among ancient Jews and points out that the varieties of Judaism in antiquity means that "no single one of them was 'normative' or 'orthodox'" (1992:20). He concludes that the various stances adopted by different groups points overall to Judaism of antiquity not being a missionary religion, although he suggests a greater openness to converts than do Goodman or McKnight.

\textsuperscript{37} Goodman (1994:109-53) argues that the rise of a more active Jewish mission in the second century and beyond is a direct result of the influence of the universal proselytizing mission of early Christianity. He suggests that the missionary impulse arose within and out of Christianity itself. Its exact origins are difficult to trace, but probably stem from an eschatological fervor, the particular personality of the apostle Paul, the disappointment over the delay of the Parousia (1994:167-68), and the inter-Christian debate over the admission of the Gentiles into the Church (1994:170).

\textsuperscript{38} For extensive bibliography see Feldman 1993:569-70 n. 1.

term "God-fearers" (θεοφόροι), has long been assumed to exist and is often used to explain the origins of Pauline groups from the early synagogues; Paul evangelized in the synagogues with the result of converting Gentile God-fearers, thus becoming the "apostle to the Gentiles."

The importance of these God-fearers for the social context for understanding early Christian community formation can be seen in the work of Judith Lieu. Lieu (1994) takes as her starting point that the church was originally formed from within the synagogue and as such attracted to itself a number of God-fearers. These God-fearers had a sympathy for monotheism and a high regard for the ethical judgments it required. Not only this, they were also very familiar with the revelation of God in the history and the experiences of the Jewish people, as recorded in the texts of the LXX. Thus, Paul is able to argue in his letters by appeals to Scripture in a way that presupposes a certain familiarity with these texts (1994:333).

These God-fearers were prevented from becoming full members of the synagogue because it required circumcision, a "morally abhorrent as well as painful if not life-threatening" procedure (1994:334). However, Christianity affirmed the ethical monotheism of Judaism while also offering these God-fearers full membership in the community. Thus, many of them became Christians and their commitment to monotheism and a high ethical standard would have made them "good" Christians. Lieu contrasts them to pagans, whom she suggests would not have had a "full understanding" of Christianity and would have carried over remnants of their "old ways," presumably making them "bad" Christians. This fringe adherence to Judaism is also the primary weakness for those God-fearers who become Christians. Their desire for obedience to the law (e.g., food requirements, calendar observance, circumcision)

40. Lieu (1994:334 and n. 12) acknowledges that this is only true for males and has to admit that it is unclear what the practical and outward distinction between female "God-fearers" and "proselytes" would be.
would have been unfulfilled within Christianity and would have made them easy victims for the Jewish-Christian mission (1994:335).

Lieu suggests that the "attachment to the synagogue" has to be interpreted not in terms of personal religious needs and commitment but in a wider framework of social allegiance and status" (1994:337). That is to say, God-fearers did not simply have pious motivations; a number of social factors made it desirable to them to be involved in the network of relationships the Jewish community established. Social and political advantage could be gained by supporting the synagogue, and is probably behind the two well-known examples of God-fearers, the Gentile patron Julia Severa of Acmonia, Phrygia (CIJ 766, I CE)41 and those named in I AphrodJud at Aphrodisias (discussed below).

While this is certainly an attractive picture, and coincides well with the information in Acts, a number of scholars have called into question the existence of a large group of "God-fearers" who attached themselves to the synagogues of Diaspora Judaism during the first century.42 Kraabel notes that it is the book of Acts which provided the initial description into which other evidence was made to fit:

Always the technical terms were drawn from Luke . . . . These are phoboumenos and sebomenos, which appear in Acts, and theosebes, which was thought to be a variant of the latter term. (1981a:114-15, his emphasis; see also MacLennan and Kraabel 1986)

He thinks it unlikely that Luke is to be trusted as a reliable source for the existence of such a group, especially when they fit into his presentation so well. Kraabel examines

41. Julia Severa is a wealthy woman patron who erected a synagogue, although the nature of her connection to the synagogue is disputed. She is not named as "God-fearer" in the inscription and another inscription names her as the chief priestess of a non-Jewish cult (Feldman 1993:576 n. 120). Kraabel (1986:153-54) suggests that she is a pagan benefactor of the synagogue, while Feldman (1993:576 n. 120) suggests that she built the synagogue after becoming a sympathizer or converting to Judaism.

six Diaspora synagogue sites and finds that there is no evidence of Gentile adhesion to Judaism in these cities (Dura Europas, Sardis, Priene, Delos, Stobi, and Ostia). While this "argument from silence" (Hemer 1983:54) cannot prove conclusively that there never was a large circle of God-fearers associated with Diaspora synagogues, it does call Luke's presentation into question. Kraabel points out (1981a:121) that "the new evidence required to falsify this hypothesis would have to be substantial; one clear inscription using the term *phoboumenos* or *sebomenos* precisely as in Acts would be helpful, but not sufficient, since at most it might prove God-fearers for that particular synagogue community."

One such inscription might be that from Aphrodisias (IAphrodJud, ca. 210 CE) which many have taken to indicate the existence of a special group within Judaism designated as "God-fearers" (e.g., Tannenbaum 1986:56-57; Kant 1987:690; Feldman 1993:362-69; Levinskaya 1996:70-80). The inscription consists of two inscribed faces. The first lists a number of donors who have contributed to the construction of a soup kitchen. The majority of the names are Jewish, but three are given the designation *προσήλυτος* and another two are designated *θεοσεβής*. The entire group is designated as a *δεκαν(ίας) τῶν φιλομαθῶν*, probably a benevolent association of some sort. Face

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43. Wilcox (1981) argues that Luke's changes from *φοβουμένοι τῶν θεῶν* to *σεβουμένοι τῶν θεῶν* and back again tell against their being used as technical terms; rather, they reflect Lukan redactional style. He adds that the silence of the apostolic fathers on the identification of these groups also suggests that they are not a special category of Gentile synagogue adherents (1981:109). His views are endorsed by Feldman 1993:342.

44. This is how Reynolds and Tannenbaum (1987:26-27, 38-40) interpret *πάτελλα* (L. 1), taking *μνήμα* (L. 8) as "memorial (building)" rather than "tomb."

45. The nature of this association is unclear. *Δεκανία* is a rare Greek word and there is only one other attestation to it in a Jewish context (CIJ 11; Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987:28). Reynolds and Tannenbaum examine a number of alternatives and suggest that it is a private education group which acted as a benevolent association, although they admit that this is speculative (see 1987:28-38). Feldman (1993:575 n. 114) suggests it is a guild, but gives no indication as to what the trade might have been. The diversity of trades listed on face b indicate that Feldman's suggestion is probably incorrect as guilds were usually comprised of men or women of the same occupation.
b of the inscription begins with a list of donors with Jewish names, many of which are given with an occupation. This is followed by the phrase καὶ ὅσοι θεοσβεῖς ("and as many as are God-fearers"), after which appears a lengthy list of names, the first nine of which are designated as city councillors (βουλευτῆς). Many of the remaining names are also given with an occupation.

The use of this inscription to support the picture of φοβοῦμενοι / σεβόμενοι in Acts is problematic. First, this particular inscription is quite late for understanding early Christianity. Second, the term used is θεοσβής, which is not used in Acts. Third, the mention in the inscription of nine members of the city council who would have been required to sacrifice to one or more pagan gods shows that these particular "God-fearers" were able to attach themselves to a synagogue without relinquishing the worship of other deities (Tannenbaum 1986:57). The fourth problem, as Murphy-O'Connor (1992:122) points out, is the significance of the placement of the inscription at the entrance to a soup kitchen. Such a building "met a social need to which it would have been perfectly natural for Gentiles with a sense of civic duty to subscribe because it benefited the city and not merely the Jewish community." The title θεοσβής here is simply a compliment to the moral character of the pagan donors. Thus, one should not assume θεοσβής had a technical or quasi-technical sense in this inscription. In fact, the term may indicate nothing more than that Gentiles were friendly to Jews as fellow townspeople (MacLennan and Kraabel 1986:51). In fact, L.M. White (1995:255 n. 63) is most likely correct in his observation, "I do not see in the inscription evidence for the actual synagogue community per se, but rather a social organization (a collegium with philanthropic interests, most likely) attached loosely to the synagogue, but made up of Jews as well as non-Jews."46

46. To date there has been no discovery of the physical remains of a synagogue at Aphrodisias.
Evidence that the designation "worshiper of God" is a Lukan construct comes from Luke's predilection to designate as such Gentiles who turn to Christianity. Other Gentiles designated as "Jewish sympathizers" in Luke-Acts include a centurion (Luke 7:5), an Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:27-28), and Cornelius (Acts 10:2; cf. his attendant 10:7). The "God-fearers" seem to be used in order not to disrupt Luke's pattern of presenting Paul approaching first the Jews and then the Gentiles (cf. Kraabel 1995:85). Thus, Kraabel concludes,

The God-fearers are on the stage as needed, off the stage after they have served their purpose in the plot. Acts cannot be used as evidence that there ever were such groups in the synagogues of the Roman Empire." (Kraabel 1981a:121; Kraabel 1995:85).

He then suggests that "the God-fearers are a symbol to help Luke show how Christianity had become a Gentile religion *legitimately* and without losing its Old Testament roots" (Kraabel 1981a:121, his emphasis).

Not everyone has readily accepted Kraabel's work. Overman (1992) points out that Kraabel has overlooked significant evidence for the existence of "a class, or group of gentiles who were involved in or attracted to the life of the Jewish community in the Roman diaspora" (1992:146). Overman shows how various expressions in the LXX suggest that there has long existed a class of non-Jewish people attracted to Judaism who eventually came to be known as "God-fearers," and Luke would have been aware of this. Overman goes on to show that while the exact expression which occurs in Acts, οἱ φοβομενοι / σεβομενοι τὸν θεόν may not occur in literature and inscriptions from the period, other descriptions in works such as Josephus, Philo, and rabbinic literature, as well as Christian and "pagan" writers, and inscriptive evidence suggests that such a

47. The description as such is most likely a Lukan addition to Q; see Kloppenborg 1988:50.

48. See Feldman (1986) who responds to Kraabel (and MacLennan), although most of his examples are later than the first century CE; see also Segal 1990:93-96, esp. 95.
group existed. In fact, Overman concludes that "Gentiles were apparently drawn to Judaism in significant numbers" (1992:151). Kraabel has responded by noting that, to be sure, Gentiles interacted with Jews in the Roman Empire, but often for reason of business, politics, or friendship, rather than "religion" (Kraabel 1994:81, 82; cf. 79). Furthermore, the Diaspora Jews would have expressed themselves in the language, concepts, images, ideas, forms, etc. with which they were most familiar, that of the dominant Hellenistic culture (Kraabel 1994:84), without necessarily having a large number of "proselytes" or "God-fearers" among them.

Other critics of Kraabel read the evidence more cautiously, focusing on the inscriptive evidence. For example, we noted earlier that Murphy-O’Connor (1992:423-24) examines the use of τoledēbēης in IAphrodJud and suggests that the nine city councillors named as donors to the soup kitchen have no adherence to the Jewish religion. However, he does conclude that the two men named earlier in the inscription as τoledēbeις are, in fact, part of the Jewish community, although they have not yet reached a stage where they might be called proselytes. This is confirmed by a Jewish manumission inscription from the first century CE (CIRB 71). Together these inscriptions show that the designation τoledēbēης did exist and is not simply a theological construct of Luke. However, Murphy-O’Connor cautions that the term is ambiguous and can be used in different senses depending on the context; a single definition should not simply be assumed.


50. Cf. Segal admits that Luke’s agenda may have effected his depiction, but suggests that "God-fearers nonetheless existed, possibly in large numbers" (1990:95).

This cautionary approach is both upheld and ignored by Levinskaya (1996:51-126). Her review of fourteen inscriptions (not including IApHdJud and CIRB 71) which provide fragmentary evidence for "God-fearers" leaves it "far from clear" that θεοσεβής was a technical term for Gentile adherents to the Jewish religion (1996:70).52 The two remaining inscriptions which are most often used in support of θεοσεβής are then re-examined. CIRB 71 concludes with the lines τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ θεῶν | σέβων. The final letters are often emended to read θεόσεβων with the resulting translation "the synagogue of the Jews and God-fearers." However, Levinskaya suggests that the lack of other Bosporan evidence for "God-fearers" makes the unemended reading "the synagogue of the Jews who are also pious" possible and suggests that the text be left unemended (1996:75-76).53

In concluding that there is not yet clear inscriptional evidence for the existence of a category of God-fearers she is much more cautious than even Murphy-O'Connor. However, the introduction of IApHdJud into the database, she claims, changes all of this. She suggests that the designation θεοσεβής for the nine city councillors and for the two men who are part of the decania suggests that there was a range of categories; "Some of the God-fearers were only one step from becoming converts, while others just added the Jewish God to their pantheon" (1996:78). Having already undermined any possible outside evidence to support this, she is, in fact, assuming the very thing

52. She discusses CIJ 202, 228, 500, 619a, 642, 731e, 748, 754; ICos 278; ISardRobert 3 (= Donateurs 17), 5 (= Donateurs 18); CIG 2924 (= Donateurs 30); IWEurJud 1.12; Pfuhl and Mobius 1979, no. 1697.

53. However, in an aside she seems to contradict this by suggesting that the first interpretation "on balance seems more probable and is generally accepted" (1996:75).
she set out to prove—the existence of God-fearers. Incredibly, she then suggests that, in light of this interpretation, all of the other \( \text{θεοσεβής} \) inscriptions must be re-interpreted: "Now that it has been established that \( \text{θεοσεβής} \) could be used as a term designating a particular category of Gentiles, it seems that the best procedure, when we find this term in an inscription, is to assume that the reference is to a Gentile 'God-fearer', unless, as may quite possibly happen, it is able to be demonstrated that this cannot be its meaning" (1996:80, my emphasis). This seems to be very weak method on which to proceed and shows clearly her apologetic interest in supporting the historicity of Acts more than it gives credible interpretations of the inscriptive use of \( \text{θεοσεβής} \). I remain more convinced by the earlier part of the chapter which showed the weakness of the assumption that the inscriptions were referring to Gentile God-fearers. I would rather think that "proof" and "demonstration" lie with the one making the case either way, rather than one assumption be made universally.

Overall, we see from these writers that Kraabel is perhaps too strong in his denial of the existence of Gentiles sympathetic to Judaism in the first century. The attraction of eastern cults throughout the empire would certainly have brought some inquisitors to Judaism. However, his caution about accepting too readily the presentation in Acts is

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54. She does turn to the book of Acts for some supporting evidence. This is typical of her approach throughout the book. Although her task is ostensibly to show how epigraphical evidence supports the historicity of Acts, she inevitably assumes this historicity and uses it to prove her interpretation of the epigraphic texts. This is more clear in her brief review of literary evidence for God-fearers. See further my review of Levinskaya forthcoming in *TJT*.

55. Levinskaya's method, while invalid in any scientific procedure, is particularly risky in epigraphical study as one quite often finds a wide diversity in the use of terms. Although Levinskaya gives an approving nod towards the concept of various Diaspora Judaisms in antiquity (1996:77), she proceeds on the assumption of a monolithic Judaism Empire wide.

56. Kraabel himself has admitted that God-fearers did exist but that what he is contesting is "the size and cohesiveness of the God-fearers; there were not millions of them as sometimes claimed, and they did not form a distinct social class" (Shanks 1987:52, reporting on a session at the 1986 AAR/SBL meeting). Cf. Goodman (1994:47) who suggests that there were some "God-fearers" attached to Judaism but that it was not a formal category recognized by Jews in the first century CE.
well-founded and should cause all scholars to be cautious in their use of Luke's picture of the formation of early Pauline churches. The problem in much of the literature is not so much the existence of Gentiles attracted to Judaism, but the size of this group. The paucity of external evidence suggests that one should not be too quick to posit a large number of "God-fearers" as the basis for the early Pauline communities based on the book of Acts alone. This is especially so in areas where there does not seem to have been a strong Jewish presence in the first century (namely, Philippi and Thessalonica, see below). In sum, while not denying the presence of some God-fearers in the first century, we cannot simply assume that in every case Luke gives an accurate depiction of the Christian community forming from such, nor that each of Paul's letters are written to those who came into Christianity through Judaism.

4.2.4. Re-examination of Luke's Account

We have already examined some of the key characters in the missionary accounts from Thessalonica and Philippi in chapter 3 (Acts 16:11—17:9). However, in this section we will touch on some of the Jewish elements of these texts as these are usually the basis for suggesting that the Macedonian Christian communities were formed as synagogues (see chapter 1, notes 13 and 15). Luke makes it clear that Paul's initial preaching in Thessalonica takes place in the synagogue of the Jews (Acts 17:1-3). He has only moderate success among the Jews themselves, but a great number of God-worshipers and rich women respond positively to Paul's message. However, as we saw earlier, the entire passage resonates with Lukan redaction (§3.2.4). Luke's use of συναγωγή in Acts 17:1 is most often taken to indicate the presence of a physical building; elsewhere in Luke-Acts it is clear that this is what Luke envisions (Luke 4:14-
However, given the problematic nature of the evidence for the existence of physical synagogue buildings and a clear organization within the synagogue, Luke is probably embellishing his accounts.\(^{58}\) While the debate is sure to continue, for our purposes we note that one cannot use Luke alone to support the existence of a synagogue at Thessalonica; independent confirmation is necessary. It is precisely this which is lacking, as we shall see in §4.2.5, below.

Given the judgment above that the word commonly used for a Jewish place of meeting in the early first century was πρόσευχη, it is ironic that in the only place that Luke uses such a designation—Acts 16:13, 16—the passage is full of ambiguity as to the Jewishness of the scene.\(^ {59}\) The usual conclusion often drawn from Acts 16 that there existed at Philippi a Jewish community rests on weak foundations and ambiguous language. A number of features of the text deserve some attention. Acts 16:13 records that on the Sabbath Paul and his companions went out of the city to where they thought...
that there was a place of prayer (προσευχή) by the river. Most commentators have suggested that the meeting which the missionaries came upon was in fact a gathering of Jews. Since προσευχή is the designation for a Jewish place of worship in the first century and earlier, a number of commentators understand Luke to be here referring to a "house" of prayer, not just a place of prayer.

We saw earlier that during the early part of the first century CE προσευχή was the common designation for a Jewish meeting place. While often it refers to a building, it can also indicate outdoor meetings, the most likely sense in Acts 16:13. Many who understand προσευχή in this way maintain that Paul attended a Jewish service, but it was not a synagogue meeting as only women were in attendance, not the required minyan, a quorum of ten adult males who must be present for congregational prayer and public reading of the scripture. An interesting note on Luke’s choice of προσευχή here arises from the comments of BAGD (s.v.). While they concur that προσευχή indicates a Jewish place of prayer, noting that where it is used of a pagan place of prayer "Jewish influence is almost always possible," they do cite some cases

60. The exact location of the προσευχή has been debated but remains inconclusive (see Meeks 1983:211 n. 237; McRay 1991:286-87). Meeks (1983:211, n. 237) is surely correct in his assertion that due to the lack of any concrete evidence, all speculations about the exact location are of doubtful value. To date, no evidence of a synagogue or a large Jewish population at Philippi has been found (see further below). Pilhofer (1995:165-74 offers an extensive discussion of the location of the προσευχή, concluding that it was probably inside the city walls near the "third gate" (= "Gate in the Marshes") and not near a river (translating εξήλθομεν εξω τῆς πόλεως παρὰ τοσαμον as "Wir gingen zum Tor hinaus an einen Fluss" ["we went out to the gate at the river"], 1995:171). The traditional location is outside the Neapolis Gate, where there is a Christian basilica dating from the early fourth century CE (Gillman 1992:33). However, the stream outside the Krenides Gate is known locally as the River of Lydia, perhaps reflecting an alternative tradition (Gillman 1992:33).


63. On this requirement see m Meg. 4.3; Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987:28-29; Bruce 1988:310 n. 37.
where Jewish influence is impossible (also noted in Greeven 1964:808).64 This makes Luke’s use of προσευχή somewhat ambiguous. Luke also notes that the missionaries "supposed" (νομίζω, used with the infinitive, LSJ s.v.) that this was a "Jewish" meeting (Acts 16:13). He does not confirm that it was so.65 This ambiguity may due to Luke’s own desire to muddy the situation.

It is possible, certainly beyond proof, that Luke is aware that the river-side meeting at Philippi was not Jewish at all. Because προσευχή is used for both Jewish and non-Jewish contexts, Luke’s use of it here may be to preserve his pattern for Paul’s missionary strategy for those who would understand προσευχή in its Jewish sense while not losing sight of his source material which indicates that it was not a Jewish meeting at all. Since there is no mention of a synagogue at Philippi in Luke’s sources, Luke needs to be cautious in too boldly stating the existence of such a meeting.66 The familiarity of the reader with the situation would determine how προσευχή was understood. The description in Acts is not conclusive one way or another.67

64. Levinskaya (1996:213-25) summarizes the evidence. She maintains that the non-Jewish cases of προσευχή can all be interpreted differently than is usual. To do this she either emends a text so that προσευχή is not actually the word in question or stretches the evidence to suggest that it "is not impossible" (her favorite expression!) that the inscription is Jewish. In each case she merely raises possibilities without actually proving anything. One’s presuppositions will determine how one interprets the evidence (as do hers in this case). For a more balanced discussion of the methodological problems see Kraemer 1991:144-47.

65. The difficulty of the proper interpretation of Acts 16:13 is compounded by a text critical problem. A number of readings for ἐνομίζομεν προσευχήν are found in the various manuscripts, with no one reading having strong support. The later Byzantine text reads ἐνομίζετο which would be translated "according to custom," thus removing the uncertainty of the missionaries about the nature of the meeting. Metzger (1971:447) notes the problems and possible solutions. While the UBS committee opted for the reading ἐνομίζομεν προσευχήν εἶναι, they only did so as it is "the least unsatisfactory solution" to a problem which is "well-nigh baffling."

66. Although I am equally skeptical about the existence of a synagogue at Thessalonica (and Berœa), Luke’s shift back to the term συνεκαγώγη in Acts 17 is due to the much more schematic nature of his sources for the remainder of Macedonia.


Luke notes that the first Christian convert at Philippi, Lydia, was a "worshiper of God" (σεβομένη τοῦ θεοῦ, Acts 16:14). We saw above that the phrase does not seem to be used of Jews, but may indicate Gentiles who were attracted to the Jewish religion. Most commentators take this phrase to indicate that Lydia was non-Jewish synagogue worshiper or at least sympathetic to Judaism.69 The designation for Lydia as a "Jewish sympathizer" is assumed to go back to tradition, but this assumption is based on the establishment of προσευχή as a "place of prayer for Jews," and thus may be ill-founded. It is equally possible that Luke has at his disposal a tradition of a devout woman who became Paul's first convert in Philippi. The term can in fact indicate that Lydia was a "godly woman" (pointed out but rejected by Haenchen 1971:494). In order to preserve this Luke may have introduced her in terms of a worshiper of God when in fact she was a worshiper of a deity or deities other than the Jewish God. As with the

68. The length of the stay of the missionaries in Philippi is left ambiguous: ἡμέρας τινῶς (16:12). Haenchen (1971:494; cf. Munck 1967:161) suggests that it really refers to the time between their arrival and the first Sabbath, not the length of the entire stay. The genitive absolute that begins the healing story is a Lukan transitional phrase (Lüdemann 1983:180). The story wrecks havoc on the chronology if it is taken to have occurred on the same day that the missionaries first visited the προσευχή, since Paul would have been in jail at the same time he was at the river. That Luke does not explicitly place the healing of the possessed girl on the Sabbath and that the girl follows Paul and Silas for many days (πολλὰς ἡμέρας, 16:18) indicates that the missionaries went to the place of prayer on a number of consecutive days, not just the Sabbath.

mention of a προσευχή, σεβομένη τοῦ θεοῦ may have been used in order not to disrupt Luke’s pattern of presenting Paul approaching first the Jews and then the Gentiles.\textsuperscript{70}

In light of Luke’s redactional tendencies and his choice of language it seems probable that he has embellished a tradition of Paul’s first contacts at Philippi. It seems certain that the missionaries encountered a group of women gathered for the worship of a deity.\textsuperscript{71} Although Luke’s language leaves open the possibility of understanding this as a Jewish gathering, a close look at the language suggests that it is ambiguous at best, despite Luke’ reliance upon a fairly substantial set of sources.\textsuperscript{72} Since elsewhere Luke clearly places Paul in the synagogue, the situation at Philippi must be somewhat different. I would suggest that Luke’s source makes it clear that there is no Jewish community at Philippi, yet Luke does his best to fit the origins of the Christian community in this city into his own pattern of Paul going first to the Jews and then to

\textsuperscript{70}. The existence of a Jewish community in Thyatira of Asia Minor is no evidence for the religious affiliation of Lydia, yet it continues to be used in proving Lydia’s status as Jewish sympathizer (e.g., Bruce 1988:311; I.H.Marshall 1980:267). First, we have no way of knowing how long ago she had left that city. If she was a former slave, she may have not been in Thyatira since being a small child. Second, many other cults also flourished in Thyatira, including those of Asclepius, Dionysus, Artemis, and Isis, suggesting that Lydia’s devotion might have been towards one of many deities, if her former residence is use to establish the nature of her piety. Witt (1971:322, n. 28) notes that “The woman Lydia from Thyatira came from a Lydian city which depicted on its coins Isis standing with sistrum and sceptre. . . . Isis in an inscription is named ‘Lydia’ (VS [=SIRIS] 371).”

\textsuperscript{71}. Schenk (1987:3289) suggests that the gathering of women is constructed by Luke for his own literary purpose, but does not say what that purpose might be. If it were pure fabrication, with no tradition in Luke’s sources, it is difficult to understand why Luke would invent a women’s meeting, rather than a mixed gender meeting.

\textsuperscript{72}. That is, Luke’s account of Paul at Philippi is more substantial than his summary descriptions of Paul’s activities elsewhere in Macedonia (Acts 17). The reference to Paul and Silas advocating Jewish practices which were unlawful for the Romans to accept (Acts 16:21) has little bearing on the argument that the religious gathering was Jewish, as this charge is probably Lukan redaction and not necessarily a reflection on the actual charges brought against the missionaries. The other mention of Philippi is Acts 20:6. Luke reports that after the Feast of Unleavened Bread Paul and his companion(s) sailed from Philippi (Philippi itself was landlocked; its port was Neapolis, 16 km [10 miles] to the south-east on the Via Egnatia). Lüdemann (1987:221) notes that this is probably Lukan as “Luke loves to incorporate Jewish feasts in his work for the purpose of dating (cf. [20:] v.16).” It does not suggest the existence of a Jewish community in Philippi.
the Gentiles.73 For our purposes, we can conclude that Luke's presentation of the origins of the church at Philippi does not undermine our contention that the Philippian Christian community did not contain a significant number of Jews nor was it necessarily based on the model of the synagogue.

4.2.5. Jews in Macedonia

There is very little archaeological or literary evidence for the presence of a significant community of Jews in Macedonia during the first century. Despite this, large communities of Jews and God-fearers in Macedonia continues to be affirmed.74 Papazoglou's comments (1988a:207) are typical: "We do not know when the first Jews were established in Macedonia; yet by the mid-first century A.D. there were at Philippi, Thessalonike and Beroia fairly numerous Jewish communities grouped around their synagogues."75 However, Papazoglou's evidence comes primarily from the book

73. None of this proves conclusively that Luke is embellishing a tradition of non-Jewish origins for the Christian community at Philippi. We simply raise these points to show the ambiguity of Luke's language and to challenge those who to confidently make assertions on the basis of Acts.

74. Such methodological assumptions occur with respect to other sites. For example, although we have no evidence for the presence of a Jewish population in Troas during the I CE Hemer (1976:95) assumes there to have been many. He then goes on to suggest that Luke did not describe the founding of the Christian community at Troas (Acts 16:8) because it was not representative of Paul's policy and method (Hemer 1976:95). He does not consider the possibility that it was not representative of Luke's assumptions about Paul's method precisely because there was no Jewish community there. It is perplexing that in the face of such evidence, and the lack of evidence in Paul, that Luke's presentation is still assumed to reflect accurately Paul's missionary strategy.

75. Nehama (1935:11-15) attributes the growth of the Jewish population in Thessalonica to the general dispersion of Jews in the Hellenistic period, concluding that "Thessalonique en avait reçu un grand nombre et elle devient ainsi un des centres les plus prépare l'avènement du christianisme" (1935:15). However, he simply assumes this based on a general movement of Jews from the east to the west and especially the presence of Jews in Alexandria; cf. "Il est donc à présumer que . . ." (p. 10), "Il es à présumer qu'ils . . ." (p. 13).
Since it is generally recognized that Acts itself cannot always be relied upon for historical accuracy in many details, this conclusion seems tenuous.

A review of the literary evidence provides little support. The primary reference comes from Philo's record of a letter from Herod Agrippa (37-44 CE) to Caligula which notes that most provinces in Rome's control include a Jewish population, listing among them Macedonia (Leg. Gai. 281-82). However, Agrippa's point is to indicate how widespread Judaism has become, and, in arguing for Caligula's benefaction of Jerusalem, wants to underline the point that "[i]t well befits the magnitude of your great good fortune that by benefiting one city you should benefit myriads of others also so that through every part of the world your glory should be celebrated and your praises mingled with thanksgiving resound" (Philo, Leg. Gai. 283, LCL). The comments are so general that Agrippa (or Philo in recreating the letter) may simply have affirmed a Macedonian Jewish community with little knowledge to the contrary. Josephus notes that the Jews in Alexandria bear the title "Macedonians," but the connection is through the granting of separate quarters and certain privileges (ἰσοπολιτεία) to the Jewish community on par with those granted to the Macedonians (Ap. 2.4.36; Bell. 2.488). There is no indication of a Jewish presence in Macedonia.

76. Also Lightfoot 1893:242-45; Nehama 1935:31-44; Schürer 1979:3/1:65. Acts seems to be the basis upon which many scholars make the assumption that there existed at Thessalonica (and Philippi) a substantial Jewish community; see chapter I, notes 13 and 15. An exception is Schenk (1987:3289) who notes that there is no archaeological evidence for Jews at Philippi and suggests that the only indication of Jews at Philippi is if Phil 3:2-19 can be connected with Phil 1:28-30, a possibility he does not explore and one that we think is unlikely.

77. Here Josephus notes that these were granted by Alexander the Great; elsewhere he suggests they came though Ptolemy Soter (Ant. 12.7-8) or through Alexander and reaffirmed by Ptolemy (Bell. 2.487-88).
Overall, the literary evidence outside of Acts does not offer strong support for the existence of a large Jewish population in Macedonia. Levinskaya (1996:195) provides a more hopeful picture when she concludes that epigraphic evidence from Macedonia "supports the picture we can obtain from the book of Acts." However, the epigraphical evidence is only slightly more informative and Levinskaya is overly optimistic. One significant inscription comes from Stobi, in the north western part of the province, and dates to the third century CE (CIJ 694 [02]). The inscription records the donation of a synagogue by Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos. This patron's tria nomina indicates that he is a citizen and a friend of Rome. He may be Jewish, or more likely, a "Jewish sympathizer." Certainly he is wealthy, and uses his wealth to benefit the Jewish community. If he is not a Jew then he acts in much the same way that the Capernaum centurion of Luke 7:5 is said to act; "he loves our people, and it is he who built our synagogue for us" (Hengel 1966:164; cf. Acts 10:1-2). The synagogue built by Polycharmos (Synagogue I) had frescoed walls, with

78. Schürer (1979:3/1:64) and Levinskaya (1996:154) only note the reference in Philo. Nehama (1935:21-24) also notes Philo (without giving the reference) along with a sibylline oracle (no reference, although his description is of an oracle about the general dispersion of the Jews). In support he also points to Strabo ("Livres VII à X"), Seneca (no reference), and Josephus ("Livre V"). I was unable to locate the references in Seneca, nor could I locate his points of reference in Strabo. The Josephus reference "nous apprend que les Juifs avaient combattu dans les phalanges d'Alexandre et s'y étaient distingués" (1935:24) although this does not make them Macedonians (I could not locate the reference). Nehama (1935:24) also mentions a Macedonian general under Alexander named Mossolamos, but this person seems rather to have been a Jew of Alexandria (see Ap. 1:200-04; cf. Ant. 13.4.74-76).

79. My own consideration of the evidence was completed before the publication of Levinskaya 1996:154-57. We both consider the same basic evidence but draw differing conclusions. She maintains that the evidence affirms the picture in Acts of Jews in first century CE Macedonia; I am less convinced.


81. Names with the Tiberius-Claudius combination are frequent from the time of the Emperor Claudius (Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus, 41-54 CE) and especially common in the second half of the first century and the first half of the second. The Greek cognomen Polycharmos is not common, and Achyrios may be of Semitic origin. See the discussion in Hengel 1966:151-52; cf. Vulić 1932:294.

82. This is possible by the third century, when the designation of such occurs more frequently in the literary and epigraphic record.
geometric frescoes and the repeated legend Πολύχαρμος ὁ πατήρ εὐχήν
("Polycharmos, the father [has fulfilled] a vow"). Πατήρ, along with the feminine
μήτηρ, were honorary titles given to rich patrons of synagogues (see Hengel 1966:176-77). Only part of the family villa is donated for use as a synagogue, the remainder will
continue to serve Claudius' family.\textsuperscript{83} At the very least this shows a significant number
of Jews in III CE Stobi, enough that a designated meeting area is required and supplied
by a wealthy patron. Unfortunately, this tells us little for the first century CE, although
the synagogue may have been extent at that time.

Two tomb inscriptions from Beroea provide fairly late evidence for Jews there.\textit{CIIJ} 694a reads Μημούρην ν [Ἰωάννου κ Ἀνδρέου ιοίως Ποριγορίου and probably
dates from the fifth century CE.\textsuperscript{84} It has a depiction of a menorah and a lulab\textsuperscript{85} on the
right side and either an open scroll or the ark of the covenant on the left.\textsuperscript{86} The second
inscription also dates from the fifth century CE and is the epitaph of a woman set up by
her son-in-law (\textit{CIIJ} 694b\textsuperscript{[14]}). The inscription stipulates that if the tomb is opened the
offender will be required "to pay to the most holy synagogue one silver pound." The
payment of fines to a synagogue or a religious association as a way of protecting the
tomb from tomb robbers was common in antiquity.\textsuperscript{87} These two inscriptions are too

\textsuperscript{83.} His ownership of a villa large enough to accommodate a synagogue attests to Claudius' wealth. It is
not possible to determine the social location of the membership of the synagogue, although it is unlikely
to have been solely composed of upper rank people and in fact is probably of a mixed type.

\textsuperscript{84.} As it stands the text indicates a tomb of John and Andrew. However the exact reading of this text is

\textsuperscript{85.} A lulab is a "young branch of a tree" but is usually confined to a palm branch, used in the Feast of
Sukkot.

\textsuperscript{86.} See further Feissel 1983:294 (pl. 65); Levinskaya 1996:157.

\textsuperscript{87.} The warning itself would not deter thieves, but those who stood to gain financially from violations
would probably be fairly vigilant in watching over the tombs. This particular fine is not steep (see Feissel
late to be considered as strong evidence for Jews in Macedonia in the first century.

Three tomb inscriptions from Thessalonica have been identified as possibly Jewish. \textit{CIJ} 693 \((=\text{IG X}/2 \ 633)\) reads \textit{Μημόριον Ἄβραμη(ο)ν καὶ τῆς συνθίου αὐτοῦ} \textit{Θεοδότης} ("In memory of Abraham and his wife Theodote") and dates from the second century CE. It has no distinct Jewish symbols other than the names and may be a Christian epitaph (Levinskaya 1996:155). \textit{CIJ} 693b reads \textit{κύριος µεθ' ἡµῶν} ("The Lord is with us," thought to be a paraphrase of Ps. 46:8, 12) and appears with a symbol of a menorah on a sarcophagus.\textsuperscript{88} The marble door of a tomb at Thessalonica (\textit{CIJ} 693c) reads \textit{Βενιαµης ὁ καὶ Δοµέτιος} ("Benjamin, the one also called Domitios").\textsuperscript{89} These inscriptions raise the possibility that ethnic Jews were living at Thessalonica by the second or third century CE. However, since they were found in the early Christian necropolis to the east of Thessalonica they may also be Jewish-Christian (Levinskaya 1996:155; cf. Kraemer 1991:151).\textsuperscript{90}

Although \textit{IG X}/2 \ 72 [18] is included in \textit{CIJ} (693d) we do not consider it to be Jewish. This controversial inscription reads \textit{Θεῷ 'Ὑσίστω κατ' ἑπιταχγὴν ΙΟΤΕΣ}. The controversy arises over the meaning of the final letters before the break in the inscription. The letters \textit{ΙΟΤΕΣ} "may be an attempt to transliterate the name of Jahwe" in the genitive (Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936:65; cf. also Avezou and Picard 1913:100; Plassart 1914:529 n. 5; Witt 1970:328 n. 13; Lifshitz, \textit{CIJ} 693d; Feissel and

\textsuperscript{88} Lifshitz (1975:75) notes that the formula has not been found in Jewish inscriptions but in frequent in Christian epigraphy. A second sarcophagus also has the symbol of a menorah. Kraemer (1991:151) points out that the deceased might be Christian Jews.

\textsuperscript{89} Levinskaya (1996:155) incorrectly attributes this to the second sarcophagus of \textit{CIJ} 963b.

\textsuperscript{90} Evidence from elsewhere attests to the possibility of Christians continuing to use Jewish symbolism; see Kraemer 1991:151. \textit{CIJ} 84 (Italy) has a depiction of a menorah alongside the Christian Chi-Rho symbol. Some dedications from Greece depicting both crosses and menorahs on them have been found and lamps with depictions of menorahs have been found in Christian catacombs. However, there is also evidence of Christians and Jews buried side by side in Cilicia, with the same curse formula being used by both to protect the graves (Feldman 1993:362, citing Kant 1987:685-86; cf. Kraemer 1991:160-61).
Sève 1988:455). This is denied by Perdrizet (1914:91 n. 2), Nigdelis (1994:298 n. 5), and Pilhofer (1995:184-85 n. 111). Habicht (1974:491) restores it as the Roman name Ἰού(λως) Ἑα- (but gives no indication what name might be abbreviated Ἑα.). This is affirmed by Feissel and Sève (1988:455, "Plus sèduisante") who point out that the name of the dedicator is necessary. We would agree that the ending does not likely refer to the Jewish god. No other example of the use of the deity's name in the genitive after καθ᾽ ἐπιταγήν could be found except for IG V/1 245 where there is no reference to the deity in the dative beforehand. Thus the name of the dedicator is most likely. It seems unlikely, moreover, that a Jewish group would in fact transliterate the name YHWH rather than use a euphemism like κύριος lest someone, Jewish or not, audibly pronounce the sacred name (which would be likely in a period in which most people read out loud, even to themselves).

Nevertheless, some arguments are still put forth for the Jewish provenance of this, and other Macedonian inscriptions, on the basis of its dedication to Theos Hypsistos. "Τησσαρος was a common epitaph of God in the LXX and the writings of Hellenistic Judaism (cf. Simon 1972:372-76; Levinskaya 1996:111-13). Furthermore, a number of scholars argue that in the Bosporus the cult of Theos Hypsistos was an offshoot of Judaism. This argument then gets extended to other regions, including Macedonia. However, in the majority of instances the influence of Judaism in the use

91. Levinskaya (1996:155 n. 9) suggests that this possibility "should be considered seriously."

92. Although it is used quite rarely by Philo and Josephus, suggesting that it needed to be used with care lest their non-Jewish readers misunderstand it to indicate not the monotheistic God of the Jews but the top deity in a hierarchy of gods; see Trebilco 1991:129-30.

93. See for example Minns 1913:621-22. The argument is summarized in Ustinova 1991:159-60 and Trebilco 1991:139. Some suggest that Τησσαρος worked for the Jewish community as an invitation to syncretism by which they might bring Gentiles into monotheistic Judaism as converts (see Simon 1972:376). On the problems with the use of the concept of "syncretism" in scholarly discourse see Levinskaya 1996:197-205. Levinskaya (1996:113-14) suggests that in the Bosporus there is no syncretism; rather, those who worship Theos Hypsistos are Gentile "God-fearers."
of Theos Hypsistos (and even Zeus Hypsistos) has been called into question.\textsuperscript{94} The primary argument against such influence is the wide use of υψιστός in non-Jewish contexts, where no Jewish influence is likely (see Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936:64-69). Kraabel (1969) examines a number of inscriptions from the areas of Lydia, Phrygia, and Ionia and concludes that "the epithet υψιστός, when it appears in Asia Minor, can never be taken, by itself, as proof that the text is Jewish" (1969:91).\textsuperscript{95} Ustinova (1991:159-65) reaches a similar conclusion in her study of the υψιστός inscriptions from the θίασος of Tanais in the Bosporus,\textsuperscript{96} as does Tačeva-Hitova (1978; 1983:190-215) for Thrace, Moesia, and the Balkan region.

Although the use of υψιστός is not out of keeping with the God of the Jews, its presence does not necessarily indicate Jewish influence (cf. Cook 1925:890; L.M. White 1995:256-57 n. 67). It is also used as an epithet of Zeus in Macedonian


\textsuperscript{95} The same is true of the use of ἀρχισυνάγωγός and συναγωγή in inscriptions, neither of which alone prove Jewish provenance (Poland 1909:355-58; Kraemer 1991:147-48; Horsley 1987 no. 113; also §6.2.2.1, below). Levinskaya (1996:92-93) summarizes the evidence for υψιστός with the intention of showing that the use of υψιστός was not in widespread use in non-Jewish contexts. However, her limited evidence is determined in part by her own assumption that every instance in which a deity is not named must be Jewish and in her comparison of epigraphic texts with the Jewish LXX, where υψιστός is used "over one hundred and ten times." However, the actual epigraphical instances of υψιστός in inscriptions which are identified as Jewish on other grounds is quite limited and no more widespread than the confirmed non-Jewish uses. Later (1996:99-100) she assumes that non-Jews would be thoroughly familiar with the Jewish use, a tenuous suggestion at best. Cf. her later suggestion that υψιστός "was spread through its occurrence in the Septuagint" (1996:109), indicating the a widespread non-Jewish readership of the LXX.

\textsuperscript{96} Levinskaya (1996:108) disputes Ustinova’s conclusion based on her assumption of the Jewish provenance of all inscriptions dedicated to Theos Hypsistos. Her own re-examination of a III CE text commonly attributed to a θίασος of adherents of Sabazios "the Most High god" is unconvincing (1996:88-92). The letters identifying this inscription with a θίασος of Sabazios are fragmentary (ΤΙΑ—ΣΕΒΑΣΙ|ΑΝΟΣΘΗ—ΤΟΤΤΑΣ). Levinskaya suggests that they reflect personal names and indicate an inscription set up by Jews or God-fearers. Her disallowance of the common reconstruction θίασος Σεβαστιανός is based on the grammatical rarity of adjectives with θίασος and the absence of the adjective Σεβαστιανός in our sources. However, neither grammatical rarities nor hapax legomena are uncommon in epigraphy. Her own interpretation has to overlook the use of καὶ one line earlier which is normally interpreted as introducing the final name of the list of adherents. In her reconstruction it introduces the final few names, itself an odd grammatical move.
inscriptions (and inscriptions elsewhere). In fact, the cult of Zeus Hypsistos was widely diffused in Macedonia and may even have originated there (see further below). The title ὑψιστός "belongs to the language of private dedications" not public cult (Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936:59). This is seen in three of the voluntary association inscriptions in our database, which make explicit reference to an association: οἱ συνήθεις ἐπιμεληταί from Edessa (IEdessa 3 [06]), οἱ συνελθόντες θρησκευταί from Pydna (IPydna 1 [15]), and ἡ συνήθεια from Thessalonica (IG X/2 933 [36]), and is confirmed by inscriptions from elsewhere.

Inscriptions from Macedonia which mention Zeus Hypsistos are, for the most part, simple dedicatory inscriptions, but show the distribution of the associations to be primarily in the eastern part of the province: in Elimia, especially Kallian (IMaked 22 [01]), and in Eordaea, and in Edessa (IEdessa 1 [04] and 2 [05], IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08], 38 [09]), Idomene, Anydrom

97. For more on Zeus Hypsistos (esp. bibliography) see Düll 1977:205 n. 20, 428.

98. The fragmentary nature of this inscription makes its association with Zeus Hypsistos somewhat questionable. See the commentary with the inscription.

99. For example see P.Lond. 2710. Sixteen inscriptions from the θῖασος of adherents of θεὸς ὑψιστός have been found in the Bosporus region, fifteen of them in Tanais: CIRB 1260, 1260a, 1261, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287, 1289, 1231 (probably from Gorgippia); see overview in Levinskaya 1996:111; Minns 1913:620-25. A particularly interesting example is a votive stele found at Panormos near Kyziks in Mysia and dates from Π CE (IBM 4.2.153 no. 1007; see Cook 1925:881-82 no. 21). Below a relief of Zeus, Artemis (or Hecate or Dionysos), and Apollo is a low relief depiction of a banquet scene involving six men with a cup-bearer, a musician, a dancing girl, and a mime. The text reads Δεῖ 'Τύπως καὶ(α) | τῷ χαίρω Θάλλου | ἐπώνυμος τῶν | τελαμώνα ἐπίδικα ("I Thallos, the name-giver [of the theias], duly presented the relief to Zeus Most High and to the Place [where the theias assemble]" (text and translation in Cook 1925:882).

100. IMaked 7 (Δεῖ 'Τύπωσκα | τῷ Ἀφροδίτης Κατάλλου εὐχήν); IMaked 16 (Δεῖ 'Τύπωσκο (ο δεῖκιν)) Αἰλέον εὐχήν (;)); IMaked 27 (Μακαρίας Δεῖ 'Τύπωσω εὐχήν).

101. Two other fragmentary dedications have been found at Kallian: IMaked 3 (Δεῖ 'Τύπωστω Ὑπόστης Λυμναίου); IMaked 21 (Δεῖ 'Τύπωστω Ἀμύντας).

102. IMaked 90 (Δεῖ 'Τύπωστω Ἀρτέμις καὶ Νεκτάριῳ ό [Νεκτάριῳ εὐχήν]; IMaked 10 ('Ἀλέξανδρος Ρυμετάκτου ὦ καὶ Ρῆλος Δεῖ 'Τύπωστω εὐχήν)).

103. Tateve-Hitova 1978:70 no. 2 (Δεῖ 'Τύπωστω Διαζείπα Δυτολόου ἔτος Β'. Παυμήμου).
(IAnydron 1 [10]), Agrosykia,104 Beroea (IBeroea 1 [11]),105 Pydna (IPydna 1 [15]), Thessalonica (IG X/2 62 [31]), Mésiméri,106 Anthemonte (IANanthemonte 1 [44]), Trebeni,107 and near Philippi.108 The associations of Zeus Hypsistos at Pydna (IPydna 1 [15]) includes a number of functionaries including λογιστεύοντος, ἀρχοντος, ἀρξισυνάγογος, πρὶν Πιερίωνος, προστάτος, γραμματέως. This is probably true for other associations of Zeus Hypsistos, although none are named in our other inscriptions.

The earliest known dedications to Zeus Hypsistos are found in Edessa, in Macedonia (Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936:60): IEdessa 1 [04] and 2 [05]. These two identical dedications by Zolius, son of Alexander, on behalf of his children, date from the early part of the second century BCE and indicate a man of some means (Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936:61-62).109 Another equally ancient dedication to Zeus Hypsistos


105. A second dedication to Zeus Hypsistos found in Beroea is reported by Cormack (1941:21-23 and pl. 1.2; also published Tačeve-Hitova 1978:72 no. 12). The stele is badly worn, but Cormack reads on the gable Διὶ Τυψιστοῦ, which is confirmed by the relief of an eagle not unlike that of the dedications to Zeus Hypsistos from Edessa. In commenting on the inscriptions now in the museum at Verria (Boroea) Cormack (1970:194) notes that there are “a dozen or so votive inscriptions, including some to Zeus Hypsistos” but he does not say how many.

106. Unpublished but noted in Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulos 1992:51 n. 4; Salonica Museum inv. no. 1745.


108. Διὶ Τυψιστοῦ εὐχαριστήριον ὑπὲρ κυρίου βασιλέως Θρακῶν Ῥωμῆς | τάλκα Κάτυνος καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ Εὐφρασίας | δ ἐπὶ τῶν λατέψων καὶ οἱ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πάντες (I CE; see L.M.White 1995:256 n. 67).

Although White identifies its provenance as Philippi, it was actually found 15 km south east of Philippi, in the province of Thrace (Pilhofer 1995:185 n. 13). For an overview of the wider distribution of Zeus Hypsistos inscriptions throughout the ancient Mediterranean world see Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936:56-59 or Cook 1925:876-90. Tačeva-Hitova 1983:192-203 has collected dedications to Theos or Zeus Hypsistos from Thrace, the neighbouring province of Macedonia.

109. Altogether we have six dedications to Zeus Hypsistos from Edessa. A mid first century CE inscription is clearly that of an association (οἱ συνθέτεις ἐπιμεληταῖ, IEdessa 3 [06]), with the others probably, but not definitely, being somehow affiliated with an association of sorts.
comes from Anthemonte (IAMonente 1 [44]). It may even be the case that the main sanctuary of this city was devoted to Zeus Hypsistos at this time (Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulos 1992:64, cf. 51).

The early attestation for the cult of Zeus Hypsistos in Macedonia suggests that it is a native cult of Macedonia which spread throughout the Mediterranean world. The early inscriptions from Edessa, along with the early dedications to Zeus Hypsistos at both Eordaea and Elimia (see above), both south of Edessa, suggest that the "cradle of the cult" of Zeus Hypsistos is the region around Mt. Bermion and Mt. Barnous which encompasses these areas (Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulos 1992:64). This also accords well with Cook's suggestion (1925:876) that the epithet Hypsistos "had originally a literal rather than an metaphorical sense" and was associated with a mountain cult of Zeus. Zeus is the obvious choice as deity, as he was universally seen as the supreme Olympian god throughout the Greek world. However, he also had a special significance for the people of Macedonia as he fathered Makedon, the eponymous ancestor of the people. The fact that the inscription from Edessa in 51 CE (IEdessa 3 [06]) mentions an association of Zeus Hypsistos suggests also that such associations originated fairly early in Macedonia.

All this evidence suggests that when examining the inscriptions dedicated to Theos Hypsistos from Macedonia we would do well to follow Trebilco's suggestion

110. Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936:61, 72; Papazoglou 1988a:204; Pelekides 1923:269; Pilhofer 1995:182-85. However, when the epithet was used in other locations it most often indicates the supreme deity of that particular area rather than the worship of the Macedonian Zeus/Theos Hypsistos. Thus, in Syria it meant Ba'alt-samin and in Samaria it meant YHWH (Cook 1925:889; Trebilco 1991:128). Levinskaya (1996:88) disputes the evidence for this in Syria.

111. "The district of Macedonia took its name from Macedon the son of Zeus and Thuya, Deucalion's daughter, as Hesiod says: 'And she conceived and bare to Zeus who delights in the thunderbolt two sons, Magnes and Macedon, rejoicing in horses, who dwell round about Pieria and Olympus . . . . and Magnes again (begot) Dictys and godlike Polydeuctes'." (Constantinus Porphyrogenitus [905-59 CE], de Them. 2 p. 48B, in Hesiod, LCL, p. 156-57).

112. For other cult titles of Zeus see Hammond and Griffith 1979:2:164 n. 2.
(1991:133) that "an inscription using 'Theos Hypsistos' is to be regarded as Jewish only if there are clear signs of Jewish provenance and no indications that it might be pagan" (cf. Pilhofer 1995:188). In the case of the Macedonian inscriptions there is no evidence that there was a Jewish influence behind the cult associations of either Zeus Hypsistos or Theos Hypsistos.\footnote{The exception might be IG X/2 72 [18], discussed above. Those who see the divine name at the end of the inscription use it to show Jewish influence, but this reading is unlikely.} The epithet was probably widely used and popular because it concentrated all "powers in the hands of one deity, thought of as reigning over all from an exalted station in the skies" (Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936:67-68; cf. Trebílo 1991:132). It represents the trend in the Greco-Roman world towards monotheism and the need for a deity which had world-wide or even cosmic authority (Kraabel 1969:92-93).

Looking briefly at these inscriptions we note that there are four dedications to Theos Hypsistos among the inscriptions from first century CE Thessalonica (IG X/2 67 [16], 68 [20], 71 [17], 72 [18]). One of these, IG X/2 68 [20] gives a list of association members, οἱ συνκληταί, suggesting that such dedications may also indicate a private cult association.\footnote{Cf. Ustinova 1991:152-59 who notes the inscriptions from Tanais in the Bosporus which refer to θῖεσαν of worshipers of Theos Hypsistos. Honourary inscriptions from Miletus for the priest of Θεὸς Ὀμοίωμας Ζαβάζος are set up by two trade guilds, the city gardeners (OGIS 755) and the shell-fish spearers (OGIS 756); see Kraabel 1969:89. An association (θῖεσανς) of Sabazios worshipers in Thrace dedicated an alter to Θεὸς Ὄμοίωμας Ζαβάζος (CCIS 2.6 [no worshipers of Sabazios are known from inscriptions from Macedonia, although a Sabazios Hand has been found at Edessa; see CCIS 1.52, Salónica Museum inv. no. 5094]). For a discussion of dedications to Theos Hypsistos in Roman Dacia see Sanie 1978:1108-14 and for those in Moesia Inferior and Thrace see Tačeva-Hitova 1983:190-215.} In fact, Theos Hypsistos may be synonymous for Zeus Hypsistos (Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936:59),\footnote{Against Papazoglou (1988a:540 n. 96) who suggests that the cult of Theos Hypsistos should not be confused with Zeus Hypsistos, citing works by Tačeva-Hitova (1978; 1983). Levinskaya (1996:85-87) argues that they are not the same deity based on iconographic differences and "the geographical distribution of the evidence." The identification of the two is not necessary for our argument. It is more important to note that the Theos Hypistos is not, by definition, Jewish.} evidence for the latter which we

\footnote{113. Against Papazoglou (1988a:540 n. 96) who suggests that the cult of Theos Hypsistos should not be confused with Zeus Hypsistos, citing works by Tačeva-Hitova (1978; 1983). Levinskaya (1996:85-87) argues that they are not the same deity based on iconographic differences and "the geographical distribution of the evidence." The identification of the two is not necessary for our argument. It is more important to note that the Theos Hypistos is not, by definition, Jewish.}
noted throughout Macedonia. ¹¹⁶

We can conclude that in Macedonia neither the cult of Zeus Hypsistos or Theos Hypsistos was connected with Judaism (cf. Papazoglou 1988a:204). Thus, the presence of inscriptions to Zeus/Theos Hypsistos in Macedonia, particularly in Thessalonica, cannot be used to confirm a large population of Jews living in the region or in Thessalonica itself. In fact, the many inscriptions which give the deity the epithet ὑψίστος is more likely due to Macedonia being the birthplace of this usage.

Two other pieces of epigraphic evidence for Jews at Thessalonica are somewhat more significant as indicative of a Jewish presence in Macedonia. The first is a bilingual Greek and Hebrew inscription which includes the Greek text of Numbers 6:22-27 from the Samaritan Pentateuch rather than the LXX (CIJ 693a [43]). This quotation is framed above and below with "Blessed be our God forever" in Hebrew (ברוך אלהינו לברכה) and was dedicated by a man and his family who "made this" (ποιησαντε). It is unclear whether that which was made was a synagogue building or the inscription (Schürer 1979:3/1:67; Levinskaya 1996:156). The text probably dates from the fifth or sixth century CE (Purvis 1976). Lifshitz (1975:71) suggests that the name of the "Samaritan Tower" at Thessalonica indicates that the Samaritans were known at Thessalonica for a long time. On the other hand, Schürer (1979:3/1:67) doubts that this inscription indicates the existence of a Samaritan community at all. Overall, it is unlikely that it reflects a large Jewish population in first century CE Thessalonica.

The final piece of evidence is the most substantial for the presence of a Jewish community at Thessalonica. IThessalonica 4 [42] comes from a second or third century CE sarcophagus and includes a warning that re-use of the sarcophagus will result in a fine of 75,000 denarii to the synagogues (ταις συναγωγοῖς). Levinskaya (1996:156)

¹¹⁶ Including two from Thessalonica (IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]).
points out that there were "several Jewish communities" (or at least enough Jews to form more than one synagogue) although "it is impossible to say whether the Jewish congregations in Thessalonica had a unified organization or were completely independent of each other." Although this is closer to the mid-first century, it is still inconclusive as evidence for a large number of Jews in Thessalonica at that time.

There is an archaeological report of an inscription from Philippi which mentions a synagogue of the Roman colony.\textsuperscript{117} The text of this inscription has not yet been published. Apparently it is a dedicatory inscription on the base of a statue. However, the inscription probably dates from the fourth or fifth century CE (Pilhofer 1995:232), far removed from the time Luke was writing Acts in the late first century CE, and its support of Luke's account is tenuous at best. In fact, Pilhofer (1995:232-33) points out that in 1359 inscriptions from Philippi there are no Jewish symbols or names and no indication of Jews, nor is there any literary evidence for the presence of Jews in the city.\textsuperscript{118}

Given the lack of solid archaeological or literary evidence it seems wise to be more cautious in assessing the Jewish presence in Macedonia in the first century CE than has often been the case. What evidence does exist is late and not particularly informative as to the size of the Jewish community in the various locales. An argument from silence is never a strong argument and we would not want categorically to state that there were no Jews in Macedonia, particularly Thessalonica and Philippi, in the first century CE; archaeologists may still unearth important information. However, the state of our present knowledge suggest that if there were any Jews in first century CE


\textsuperscript{118} However, this leads him to conclude that the Jewish community at Philippi was very small and financially weak, although it did include some \textit{σεβομένου}, including some women (1995:233-34). This reflects his basic assumption of the veracity of Acts.
Macedonia they seem to be neither well-established nor "fairly numerous." Thus, it seems unlikely that the core of the Christian communities at Thessalonica and Philippi is to be found among Jews and/or God-fearers. It is important to note that our argument does not rest solely on the lack of archaeological evidence but also on the unreliability of the Acts account and on the significant lack of any indication of the presence of Jews in 1 Thessalonians and Philippians.

4.2.6. Evaluation

With so much of our understanding of the Jewish synagogues being challenged, nuanced, and developed with the publication of further literary and archaeological studies, the use of the synagogues as an analogy for early Pauline communities is stimulating. However, for our particular focus, namely, the Christian communities at Thessalonica and Philippi, the synagogue does not provide a strong analogy. A number of issues have been raised against the analogy generally. First, the evidence for the structure of synagogue worship and the titles used for officers in the synagogue comes from a period later than the first century and is generally held not to have been typical of the earlier period. The argument that Jewish proselytism prepared the way for the early Christian mission by preparing a number of God-fearers falters also—the existence of the Jewish mission is thought to have arisen after Christianity and to have been based on Christian missionary methods. The category of God-fearers was itself probably much smaller than is often assumed and, in Acts, functions as a redactional device within the narrative. It is unlikely that they ever formed a large part of any Christian community. Other Jewish features relayed in the account of the Macedonian mission in Acts 16-17 can also be accounted for by Lukan redaction. Finally, the doubt cast on the use of the synagogue as a model for the Macedonian Christian communities is supported by the lack of any clear literary or archaeological evidence for the
presence of a significant number of Jews in Macedonia during the first century CE. This is further confirmed by the marked absence of any references to things Jewish in the texts of 1 Thessalonians and Philippians. Altogether, we can conclude that the Christian communities at both Thessalonica and Philippi probably did not organize themselves as a synagogue, particularly if a better analogous model can be found.\textsuperscript{119}

We want to make clear that this conclusion does not deny the obvious evidence that Pauline Christianity had much to do with Judaism of the first century and much can be learned from studying it. Paul was a Jew, as were some of his converts, and much of Paul’s theological thought reflects his Jewish background. Nevertheless, it does not follow that each one of Paul’s communities was structured as a synagogue. Our argument has been to show that this is particularly the case in Macedonia where we have very little evidence for a Jewish presence in the first century. For this reason we need to explore other models of ancient community formation as analogues for the Macedonian Christian communities.

\textsuperscript{119} We have not entered into the theological stakes in having Christianity arise from the synagogues rather from another institution, as fascinating and important as this discussion is; see especially J.Z. Smith 1990.
4.3. Philosophical Schools

The use of the philosophical schools as an analogy for understanding early Christian groups is not new. Even in antiquity claims were made for secular philosophers such as Seneca being Christian because of the affinities between his teaching and that of Christianity (see Malherbe 1986:3-4).\footnote{120} More recently, however, attention to the philosophic background of Paul’s teachings and practices has been growing. While we cannot enter into the nuances of each philosophical system, nor examine each instance where Paul might be drawing on the language, ideas, or strategies of the philosophers, in this chapter we will highlight those areas where Paul’s words may indicate that he constituted his Christian communities along the lines of a philosophical school.

It is clear that "philosophical schools held a dominant place in the Greco-Roman world" (Wilken 1971:272). As with Hellenistic philosophy generally, these schools were concerned as much with how one lives an ethical life as with "ideas." The focus of much of the discussion was on becoming good, with an ultimate goal of human εὐδαίμονία, variously translated as "happiness," or "pleasure," or "human flourishing" (cf. Meeks 1986:60). Through various means such as street corner preaching, formal lectures, letters, essays, treatises, meditations, and the like, philosophers conveyed their own understanding of the goal (τὸ ζῷο) of human life and how to achieve it. "The various schools provided the worldview and practical guidance for life that religion

\footnote{120. Although the predominant picture of Paul’s preaching in Acts places Paul in the synagogues of the Jews, there are a few instances where Paul is situated among philosophers. According to Acts 17:16-34, when Paul reached Athens he met some Epicurean and Stoic philosophers and was invited to the Areopagus to present his "new teaching" to them. The writer of Acts characterizes the Athenians, and the foreigners living there, as doing nothing but engaging in conversation about new ideas (17:21). The Areopagus was probably the Roman sanctioned governing body of Athenian citizens (see Gill 1994:447) but clearly for the writer of Acts Paul’s audience includes among them the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers. Sometime later, when Paul reached Ephesus, the writer of Acts has him leave the synagogue to preach in the "lecture hall" (σχολή) of Tyrannus (Acts 19:9). Although the exact meaning of σχολή is unclear, most associate it with a place or a group of people wherein philosophical discourse could take place (see Trebilco 1994:311-12 n. 87 for details).}
does for many today" (E. Ferguson 1987:255). In fact, Christianity itself was a "philosophy" insofar as it was concerned to convey a way of leading a virtuous life (Wilken 1984:79).

At stake in our discussion is whether or not groups of Christians, particularly those formed by Paul, were organized like the Hellenistic philosophical schools. The philosophical "schools" were not always physical locations and should not be read to be equivalent to what moderns mean by "school" or "church"—that is, a building. The "school" might simply indicate a number of people committed to the same way of life or to following a particular founder. However, some of the philosophical "schools" did form communities of like-minded women and men.

One of the earliest philosophical schools was that of Pythagoras, who founded his school at Croton, Southern Italy. It was characterized by a community of goods, diet and clothing restrictions, and a daily regimen (Meeks 1983:83). In fourth century BCE Athens Plato organized a group of pupils into an association which worshipped the Muses. This association, and the building in which they met, came to be known as the Academy (for details see Culpepper 1975:61-82). A more organized form of scholarly community was originated by Aristotle, also in Athens in the fourth century, and came to be known as the Lyceum (Culpepper 1975:83-100). Epicurus was much more deliberate in forming a philosophical school in Athens, called the "Garden" (306 BCE), which was dedicated to following both the teachings and the way of life of its

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121. Much has been written on parallels between Hellenistic philosophy generally and the writings of the New Testament. It is beyond our narrow focus to survey all of this material. A good source is Malherbe 1989a or 1992:271-78. The volumes of Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti, which are being published by Brill, are helpful resources.

122. Cf. Meeks (1986:41) who suggests that the "schools" were often little more than a lecturer and his pupils who were concerned with the moral formation of the soul ("ethics").

123. For details of the origins and development of the Pythagorean school as a community see Culpepper 1975:43-60. Unfortunately, the sources for the early Pythagorean school are all from a later period (third century CE); see Culpepper 1975:39-42.
founder (Culpepper 1975:101-21). The Epicureans "talked about themselves as members of a defined community, preserving the ideal of philosophical fraternities which could ensure the orthodoxy of their scattered brothers by oaths to Epicurus, worship his image and [write] epistles to one another to uphold the consistency of the faith" (Goodman 1994:34). The Stoic's Poikile, also begun in late fourth century BCE Athens, was not as well developed as some of the other schools but still evidenced some form of organization. After the death of Zeno, the founder, it was more diverse and dispersed than the other schools (Culpepper 1975:123-43).

Culpepper's study has led him to outline the following general characteristics which were shared by the philosophical schools he studied:

1) they were groups of disciples which usually emphasized φιλία and κοινωνία; 2) they gathered around, and traced their origins to a founder whom they regarded as an exemplary wise, or good man; 3) they valued the teachings of their founder and the traditions about him; 4) members of the schools were disciples or students of the founder; 5) teaching, learning, studying, and writing were common activities; 6) most schools observed communal meals, often in memory of their founders; 7) they had rules or practices regarding admission, retention of membership, and advancement within the membership; 8) they often maintained some degree of distance or withdrawal from the rest of society; and 9) they developed organizational means of insuring their perpetuity. (Culpepper 1975:258-59)

These characteristics, he suggests, provide us with a definition of an ancient "school."

By the first century CE only two philosophical groups seem to have continued to form themselves into a closed organization of initiated disciples—the Pythagoreans and the Epicureans (Meeks 1983:83; Goodman 1994:34). Other philosophies seem not to have become "schools" in the sense of well-defined, physically located groups like the Neo-pythagorians or the Epicureans. However, there did exist many "schools of thought" and the individual practitioner of a certain philosophical system could be

124. Culpepper also examined as schools the Qumran community (1975:145-70), the House of Hillel (1975:171-95), and the followers of Jesus (1975:215-45), along with Philo's indications of synagogue-schools (1975:197-214), all with the purpose of showing that the Johannine community was a school (1975:261-89).
easily identified by his or her particular dress (as was the case with the Cynics) or the style or content of the message proclaimed. He or she would often gather students together in a particular location, thus forming a "school" in a much looser sense than that described by Culpepper. A philosophical teacher might even gather the students in a public place such as a market, gymnasium, or stoa, thus opening up their teachings to the wider public (Stowers 1988:81). Nevertheless, it is within this larger framework of both philosophical communities and philosophical schools of thought that Paul and his communities have been understood.125

4.3.1. Philosophical Schools as a Model

A. D. Nock (1933) attempts to determine what it was about Christianity that made it appealing to men and women of antiquity, so much so that they were willing to turn away from previous forms of worship and belong to this new group "body and soul." Nock suggests that the only analogous group in which one can find something akin to "conversion" as it is understood in Christianity is philosophy. Philosophy held that there was a higher life and a lower life and philosophical groups attempted to turn individuals126 from the lower to the higher (1933:14). In the Hellenistic age their central interest was primarily ethical (1933:114).

Nock discusses a number of the philosophical schools. In the sixth century the Pythagoreans formed ascetic societies with well-formed doctrines and practices which one entered after a period of preliminary discipline (1933:165). In the fourth century Plato formed the Academy, thus giving the tradition of Socrates a permanent standing. Also discussed are the Stoics, Epicureans, and Cynics. In the Hellenistic age such

125. The general moral world of the early Christian communities is described well by Meeks (1986; cf. 1993) who seeks to provide a context in which to understand Christian community formation.

126. The ancient philosophers were primarily concerned with the lives of men, women being relegated to a somewhat lesser status (with a some exceptions—e.g., Hypparchia the Cynic; the Epicurean Garden).
schools held a dominant place for a number of reasons. First, they offered explanations of natural and political phenomena. Second, they offered a way of life which was clearly laid out. Third, philosophy gave rise to persons who became "ideal types" for others to follow. Fourth, one could hear an actual philosopher expound his beliefs in public. The adhesion to the teachings and practices of a philosophical school amounted to a "conversion." In all of these aspects Nock finds parallels in Christianity. Thus, for him, Christianity as a whole is most like a philosophy, and Christian groups were most like philosophical schools (cf. 1933:211; 219).\footnote{Nock also suggests that synagogue worship, with its sermons, "would remind outsiders of a philosophical school rather than a temple" (Nock 1933:62). These conclusions do not necessarily turn Paul into a particular type of moral philosopher. As Nock states elsewhere, Paul is not a Stoic; at best he reveals a knowledge of Stoic ideas, but he either opposes them or uses them against Stoicism itself (Nock 1972a:126).}

Contrary to Nock, Goodman (1994:32-37) is generally skeptical that there was any sense of a universal proselytizing mission by which philosophical ideas were diffused in the Roman empire.\footnote{He is also skeptical about the existence of a "universal proselytizing mission" within the synagogues of the first century. Goodman argues that the missionary impulse first arose in Christianity and was only later imitated by others.} He argues that while it is clear that philosophers from most of the major schools of thought sought to change the lives and attitudes of others, there is little evidence that they sought to have the general population enter into their own self-defined groups. "Their aim was universal in scope, but their mission was to educate rather than proselytize" (1994:37). Goodman's analysis needs further work. Although he may well be correct concerning the lack of a "universalizing proselytizing mission" in the philosophical schools, the approaches that some philosophers used to affect change in the lives of men and women has proven informative for understanding Paul's own "mission."

Wilken (1971) traces the origins of the specific identification of Christianity as a philosophical school to Justin (d. ca. 165 CE). However, "few of his contemporaries...
and none of his predecessors would have felt at all comfortable with such an understanding of Christianity" (1971:274). This identification is also found in the writings of Galen (b. ca 130 CE). To Galen Christianity was a philosophical school, albeit of a "second or third rate" sort (1971:277). Yet while Galen did not agree with the teaching of the Christians he did accord it respect on par with that given to other philosophical schools (1984:73). Nevertheless, Galen was almost alone in attributing the title of philosophical school to the Christian groups. Most people did not consider it to be such.129

Wilken himself does not argue that Christian groups were organized along the same lines as philosophical schools. Rather, he points out that during the second century both Christian (Justin Martyr; Melito, Bishop of Sardis) and non-Christian (Galen) commentators used the model of the philosophical school to explain the phenomenon of the Christian group. This does not indicate whether the claim is true or false but that the analogy was at least helpful to some in antiquity. Nevertheless, later in the article Wilken nuances this somewhat by suggesting that since the Christian groups were also seen as voluntary associations, they were in fact actually a combination of both philosophical school and voluntary association.

Few scholars argue directly that Paul formed a philosophical school. Conzelmann (1966:307 and 315 n. 95; 1965:233) is one of those few. He suggests that Paul (along with Apollos) founded and operated a philosophical school with a "theological faculty" that trained others for the expansion of Christianity. This school, he suggests, was located in Ephesus (cf. Acts 19:9) and continued after the death of Paul, eventually producing its own literature (such as Colossians and Ephesians). However, Conzelmann

129. Alexander (1995) uses Galen to show how Christianity (and Judaism) was simply assumed to be another philosophical school. Galen seems to suggest in one passage that the "followers of Moses and Christ" are no worse, and may even be better than, adherents of the philosophical schools. Galen's observation must be based on the teaching activities and the traditions of the Jews and Christians (1995:67).
presents little evidence for the structure of the school or contemporary analogies (Meeks 1983:82) and thus has not been favorably received. Nevertheless, a number of scholars argue that Paul used the strategies and language of the philosophers and, in some cases, this leads directly to the inference that Paul conceived of Christianity as a philosophical school—not just another philosophical school, but the school where the aims and goals of the moral philosophers would be fulfilled in Christ.

Judge suggests that Paul and his followers were "sophists" who organized local groups into "scholastic communities" which pursued an "intellectual mission" and often resembled a "debating society" (Judge 1960a; Meeks 1983:82). Paul is like philosophical preachers in that both have a love of words and of teaching. Paul is a "sophist" or touring lecturer who was invited into public places (cf. Acts) or houses. Paul also had an interest in ethical issues. However, Judge does admit that this model alone is not enough to explain how the communities were formed and organized, as this is untypical of other sophists of the time (Judge 1960a:135).

In a later work Judge suggests that when Paul withdrew from the synagogue in each city his activities must have been carried out under the aegis of some accepted social convention or institution (Judge 1972:32). Since Paul reflects vigorous talk and argument about behaviors and ideas, Judge suggests that philosophy, perhaps even the sophistic movement, can be seen as the social setting for Paul’s ministry. However, he rejects the Stoic-Cynic diatribe as a valid background for understanding Paul. In his epistolary techniques Paul has some similarities to the diatribe, but no more than one would expect from persons who share a common milieu. The diatribe deals in commonplaces, delivered as a literary creation against stock targets. It lacks altogether the engagement with actual people, circumstances and disputed ideas that is characteristic of Paul. (1972:33)

130. In a work published the same year (1960b) Judge seems at first to favor voluntary associations as the best analogy for understanding the Pauline groups although in subsequent work it is the philosophical schools which capture his attention.
Rather than being a "regular system of thought," Paul’s writings represent "a loose body of general principles for life" such as often "develops amongst thoughtful people in community" (1972:33). This is not to suggest that Paul is operating a disciplined philosophical school, although his groups "may draw from them" (1972:33).

Judge’s rejection of the "Stoic-Cynic" diatribe as a background is a reaction to Bultmann (1910), who was one of the first to compare Paul’s preaching style with the Cynic-Stoic diatribe. However, his emphasis was on the public oral preaching of Paul (and the philosophers) and not on the resultant community which was founded.¹³¹ For Bultmann (and others) the diatribe was "a form of mass propaganda which used various sorts of dialogical and rhetorical techniques in order to create interest and persuade the common man on the street" (Stowers 1981:175). It was used by the itinerant Cynic and Stoic philosophers to spread their message broadly.

More recently, however, Stowers (1981; 1989) has argued that the older conception of the "Cynic-Stoic" diatribe is inadequate. Instead, the designation "diatribe" should be reserved for "teaching activity in the schools, literary imitations of that activity, or for writings which employ the rhetorical and pedagogical type typical of diatribes in the schools" (Stowers 1988:73; cf. 1981:76). Paul’s use of the diatribe not only shows his familiarity with the discourse style of the popular philosophers of his day but suggests that he attempted to establish his communities on the model of the teacher-student relationship of the philosophical schools.¹³² His letter to the Romans reflects the way Paul preached, not in order to make converts but in order to teach those who had already committed themselves to his way of life. In fact, Stowers refers

¹³¹. Further on Stoic influences on Paul see Bultmann 1956:185-86.

¹³². Aune (1991:283) points out that while the philosophical school was the appropriate place for the diatribe in the case of some philosophers (Epictetus, Musonius Rufus), it was not the case with others who were aiming at much broader audiences for mass conversion purposes (Maximus of Tyre, Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom).
to Paul's fellow workers (especially those mentioned in Rom 16) as his former "students." Those in Rome will provide "a more personal introduction for Paul as a teacher to the church at Rome" (1981:183). In fact, Paul uses the diatribe style when writing Romans in order to introduce and prepare the Romans for the school he will form in Rome upon his arrival there.

Similarly, Aune (1991) argues that Paul's letter to the Romans is a *logos protreptikos*, a type of lecture or "speech of exhortation" used by philosophers to attract people to their way of life. The primary setting for the *logos protreptikos* was the philosophical school. Thus, if Paul is using this form of Greco-Roman philosophical argument, then it implies that he does so with an understanding that Christianity is much like a philosophical school and that he himself is one of the leading philosophers (Aune 1991:279).

Certainly this is the implication given throughout Aune's article (see esp. 1991:286-87).

For a number of scholars, the Epicureans provide an obvious analogy to early Christian groups since there were thriving Epicurean communities throughout the Roman Empire (De Lacy 1948). Epicurus lived from 341-270 BCE. Although born on Samos he settled in Athens and established a school of philosophy there called "the Garden." Although this was a "commune" there was no pooling of resources, and, unlike other schools of philosophy, women and slaves were admitted on par with men.

133. Aune has argued elsewhere in favour of a greater scholarly awareness of Paul's use of philosophical concepts and language. See for example Aune 1995.

134. Aune's work is supported by the more recent study of Guerra (1995) who argues that Paul wrote Romans as a protreptic letter for a number of reasons. First, he attempts to teach his Law-free gospel to Gentiles and address objections from Jewish Christians. At the same time, he hopes to garner support for his trip to Spain. Second, Paul is attempting to mediate between the Jewish and Gentile factions within the Roman community, thus avoiding the civil disturbances which had earlier led to the expulsion of the Jews (49 CE).

135. For a general introduction to Epicureanism see Long 1986:14-74; Copleston 1946:401-11; Diogenes Laertius 10.
Epicurus aimed to teach people how to be happy, aptly summarized in the so-called "four-part cure": "Don't fear god, Don't worry about death; What is good is easy to get, and What is terrible is easy to endure" (Philodemus, *P.Herculanum* 1005, 4.9-14 in Inwood, Gerson, Hutchinson 1994:vii). His teachings were attractive to many people, and groups of "Epicureans" continued to exist after his death and well into the Common Era. In many ways Epicureanism was less a philosophical system than it was a cult of the founder. Followers assumed that Epicurus had discovered the only true way to live life (De Witt 1936:205; Simpson 1941:378-79).

One of the foremost advocates of using Epicureanism for understanding Pauline communities is Norman De Witt. De Witt's book on *St. Paul and Epicurus* (1954b) is the sequel to his *Epicurus and His Philosophy* (1954a). In the earlier book De Witt dropped a number of hints that Paul drew heavily on Epicurean philosophy. In fact, in his later book he suggests that in his pre-Christian life Paul had himself been educated as an Epicurean (1954b:168). The later book is De Witt's attempt to show where Paul draws on his knowledge of Epicureanism. In some instances Paul uses Epicurean words and phrases in Christian contexts, betraying his indebtedness to it. In other instances Paul is reacting against the Epicurean Christians in his community, thus denigrating the philosophy. De Witt examines a broad cross-section of Paul's writings, particularly Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, and 1 Corinthians. He also includes chapters on Ephesians and Colossians, and his text is interspersed with references to other Pauline and deuter-o-pauline letters, including the pastorals.

De Witt highlights a number of commonalities between Paul and Epicureans: they both drew from the "middle classes" of society, they were both missionary oriented, and both were concerned with "peace and safety" (cf. 1 Thess 5:3). Paul also shows

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136. See also Simpson (1941) who suggests that Epicureans and Christians were often associated with one another in popular understanding. Members of both groups were considered to be atheists (Simpson 1941:372).
familiarity with the Canon of Epicurus as well as his physics and ethics. In particular, De Witt points to Paul’s warnings against the "elements of the universe" (Gal 4:3, 9; Col 2:8, 20; cf. Heb 5:12; 2 Pet 3:10, 12)\(^{137}\) as a direct attack on Epicurean atomic physics, which held that the universe consists of atoms and space. When he examines individual letters of Paul, De Witt finds in each a number of phrases which resonate with Epicurean vocabulary and thinking and ways of reasoning found in the writings of Epicurus. All of this leads him to posit the direct influence of the writings of Epicurus and the practices of Epicureanism on the apostle Paul.

While dealing primarily with the language of Paul in his letters, De Witt does suggest that the formation of Epicurean communities were the prototype for the formation of Christian communities. Paul, like the followers of Epicurus, gathered together followers of the initial teacher in order to perpetuate the memory of that teacher. For the Epicureans it was Epicurus; for Paul it was Jesus the Christ. Both groups revered their founder as the discoverer of truth and as saviour (1954b:vi). Both groups were formed from private households.\(^{138}\)

Not only were Epicureans and Christians similar in using household based groups, these groups could be formed as schools. Again, the concept originated with the Epicureans and was copied by the Christians (1954b:97).\(^{139}\) De Witt suggests that some aspects of the organizational structure of the Christian groups are based on that of Epicurean groups. He even claims that Epicurus’ habit of writing pastoral letters to his communities must have been the model for Paul’s letter writing, as “no other model

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137. De Witt maintains that the translation "elemental spirits" is a mistranslation; the word στοιχεῖα is better translated simply "elements" or "basic principles."

138. Epicurean communities were based on the household and strove to reproduce among its members the relationships of the household (De Witt 1954a:93, 52).

139. In an earlier essay De Witt (1936) describes the organization of Epicurean groups which has perhaps broad similarities to Christian groups, but varies greatly in detail. The differences in detail are somewhat minimized in an essay from 1944.
By the late first century the Christian groups became the chief rivals of the Epicurean groups, eventually supplanting them. By the fifth century the Epicureans have been absorbed into the Christian community (1954a:328).

Overall, De Witt’s suggestions for Paul’s use of Epicurean philosophy can be described variously as plausible, improbable, fanciful, and downright wrong. In fact, De Witt’s ideas have not always been well received, most notably by Schmid who states that, "[d]ie Nachprüfung der Thesen De Witts hat seine Betrachtungsweise, nach der der Epikureismus als Brücke von der griechischen Philosophie zum Christentum gedient haben soll, durchweg als verfehlt erwiesen" (1962:814; cf. 780). Schmid suggests that De Witt’s study is too one-sided and forgets how much the forms of expression in Epicureanism has in common with other Hellenistic philosophy. That Paul shares some ideas or words with Epicureanism does not prove that Paul borrows them from Epicureanism (1962:814-15). Schmid goes on to suggest that some of the vocabulary identified by De Witt as distinctively Epicurean is also part of Stoicism. De Witt does find a few interesting parallels, but too quickly goes on to assume direct influence without noting that Epicurean thought had entered into general use within the language as a whole. Schmid is particularly concerned to challenge De Witt’s approach, for while others have mistakenly assumed connections between Epicureanism and Paul, "richtet insofern keinen Schaden für die paulinische Exegese im ganzen an; dies lässt sich jedoch leider von der Betrachtungsweise De Witts nicht sagen" (1962:815). So opposed were Schmid and others to De Witt’s suggestions that they discounted the possibility of a philosophical background to Paul’s letters completely. However, as Malherbe points out, De Witt’s excesses should not disqualify more responsible attempts (Malherbe 1989a:15; cf. Culpepper 1975:120-21).

140. De Witt does find some support in Steckel (1968:647) who suggests that stylistic parallels might indicate some connections, and even that "[e]s ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß Paulus Einzelheiten seiner Missionstechnik einer epikureischen Schulgemeinde in Tarsos abgegesehen hat." However, he nuances this by suggesting that these might also simply stem from a shared hellenistic culture.
Clarence Glad (1995) has pursued the comparison of the Epicurean school and Pauline Christian groups in a more nuanced, and perhaps more successful way. Glad suggests that Paul’s "psychagogic" practice, his style of caring for his community, has affinities with that of the Epicureans, particularly those Epicurean schools at Athens, Naples, and Herculaneum in the mid-first century BCE. Of the possible models available, Glad’s emphasis on the psychagogic aspects of Paul’s community "favors the model of the philosophical school" (1995:8-9 n. 15). However, this does not mean that there is direct influence or borrowings, only that there is a common communal practice. In both communities, the Pauline and the Epicurean, there is a pattern of "mutual participation by community members in exhortation, edification, and correction" (1995:8). Yet this pattern is important as a defining characteristic of the community; "it establishes a form of community ethos which binds members together in their common purpose" (1995:11). In fact, this ‘participatory psychagogy,’ "is a defining and constitutive feature of both Epicurean and proto-Christian communities" (1995:335). Paul is not innovative in his approach to community education. Rather, he uses the approach found in the Epicurean schools.

Glad spends the first two chapters giving an overview of the tradition of psychagogic nurture in antiquity. The ancient orator along with the moral counselor or guide would have to be prepared to be adaptable and versatile when faced with audiences composed of people of different dispositions and backgrounds. An entire pool of hortatory techniques was needed on which one could draw if necessary. These psychagoges, or "mature guides," were often sought out by people in antiquity as a source of guidance for life. The type of guidance offered was mixed, both harsh and gentle, as the situation required.

When Glad turns to Epicurean psychagogy he finds his best example in the works of Philodemus, especially his *On Frank Criticism* (Περὶ Παραρθείας). And it is precisely in Philodemus that Glad finds the best match when it comes to community guidance. By analyzing both Philodemus and Paul he concludes that both recognize the two-fold perspective of frank speech (harsh and gentle), the importance of friendship, and the community wide use of exhortation, edification, and correction (1995:105; cf. 107, 185, 193, 204). Although Glad shows how this approach is worked out in Rom 14:1-15:14 (1995:213-35) his principal focus is the Corinthian community. He suggests that to the weak and insecure Paul’s approach is mild or gentle. However, when faced with a recalcitrant person Paul’s approach is much more harsh. As with Epicurean psychagogy, Paul’s approach takes into account the disposition and background of the recipient of the moral guidance. In so doing, Paul became "all things to all people" or as Glad translates it "I have become every thing in turn to men of every sort" (1 Cor 9:22b).

Another popular philosophical movement during the first century CE, along with the Epicureans, is that of the Stoics (cf. Acts 17:18). Stoicism was founded in Athens by Zeno of Citium, who lived during the fourth and third centuries BCE. Zeno first converted to Cynicism under Crates and then turned to Socratic philosophy before developing his own philosophy. He first expounded his philosophy in the stoa in Athens, hence the name of the philosophical system. Eventually, he organized a school in Athens, which continued until Justinian closed all of the Athenian philosophical schools in 529 CE. During that lengthy period Stoicism underwent much development and change, beginning with Zeno’s successor, Chrysippus, who sought to systematize Zeno’s ideas. It was well received in the Roman world and included amongst its

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adherents Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. Stoics held that the whole universe is controlled by reason (λόγος) which is identified with God and shows itself as fate. The role of the wise person is to live in harmony with whatever happens, knowing that it cannot be changed—one must live with indifference to everything. Humans obtain true freedom by living consistently with nature, putting aside passion, unjust thoughts, indulgence, and the like and performing one’s duties with the right disposition. This is the goal—the virtuous life.

Investigation of Stoicism as a background for Pauline community formation has also proved fruitful, particularly in the recent essay of Engberg-Pedersen (1995). Although Engberg-Pedersen states at the outset that Paul was not a Stoic philosopher, he shows how Paul carefully integrates Stoic ideas in his letter to the Philippians. Unlike other studies which simply show Stoic ideas in Paul, Engberg-Pedersen ties Paul’s Stoicizing motifs directly to the community formation of the Philippians. Paul’s Stoic referents suggest that, consciously or not, Paul is attempting to form a community of a special kind.

Zeno, in his Republic, envisioned a particular ideal community that could arise out of Stoic teaching, where all distinction based on social rank, gender, political affiliation and the like were abolished. No hierarchies would be in place and all people would have the freedom to engage in independent action. Of course, the wise person would choose to do what was morally good. Following Zeno, this conception of the ideal community was slightly modified. First, vestiges of Cynicism were removed. Second, and more importantly, under Chrysippus the community changed from a locally based population center to "a community of all those people who are morally

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143. Other recent investigations of Paul’s use of Stoic notions include Martens 1994. For a historical survey of those who have made the connection between Stoicism and the New Testament see Colish 1992.
good wherever they live on earth" (Engberg-Pedersen 1995:267). It is this later development that is most relevant to Paul.

Engberg-Pedersen shows how a number of terms and concepts found in Philippians are used with the meaning they have within the writings of Stoic philosophers. He then takes note of connections with other dominant motifs in Philippians such as the coming judgment on the "day of Christ" and κοινωνία, the conception that people will care for others because they consider them above themselves. He suggests that Paul's argument for Christian πολίτευμα ("citizenship") in heaven (Phil 3:20) reflects the basic ideas of Stoic moral and political philosophy: that there is an end or goal towards which this life is aiming, and that this end is an ideal community which must be realized as much as possible in present circumstances by one's beliefs and behavior. While Paul elaborates on this based on his understanding of Christian life, in his community-forming enterprise "Paul is actually using Stoicism" (1995:279).

Engberg-Pedersen's work has much to recommend it in terms of understanding how Paul was thinking. In particular, he provides important insight into Paul's use of Stoic ideas in his conception of the ideal Christian community; "[w]hen he develops the idea of a genuine, non-hierarchical κοινωνία and πολίτευμα as the telos and when he describes himself as the model προκόπτων, then he is at the same time his most Stoic and his most Christian" (1995:289). It is when Paul uses the language of hierarchy in order to give structure to the Philippian congregation, along with his use of emotional force in his rhetoric, that Paul is no longer arguing like a Stoic (see 1995:280-89). There is a tension in Philippians between the ideal Christian (=Stoic) community conceived by Paul and the need to instill some structure in the Philippian Christian community.

In terms of analogical comparison this is useful information. However, Engberg-Pedersen seems concerned to move towards genealogical connections.
Our task is to decide the exact interplay of the three clusters of ideas and in particular whether the Stoic technical background is alive or not. We should ask, Would knowledge of Stoicism have helped the Philippians understand better what Paul appears to be saying (there is no way of knowing whether they had such knowledge)? If the answer is positive, we may conclude that Paul's text has been partly shaped by Stoic ideas (even though Paul may not have been entirely conscious of this: again we have no means of knowing). (1995:277)

Although he admits that Paul may not have been aware of the connections, Engberg-Pedersen makes them nevertheless; "we may also conclude that Paul is actually using Stoicism in his community-forming enterprise" (1995:279). Yet despite this, he ultimately does not address the question of whether the Philippian Christian community can be classified as a Stoic philosophical school, or at least whether they would have been perceived as such by those in antiquity with an awareness of Stoicism.

In a number of publications Hock (1978; 1979; 1980) shows well how Paul might have related to the intellectual milieu of his day as an artisan-philosopher. Since his particular focus is Thessalonica, Hock's work has occupied us elsewhere (see §3.2.3). In summary, Hock argues that Paul used workshops as settings for his missionary preaching. In so doing, Paul was in keeping with some of the philosophical teachers of his day (1979:438; cf. 1980:37-41). Of all of the philosophers, the Cynics provide the best analogue. The Cynics are the one group of philosophers whose teaching remained open and public at all times. They chose the marketplace as the place of discourse, although there are some traditions which place them in the workshops of various artisans (Hock 1979:446). In fact, the Cynics themselves were not adverse to working—Simon the shoemaker is turned, in the tradition, into an ideal Cynic philosopher, his work allowing him "self-sufficiency" and his workshop providing the location for philosophical discourse. Hock suggests that in the tradition of the Cynic preachers Paul would have used his time in the workshop to both work and preach/teach. Thus he was able to support himself and carry on his missionary activity (citing 1 Thess 2:9). His audience would have been composed of fellow workers,
customers, and perhaps curious onlookers who had heard of the newly arrived "tentmaker-philosopher." From this group, Hock suggests, the more curious would return for individual instruction (1 Thess 2:11-12) eventually converting to Christianity (1 Thess 2:13).

Here it is important to note that nowhere does Hock describe what sort of community would be formed from this type of missionary preaching—would it be a philosophical school or a workers guild? If it were a mixed group, then it might more resemble a philosophical school. However, if all converts were fellow tradesmen and their families, then one could envision the Christian community being formed like the trade associations. 144 Although scholarly investigation of the historical Jesus has used the ancient Cynics as a background,145 this has proved less effective for Paul. The Cynic emphasis on individualism and personal ἐνδομονία can be favourably compared to aspects of Jesus’ message. However, while Paul sometimes insists on individual responsibility before God (e.g., Rom 14:12; 1 Cor 4:5-6; 7:17-24; 2 Cor 5:10; Gal 6:3-5) he also advocates participation in the social institution he calls the ἐκκλησία (1 Cor 11:17-22; 14:1-12) and membership in the "body of Christ" (1 Cor 12:12-13, 27; cf. Phil 2:4). Thus we see a tension between Paul and Jesus in which an analogy other than the cynic analogy is needed simply by virtue of the communal context to which Paul writes.146

144. On these trade associations see chapter 5. We have already suggested that the Thessalonians were probably workers. In chapter 6 below we will argue that a workers' guild "turned to God from idols" (1 Thess 1:9) as a group; the Thessalonian Christian community was not created by the conversion of individuals.


146. Malherbe (1987:99-101) suggests that the ἀρακτοι at Thessalonica were those who had become Cynic philosophers and that, since this is not the type of community Paul envisioned, Paul exhorts them to work. Even if Paul was a working-philosopher, that the Thessalonians are to continue to work (cf. 4:11) suggest that they did not retreat to form a philosophical school. On ἀρακτοι see further §§3.2.4.1 and 6.1.1.
Paul’s use of the techniques of the Hellenistic moral philosophers at Thessalonica is brought to the fore by the work of Abraham Malherbe who has focused on the similarities between Paul’s letters (particularly 1 Thessalonians) and the "popular" philosophers of Paul’s day such as Cynics, Stoics, and Epicureans. In examining 1 Thessalonians Malherbe suggests that in the first three chapters Paul uses paraenetic exhortation and the antithetic style, both of which are common in the writings of the moral philosophers of the first century (1983:23). Within this, Paul’s references to his working to support himself and his concern for the souls of the Thessalonians (1 Thess 2:9; 4:9-12) shows that he views his ministry among the Thessalonians in much the same way that the philosophers conceived of their own task. The Thessalonians themselves might have organized their community like those of the Epicureans, taking on an air of quietism and withdrawal from society. In this context, Paul’s exhortation in 4:9-12 shows that Paul himself disagrees with this strategy and urges the Thessalonians to take seriously what society thinks of them and to have society think well of them by working diligently to support themselves.

Like the moral philosophers Paul used a semi-private workshop as a forum in which philosophical discourse could take place (Malherbe 1987:33) and a community could be formed. Like the moral philosophers, Paul offers himself as the ideal model that is to be imitated (1 Thess 1:6; 1987:52-60) in the shaping of the community. Finally, Paul nurtured his community, both while living among them and when absent from them, much like the philosophers nurtured their students (1987:61-94; 1989b:35-148.

Malherbe (1983:26) points out that in fact pagan critics did equate Christianity with Epicureanism in the second century and beyond.

147. Malherbe 1983 provides the groundwork for Malherbe 1987. In Malherbe 1989b he has collected some of the studies which underlie his 1987 work (see 1989b:ix). We briefly summarized some aspects of Malherbe’s work in chapter 1.

148. Malherbe (1983:26) points out that in fact pagan critics did equate Christianity with Epicureanism in the second century and beyond.
These comparisons do not make Paul a moral philosopher (1987:108) but illuminate his practice and show it to be very much like that of the moral philosophers. Malherbe has taken seriously the larger social context of Paul's ministry as reflected in his letter to the Thessalonians, and in many ways I would agree with his picture of Paul forming the Christian community from his workshop (1987:5-33). However, Malherbe's study does not go further to describe more fully what such a community would look like on the structural level, and how one would determine this from Paul's letter. Instead, his focus is the moral climate that would characterize the Thessalonian church. Yet we can infer that a community formed, shaped, and nurtured along the same lines as a philosophical school will be most like that particular type of ancient grouping, and this is where Malherbe would find the best analogy.

4.3.2. Evaluation

It should be clear from the discussion in this section that while many scholars find in the Hellenistic moral philosophers an appropriate background for understanding Paul's thought and language, only a few articulate the extension of this to an understanding of how Paul organized his communities. Malherbe's lament (1989a:16; 1992:330) that only those philosophers who provide obvious points of comparison with the New Testament have been studied—Stoic moralists (Seneca, Musonius Rufus, Epictetus, Dio Chrysostom), Plutarch, and Lucian—rings true. Most of the comparison has been undertaken in the arena of philosophical thought. In calling for a much broader investigation of the philosophical schools of antiquity Malherbe notes that recently "interest has shifted from ethics to ethos" (1992:330). He goes on to suggest that there has yet to be "a full appreciation of the long stride that has been

149. He does note some who have attempted this: Judge 1960a; Hock 1980; Stowers 1984; Malherbe 1983; 1989b. We would add Stowers 1988; Aune 1991; Glad 1995; Engberg-Pedersen 1995; Fitzgerald 1996.
taken from the individualism of Greek ethics to the communal concerns of the early Christians" (1992:330). However, it remains the case that while many scholars look to the philosophical schools as an analogue for understanding Paul, they stop short of using the schools as a means to understanding the community that results from Paul's work as a founder. Nevertheless, by implication many would have to grant that by addressing his communities as if they were as familiar as himself with the nuances of various philosophical systems, Paul is assuming that they would understand themselves in light of the model of the philosophical "schools." 150

Although Meeks has done much to show how various philosophies have impacted early Christianity, particularly in the area of moral instruction (1986:114-19; 1993:66-90; 102-4), he quickly dismisses the philosophical schools as an analogy for Pauline community formation. He suggests that the Epicurean and Pythagorean groups are like the Pauline communities in so far as they both take the form of modified households or voluntary associations (Meeks 1983:84) 151 but have little else in common with the philosophical schools. The strong scholarly, academic, and rhetorical elements within the Pauline groups are ancillary to the primary features of the groups. 152

The studies discussed here have done much to illuminate the background of some of the language in Paul's letters and clearly show how Paul draws on his knowledge of the popular moral philosophers when writing to his Christian congregations. However,

150. Since there is no one dominant philosophical system in evidence, and because of the diversity among the "schools" themselves, a more nuanced picture of individual congregations compared to a particular philosophical school in terms of community structure continues to be a desideratum in terms of an overall analogous database for understanding Pauline community formation. However, such a project is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

151. Cf. Meeks 1983:83. Also Marrou (1956:60), who indicates that philosophical schools could be organized along the lines of a ἄθεατον dedicated to the goddess of culture. For more on associations see chapter 5.

152. Ultimately, Meeks seems to favor the synagogue as the best analogy for the early Christian groups (see §4.1.2, above).
these scholars fail to give a compelling argument showing that there was a general structure for a philosophical school which was adopted in the structure of the Pauline communities, particularly those of Thessalonica and Philippi. The "schools" differed greatly from people living in community (Plato’s Academy; the Epicurean Garden) to individuals proclaiming a particular way of life (the Cynic "school"). While all are helpful for understanding the context within which Christianity took hold, no philosophical schools seems to provide an adequate analogue, particularly to the situation at Thessalonica and Philippi.

For the use of the philosophers as a background for understanding Paul to continue what New Testament scholarship now needs is a sustained examination of both the nature and extent of the formation and organization of the philosophical schools themselves, followed by a detailed examination of analogous material in Paul’s letters. However, our own sense is that more is to be gained from the study of ancient philosophers for understanding Paul’s thought world than the understanding of the community structures which resulted from it. This being so, we need to look elsewhere for an analogous model of Christian community formation in Macedonia.

4.4. The Mysteries

The mysteries were "initiation rituals of a voluntary, personal, and secret character that aimed at a change of mind through experience of the sacred" (Burkert 1987:11). An individual initiate might then also be joined with other initiates to form an association in which members would participate together in certain secret rites under the patronage of a particular deity. The mysteries tended to emphasize salvation for individuals who chose to be initiated into the mysteries, resulting in groups of believers

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153. For a discussion of the use of "mysteries" rather than "mystery religions" see footnote 42 in chapter 1.
who were inwardly focused (Meyer 1992:941). Although they had some public celebrations such as processions and sacrifices, they emphasized the secret ceremonies, only known to the initiates (Meyer 1992:941). The emphasis in the mystery rites (of which little is now known)\(^{154}\) seems to have been on the experience rather than the impartation of information (Meyer 1992:941). The rites themselves were thought to bring about certain benefits, especially after the death of the initiate (Wedderburn 1987b:56-57; E.Ferguson 1987:198).

The mysteries have a long history. One of the earliest mysteries was that of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis which extends back at least to the sixth century BCE. The mysteries of Dionysos appear only slightly later than this (Burkert 1987:2). The propensity for mysteries grew in the Hellenistic age and even more in the Roman period, probably due to the contact of western peoples with these predominantly eastern religions through war, trade, and travel. Since Martin Goodman (1994:32) has provided a nice, concise summary of the missionizing efforts of Greco-Roman cults generally it is perhaps apropos to quote it in detail here:

In sum, attitudes to mission varied greatly in ancient polytheism. When it occurred, mission was usually apologetic and propagandistic. The many inscriptions found in shrines proclaiming to passers-by the power and benevolence of the divinity may be included in these categories; their prime aim was simply to praise the god, on the assumption that the gods, like men, love to be honored. Only occasionally did the adherents of a cult with a particular awareness of the significance of its geographical spread, such as the advocates of emperor worship, indulge in proselytizing. Even in their case there is no evidence that their ambitions were universalist in scope. No pagan seriously dreamed of bringing all humankind to give worship in one body to one deity.

Despite there being no large scale effort among the mysteries to propagate their faith they all seemed to have attract adherents. It is also important to note that initiation into the mysteries did not necessarily mean that one had "converted" to another

\(^{154}\) Unfortunately what is known is often too little to draw certain conclusions. The experiences and interpretations of the rites were generally well-kept secrets by the initiates. Knowledge of the mysteries generally comes from inscriptions and works of art aimed at the general public and thus is rather vague on details (Wedderburn 1982:829).
religion. One could be initiated into more than one of the mysteries and participate in the rites associated with each.\(^\text{155}\)

Some of the most important mysteries at this time include those of Dionysos, the Great Mother (Cybele) and Attis, Isis and Sarapis (Osiris), and Mithras.\(^\text{156}\) These seem to have been rooted in the soil, agriculture, and the cycle of nature. Their rites aimed to assure fertility and safety (L.H. Martin 1987:59; Burkett 1987:1-29), although they also promised a happy afterlife (Burkett 1987:21-23; 1985:293-95; Meyer 1992:941). However, it is now well recognized that it is no longer adequate to treat the mysteries as a homogeneous entity, as was the case in generalizations about mystery "theology" or mystery "practice" in the past (see below). Each of the mysteries must be investigated on its own terms, using its own terminology, as far as this is known.

\(^\text{155.}\) Although the mysteries were not mutually exclusive, according to Merkelbach (1985:705) they did appeal to different social groups: the "middle rank" of Greek and Roman urban areas preferred Dionysian societies, which reflected beauty and merriment in its festivals. Isis attracted the worship of "lower to middle rank" people of seaports and trading towns such as Philippi. Craftsmen in Italy tended to be the majority of the followers of the Great Mother. Soldiers aligned themselves with Mithras, as did imperial officials and freedmen. Slaves were admitted to any of these societies and were considered equals during the festivals. The worship of foreign deities during the Roman age was characterized as being predominantly attractive to women. This is suggested by Plutarch, who clearly does not feel well disposed towards the mysteries, when he notes the enticement of women by the priests of the Great Mother and of Sarapis (\textit{Moralia} 407C; Portefaix 1988:53; cf. Strabo 297; Portefaix 1988:55).

\(^\text{156.}\) Space does not allow us to give the details of each here. For a description of the major mysteries and the contours of their beliefs a brief but thorough guide is L.H. Martin 1987 or Burkett 1985:276-304; 1987. For a comprehensive, classified bibliography of the mysteries up to 1979 see Metzger 1984.
4.4.1. The Mysteries as a Model

From as early as the second century CE both Christian and non-Christian commentators have noted the similarities between Christianity and the mysteries. For the most part the Christians insisted that Christianity developed independently of the mysteries. Any similarities were due to the work of demons anticipating Christianity and having certain Christian rites copied in the mysteries.

One of the first modern scholars to indicate that Christianity was influenced by the mysteries was Isaac Casaubon in 1614, who suggested that the mysteries were the source of the Christian sacraments (Teeple 1992:51; Metzger 1968:1 n. 1). The first scholar to undertake a more critical investigation of the mysteries themselves was C. A. Lobeck in 1829, who was able to clear the way for a more scientific study of the mysteries (Metzger 1968:1). His work was followed by that of Gustav Anrich in 1894, who brought to the comparative investigation a comprehensiveness and precision in methodology not previously encountered (Wagner 1967:7).

The use of the mysteries as an analogy for understanding early Christianity peaked under the influence of the religionsgeschichtliche Schule of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Richard Reitzenstein’s Hellenistic Mystery Religions...
(1978)\textsuperscript{161} is seen as a prime example of the approach of this history-of-religions school. He compares a number of disconnected mystery works to arrive at the general features of the missionary activities of the mystery cults. He argues that before undertaking his own missionizing program, Paul carried out a systematic study of the language and concepts of the mysteries (1978:536). As a result, Paul’s view of baptism and the Lord’s Supper was directly influenced by the rites of initiation in the mysteries (1978:76-81).\textsuperscript{162} In fact, this study continued to help Paul as he attempted to communicate effectively with the communities with which he was associated (1978:85, 536), suggesting that Paul’s communities themselves were made up of those familiar with mystery concepts and thus were structured in a similar manner.\textsuperscript{163}

In an article from the early part of this century on Alfred Loisy (1911-12) boldly sets out to show that Christianity is not a sect of Judaism but an independent religion.\textsuperscript{164} This was not the original intent of the historical Jesus; rather, it came about largely due to the action of Paul. Because of his own background, Paul turned the Gospel of Jesus into a Hellenistic mystery cult. In describing some of the practices of the mysteries Loisy makes liberal use of terminology that has a specifically Christian resonance to it. For example, he describes part of the initiation into the cult of Isis and Sarapis (Osiris) in this way:

As Osiris was plunged in the waters of the Nile in order to revive him, so the novice receives a baptism whereby he is regenerated. He does not merely see the death and resurrection of Osiris in figure; he himself enters into the sacred drama, with a principal part to play; he becomes Osiris . . . . (1911:48).


\textsuperscript{162}Reitzenstein looks to the Isis mystery of Apuleius to explain Paul’s view of baptism in Rom 6.

\textsuperscript{163}Many scholars now consider Reitzenstein’s approach to be simplistic and reductionistic. He "depicted mysticism as a unified phenomenon that culminated in Gnosticism in the second and subsequent centuries C.E." (Kee 1995b:145).

\textsuperscript{164}Worked out in more detail but with the same approach in Loisy 1914.
And again, in describing the rites of Cybele and Attis he notes that Attis' "passion and resurrection were duly celebrated" and that, following the rite of anointing with oil, "is found the bloody baptism of the taurobole, which was also a sacrament of regeneration and of immortality" (1911:48).

No wonder, then, that when he turns to Paul he finds analogous material and can suggest that Paul's Christianity was "conceived in its general lines on the same model as those of which we have just been speaking" (1911:50). However, as many people have subsequently pointed out, much of what Loisy describes is not actually present in any of the texts from antiquity. Instead, Loisy has filled in the gaps using language taken from Christianity. Bevan pointedly states (1929:105), "[o]n this plan, you first put in the Christian elements, and then are staggered to find them there."

Loisy begins with a brief analysis of Paul's soteriology, primarily as it is outlined in Romans. He shows how Jesus is conceived as a saviour-god like Sarapis, Attis, or Mithras in his appearance on earth, his "universal redemption," his violent death and subsequent return to life, and his predetermined plan to involve his followers in his worship in such a way that leads to their salvation. These affinities are nowhere more clear than in the two Christian sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. In Christian baptism the initiate "is held to die in order to be reborn, as in the pagan mysteries" (1911:53). And in the Lord's Supper the elements of wine and bread mystically become the blood and body of Christ, leading to a mystic participation of the celebrant with Christ, a notion stemming directly from the mysteries. It is through this sharing in mystic rites that those who partake "come into or are maintained in the social body of Christ, the community of his believers" (1911:55). For Loisy, the mysteries provide the paradigm for Paul to adapt in his own community formation.
Having suggested that Paul transformed Jesus' gospel into a mystery cult, Loisy concludes by pointing out how this transformation occurred.\(^{165}\) He suggests that Paul had access to the mystical literature of paganism and had studied it both before his conversion to Christianity and afterwards (1911:58). Having grown up in Tarsus he would also have had opportunity to encounter their practices and beliefs. In fact, Loisy suggests that Paul also became familiar with the mysteries through his discussions with pagans while attempting to convert them to Judaism. Once he experienced his Christian conversion, he studied the mysteries all the more "in order to acquaint himself with the religious ideas of the races he would win, to find rules for the organization and worship of the communities he would found" (1911:58). However, Paul's Christian communities went beyond the mystic groups, which had no internal cohesion or reciprocal bonds, in that they became stronger in their unity of belief and in their social organization. This factor worked together with firmer theological convictions about God and immortality and a closer tie to the saviour-god to allow Christianity to supplant the mysteries and finally to eliminate them (1911:64). Loisy's approach has been correctly critiqued as overly generalized (Bevan 1929:105; cf. Kee 1995b:145).\(^{166}\) Most of the parallels he draws between Christianity and the mysteries are superficial at best. In fact, Loisy falls into many of the methodological traps that Metzger (1968) would later caution against.

Wilhelm Bousset' *Kyrios Christos* (1970) traces the development of Christianity from its Palestinian beginnings through to the time of Irenaeus at the end of the second

\(^{165}\) Loisy recognizes that the transformation was not effected by Paul alone, but he "was the most important worker in this metamorphosis" (1911:57).

\(^{166}\) Bevan (1929:104-05) recognizes some similarities between Christianity and the mysteries, but he finds more significant differences (1929:106-13). In pointing out the differences he is careful to note the individuality of various mysteries. However, he assumes a widely diffused, homogeneous Christianity even in the early period, which was probably not the case.
Bousset's thesis was that Jesus was first addressed as "Lord" not in the early Palestinian community but in the Hellenistic communities. The use of the title Κύριος is drawn from its use for the gods of the mysteries, such as "the Lord Sarapis" or "the Lord Attis." Having first investigated the primitive Palestinian Christian community, Bousset turns his attention to Hellenistic communities themselves. He sees a significant disjuncture between these two main branches of early Christianity.

Although Paul is Jewish, Bousset maintains that much of his theology and practice was influenced by the Hellenistic, not the Palestinian, communities in which he was ministering. In fact, Bousset maintains that Paul did not create the Hellenistic communities from nothing. Many of them were established before Paul's career as apostle to the Gentiles began, especially the influential communities at Antioch and Rome.

Beginning with an investigation of the title Κύριος, Bousset suggests that it is used in the Hellenistic churches in place of the Palestinian church's title "Son of Man" since the latter would not be understood among the Gentiles of the Hellenistic churches. However, the title Κύριος is absent from the Palestinian traditions embedded in the Gospel accounts. Thus, the Hellenistic church must have appropriated the use of the title from elsewhere—namely, the mysteries. The Hellenistic churches' emphasis on the title Κύριος points to the common cultus of the Christians (1970:130). The Christians are initiated into the worship life of the church through baptism. Once initiated, they participate in the common meal in honor of the cultic hero, "just as the followers of the Egyptian Serapis come to the table of the Lord Serapis" (1970:131; cf. 134). This emphasis on Jesus as the Κύριος did not originate with Paul but with the community itself; it is the collective expression of the Hellenistic community's consciousness of its

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167. First published in 1913, this book underwent five editions, the last in 1964, under the guidance of colleagues of Bousset, who died before the publication of the second edition. However, it was not translated into English until 1970.

Even Paul’s "mysticism," as it is expressed in his view of Christian identity with Christ through baptism in Romans 6, had its origins in the former beliefs of the Christian communities themselves. "The belief must already have been present that baptism as an act of initiation is a dying and coming to life again, somehow comparable to Christ’s death and resurrection" (1970:157; cf. 194). This concept of identification and dying and rising has as its background the mysteries (1970:188). The same holds true for the eating and drinking of the body and blood in the rite of the Lord’s Supper. Thus, the members of the Hellenistic Christian communities were most likely formerly initiates of one or another of the mysteries before they became Christians. Upon their conversion, they brought with them many aspects of mystery worship into the Christian worship and fashioned their new communities after the model of the adherents of the mysteries.

Bousset does not suggest that Paul simply took over these aspects of the mysteries as they were mediated through the Hellenistic churches. Rather, Paul reworked many of their ideas and practices in light of his own understanding of the Christ-event. Nevertheless, many of the root ideas remain as the base of Christian community, worship, and belief in Paul’s letters (1970:167) and dominate in the actual practices of the Hellenistic Christian communities (1970:210).

In a similar manner Rudolf Bultmann (1956) held that the Hellenistic church developed independently of the Palestinian church even before Paul’s missionary activity. Under the influence of Hellenism and even of Paul himself, Hellenistic Christianity became a syncretistic religion (1956:177). A number of elements of Paul’s thought and practice are clearly from the Old Testament. However, other aspects are adopted from elsewhere, such as Stoicism, particularly the idea of Christian freedom.
(1956:185) and Gnosticism, especially Paul’s understanding of the condition of humanity in the world and the transcendence of God (1956:189-95).

When the Hellenistic church, and particularly Paul, attempted to describe the redemptive significance of Jesus they used terms derived from the mysteries (1956:196).168 Jesus himself is conceived as a mystery deity and those initiated into the community participate in Jesus’ death and resurrection though the sacraments of baptism and the Lord’s Supper (1956:177, 196). These sacraments were incorporated into the Hellenistic church from the mysteries, although Paul himself also seems to have put his own particular stamp on the understanding of them (for details see Bultmann 1952:140-44 and 311-13 on baptism and 1952:148-51 and 313-14 on the Lord’s Supper). This admission is important for how Bultmann conceives of the nature of the Hellenistic church. He has already suggested that it is precisely the sacraments of baptism and the Lord’s Supper that cement the Christians into "an eschatological community" (1956:187; cf. 203). Since the sacraments come primarily from the mysteries, then in outward appearance, if not in theology, Paul’s churches must have looked a lot like mystery cults.

A number of points in Bultmann’s analysis are problematic at best. The radical distinction between the Hellenistic church and the Palestinian church has been called into question (see esp. Hengel 1974; 1989). A much more nuanced view of early "Christianities" is now generally recognized. Secondly, Bultmann’s description of the mysteries is at best superficial. Although he admits that differences existed among the separate mysteries he tends to merge them into one when outlining their beliefs and

168. Bultmann maintains that the work of Jesus himself was conceived along the lines of a Gnostic redeemer myth. He goes on to suggest that Paul can describe Jesus’ death and resurrection variously, using concepts from Judaism (Rom 3:25), from the mysteries (Rom 6:2-11), and from Gnosticism (2 Cor 5:17; see 1956:197).
practices. Also, his conception of the individual mysteries are now clearly recognized as out of date and incorrect (this is especially true of his description of Mithraism).  

R. E. Witt (1971; cf. 1966a:137-38; 1966b:53-54, 58, 61) has pointed out a number of interesting, albeit disparate, parallels between the cult of Isis and the deeds (in Acts) and letters attributed to Paul. Details from Paul's letters are taken to indicate that Paul must have come into contact with the Isiac faith. For example, Paul's key theological terms "power" and "salvation" have parallels in the Isis cult; his attack on the anthropomorphism and zoolatry of depraved humans in Romans 1:23 might be a direct attack on the iconography of the Egyptian cults; mention of sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal in 1 Cor 13 brings to mind the music made by Isis in renewing the earth in mid-winter (1971:266); the "name above all names" attributed to Jesus in the Philippian hymn (Phil 2:9) plays off the many great names of the goddess Isis, the "Queen Victoria" of the Roman colony of Philippi (1971:267-68; cf. 1966b:61). Witt suggests that Paul was by no means sympathetic to the cult of Isis. While much of his language might resonate with the language of that cult (e.g., εὐχαριστία, ἐκκλησία; 1971:268), in fact Paul was critical of it. Paul's fundamental belief in a male deity, his monotheism, his Christology, and his patriarchy all prevented him from adopting too much from the cult of Isis.  

The *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* has not maintained many supporters past the early part of the twentieth century. In fact, their approach experienced opposition from the beginning and has long been in disrepute among most New Testament scholars. A

169. Developments in our understanding of the mysteries have come through the discoveries of archaeology, including actual meeting places, and more literary texts. Other texts have been reassessed and reinterpreted. Despite this, however, what took place in the actual rites of the mysteries remains enigmatic (Wiens 1980:1255).

170. In a separate article (1966a) Witt uses a similar method to suggest that the cult of Isis had a profound influence on the beliefs and liturgical practices of the Christian church during the patristic period, despite the disclaimers of the church fathers themselves.
number of influential voices were raised in opposition to the possibility of Christian borrowing from the mysteries. However, it needs to be re-emphasized that the movement "has made us necessarily more cognizant of the larger cultural context in which Christianity took stalk and flourished" and has reminded us that it is impossible for a cultural context not to exert an influence on persons or institutions (Wiens 1980:1258). This has led to the further, much more nuanced exploration of the possibility of mystery influences on Paul and his churches in the modern period. We will return to these after briefly summarizing representatives of the history-of-religions school’s detractors.\footnote{The problems inherent to some of these older works are assessed by Metzger (1968) who highlights a number of important issues and advocates methodological caution when undertaking the comparison of Christianity and the mysteries. Metzger has not gone unchallenged, most recently (and most effectively) by J.Z. Smith 1990:48-50. Smith’s more thorough work, is much more helpful overall.}

Nock dismisses the idea that the mysteries had any influence on the Christian sacraments: "Any idea that what we call the Christian sacraments were in their origin indebted to pagan mysteries or even to the metaphorical concepts based upon them shatters on the rock of linguistic evidence" (1972c:809).\footnote{Many of Nock’s essays have been collected and published together in a two volume work; I have referred to the pagination of the essays in this larger work.} He suggests that in the initiation rites of the mysteries washing was merely a preliminary step and nothing like baptism, and a meal was simply a meal, with no special connotations. The one exception is Mithraism, but Nock brushes it aside as being too late to have influenced early Christianity (1972c:810).

Nock clearly rejects the direct influence of the mysteries on Pauline community formation (cf. 1972a:72). In fact, Nock points out the absence from Paul (and the New Testament more generally) of any distinctive terminology from the mysteries
(1972c:809-10; 1972f:341-44).173 That which has in the past been designated as "mystery" terminology is really part of the broader Hellenistic religious vocabulary available to all who lived in that time (1972f:343-44).174

Nock was correct when he wrote in 1952 "[u]nless I am mistaken, scholarly opinion is moving towards something like the position which I have outlined" (1972c:819).175 Within a decade Günther Wagner (1967)176 rejected the religionsgeschichtliche Schule approach that sees a "global" understanding of the mysteries and their terminology.177 In examining Romans 6 and the supposed mystery model behind it, he shows that in fact there is no mystery cult with analogous material (1967:266). Paul's view developed independently of any influences from the mysteries.

Wagner's book has been "described as the best study of the mystery-religions to have appeared since the early years of this century."178 However, a more recent investigation of the possible influences of the mysteries on Paul's baptismal language in Romans 6 has been undertaken by A. J. M. Wedderburn, with results similar to those

173. See also H.A.A.Kennedy 1913, esp. 115-98. Kennedy sees the most obvious background to Paul's language in the Old Testament (1913:154-55). Rahner (1963) agrees that Paul's language was not influenced by the mysteries, although he does admit that there is some general terminological affinity with the mysteries.

174. However, Nock probably overstates his case when he claims that Paul is only aware of paganism in a very general way and that there was no possible way that Paul would appropriate concepts from it (Malherbe 1989a:13 responding to Nock 1972d:930).

175. Nock's position has more recently been challenged by J.Z.Smith who points out a number of methodological flaws and apologetic predispositions in Nock's work (1990:66-84).


177. The first part of Wagner's book presents one of the most comprehensive surveys of the understanding of Romans 6 by the practitioners of the history-of-religions school.

of Wagner. Wedderburn makes it clear that he does not think that Pauline communities were directly influenced by the mysteries (1983:337; 1987a:396). He looks in detail at the idea that those initiated into the mysteries shared in the sufferings of a dying and rising god, much like Paul indicates Christians participate in the death and resurrection of Christ through baptism (Rom 6:1-11). Detailed examination of this theme in the various mysteries, however, shows that evidence for this is almost non-existent (see 1987a:296-331 and in summary form in 1987b:57-71). Wedderburn is more inclined to see that the similarities between Paul’s view of baptism and the mysteries comes more generally from a shared milieu than direct dependence (1987a:393-94). He suggests that the influence was most likely mediated through Hellenistic Judaism (1982:823, 828-29; 1983:337; 1987a:163). In fact, he suggests that "the interpretation of Paul’s doctrine of union with Christ as a derivative from the mystery-cults of his day" is a "dead-end" in New Testament studies (1987a:396).

Wiens concurs with Wedderburn’s assessment when he writes that due to the "unconvincing nature" of linguistic ‘parallels’ and the "lack of demonstrated contacts" "the tide has turned in favor of a Jewish-oriented Paul" and that "Pauline thought can better be explained on the basis of his Jewish backgrounds" (Wiens 1980:126). However, this more broad conclusion may have been premature. In fact, there are still a few scholars who find in the mysteries a compelling explanation for Pauline

179. Wedderburn is critical of some aspects of Wagner’s study, particularly the fact that Wagner "makes no allowance for Paul’s use, or modification, of Christian tradition" when discussing Romans 6 (Wedderburn 1982:818).

180. Rom 6:1-11 has been used to suggest that Paul received his baptismal theology from the mysteries. In fact, this passage is often the "entry-point" for arguing for the influence of the mysteries into Paul’s theology and Paul’s communities (Wedderburn 1982:824). Other passages often highlighted are 1 Cor 2:14; 1 Cor 15:1-58; Phil 2:6-11, although none so much as Rom 6:1-11.

181. In the 1980s there was a resurgence of interest in Paul’s affinities with the philosophical schools of his day (see above), and in the 1990s there is growing interest in the voluntary associations (chapter 5).
church formation. However, these scholars tend to work with much more methodological rigor than in the past.\textsuperscript{182}

Maccoby (1991) completely rejects claims that Paul's doctrine of salvation can be derived from Jewish sources, either directly or as a logical development.\textsuperscript{183} Instead, he suggests that Paul was influenced by Gnosticism and, more importantly, the mysteries. Maccoby summarizes Paul's doctrine of salvation as containing six elements (from 1991:55):

1. the hopeless moral condition of humankind
2. the descent of the divine saviour in a human body
3. the violent death of the divine saviour
4. resurrection, immortality, and divinity of the crucified saviour
5. vicarious atonement effected by the divine death for those who have faith in its efficacy
6. promise of resurrection and immortality to devotees of the saviour.

Maccoby investigates each element individually and in order. He begins by showing that efforts to ground Paul's view of the human condition in the Judaism of his time have all proven to be unsuccessful. Likewise with the idea of the descent of a divine saviour. There is in the Hellenistic world, particularly Gnosticism, however,

\textsuperscript{182} For an extensive methodological treatment of the comparison of Christianity and the mysteries see J.Z. Smith 1990. Smith's work points to the need for a completely new approach to Paul and the mysteries (1990:143). An exception to this modern methodological rigor is Teeple 1992, who represents a return to the older religionsgeschichtliche Schule. Teeple is concerned to show that Christianity does not have any original content but drew all of its thought and practice from other religions, particularly Judaism and the mysteries. Following Bousset and Bultmann's (now discredited) sharp distinction between the Palestinian church and the Hellenistic church, Teeple suggests that Paul received his baptismal theology through the influence of the mysteries, particularly that of Mithras, which he then went on to modify in light of the death and resurrection of Jesus (1992:198-201). Overall Teeple's book is unsuccessful. His assertions are unfounded and his use of secondary sources is dated. Much better work has been done of late regarding the Paul's relationship to the mysteries.

\textsuperscript{183} In an earlier book Maccoby (1986) argued that Paul was not born a Jew and Pharisee but was in fact an uneasy convert to Judaism.
such a figure, which Maccoby hints is the source for Paul. Paul's view of the violent death of the divine saviour has no analogue in Judaism or Gnosticism. According to Maccoby, "a satisfactory analogue can be found only in the mystery religions" where the violent death of a saviour deity is found often (1991:65). This Maccoby illustrates from various figures of the mysteries such as Dionysus, Sarapis, Adonis, Attis, and Orpheus. All of these figures, he suggests, have some pre-death characteristics of divinity and are to be seen as gods. Paul is the one who attributes this aspect of the mysteries to Jesus, thus merging Gnosticism and the mysteries.

The concepts of resurrection, immortality, and the divinity of a person all find their origin in the mysteries—the "dying-and-rising gods" such as Dionysus, Adonis, Baal, and Sarapis. These concepts come to Paul exclusively through the mysteries as they are antithetical to Gnostic ideas on the corporeality of the body. The idea that atonement is effected by the divine death is also based not in Judaism but the mysteries. While the idea of atonement can be found in Judaism, it is not brought about through a willing human sacrifice whose death averts the wrath of the god and purges the devotees of their sins (1991:78). Finally, the concept of resurrection and immortality came to Paul through Gnosticism and the mysteries, although Maccoby suggests the influence of the latter also on Gnosticism (1991:83). Thus, Paul's central soteriological concern came as a direct influence of the mysteries and, secondarily, Gnosticism. Judaism had no part to play in the process.  

In the next chapter Maccoby pushes his thesis further by arguing that the eucharist originated with Paul and, as such, has most affinities "not with the Jewish qiddush but with the ritual meals of the mystery religions" (1991:90). Much study has been devoted to the origin of the eucharist by New Testament scholars, so Maccoby

spends a number of pages (90-122) disputing the evidence that ties the eucharist to the Jewish world. Four aspects of the eucharist according to Paul (1 Cor 11:23-26) stand out as being most like the communion-meals of the mysteries. The name "the Lord’s supper" (κυριακὸν δεῖπνον) used by Paul for the rite is like the expression used in other cults where the central salvific figure is addressed and designated as "Lord." Paul’s emphasis on the bread (by inverting the wine-bread order of the Jewish meal) is similar to the mysteries which focus on food as indicative of the fertility of the land in producing crops (e.g., the Eleusinian mysteries in which an ear of corn is central). In using the expression "after supper" Paul might be tying the wine to the pagan practice of celebrating the pre-Olympic deity ἀγαθός δαιμόνιον, who lies behind several deities of the mysteries (1991:124). Finally, and most importantly according to Maccoby, the idea that the partaker is actually eating the body and blood of the deity when partaking of bread and wine is based on the mysteries and not Judaism (in which it was forbidden to eat blood). In so doing, the believer is thought to be entering mystic community with the deity and sharing in his immortality. In a brief postscript Maccoby suggests that the best analogue for Pauline baptism is not Jewish ideas of purification but the once-for-all rites of initiation in the mysteries.

Maccoby’s return to the use of the mysteries is an important step forward in a more nuanced view of the relationship between Paul and his "Hellenistic" background. Maccoby’s conclusions are controversial and deserve more testing. Most troublesome is his attempt to show the genealogical connection between Paul’s thoughts and practices and gnosticism and the mysteries, rather than looking at the material analogously. The attempt to drive a wedge between Paul’s Jewish background and Christian practices flies in the face of much recent study, and Maccoby seems to have polarized Judaism and Hellenism too radically in his understanding of Paul (cf. Segal 1991; Tuckett 1991).
Hans Dieter Betz (1968) points out a number of comparisons between Mithraic inscriptions from the Mithras sanctuary found under the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome and the New Testament. Although the inscriptions are later than the New Testament texts, Betz suggests that as cultic material they go back to older traditions and must therefore be earlier than or contemporary with first century Christianity. Betz is not interested in showing a direct dependency of one religious group upon the other; "[a] comparison of the forms and concepts, however, will lead us to a better understanding of the structures of Hellenistic mystery cult ideas on both sides, the Mithras religion as well as the early Christian" (1968:64).

Although the Mithraic inscriptions are in Latin, the ideas expressed in them have similarities with much of Paul’s language.\footnote{Betz makes the connection more broadly to the New Testament texts, but our attention will be those inscriptions which resonate with the texts of the genuine Pauline letters.} For example, the incantation of the elements of the world found in line 1—"Fertile earth Pales who procreates everything"—finds affinity with the polemic against worshipping the elements of the world in Gal 4:8 (as well as Colossians and Revelation). Paul’s polemic indicates that within Christian groups it was at least conceivable that some members would worship the elements of the world. The hymnic reference in line four of the inscriptions to a spring coming forth from a rock when impacted by Mithras’ arrow is similar to Paul’s discussion in 1 Cor 10 of Christ the Rock that supplied the Israelites with water in the desert. Although the immediate referent for this is the Old Testament and a Hellenistic-Jewish Midrash on it (cf. Philo), it is clear that Paul has "interpreted the Midrash in a way which is typical of mystery cult ideas" (1968:67).

The poetic reference in line seven to Mithras carrying the bull on his shoulders (toward the cave in which the bull would be slain) sounds similar to paraenetical interpretations of carrying the "death of Jesus" (2 Cor 4:10; Gal 6:17) or the burdens...
of others or of oneself (Rom 15:1; Gal 6:2, 5). Concern for the cares of this world found in line ten resonate with such concern in Paul’s letters. Line eleven makes reference to a person "piously reborn" much like Paul’s reference to the Christian as a new creation (1 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15). Exhortation to endure difficult times together are found in line 12 of the inscriptions and throughout the Pauline corpus. The confessional formula of line 14, "and you saved us after having shed the eternal blood" sounds strikingly like early Christian confessions such as Rom 3:25.

All of these indicate affinities between the Mithraic mysteries and Pauline Christianity. While Betz does not tie this directly to community formation he hints at it, noting that the exhortations in both sets of data are aimed at the community of believers rather than individuals. However, he does note that the "universalism" of early Christian ecclesiology sets it apart from the self-understanding of the Mithras cult (1968:74; cf. Nock 1972b, esp. 458).

In a much later work Betz (1995) turns his attention to Paul’s view of baptism as presented in Romans 6. Again, he suggests that Paul’s understanding has affinities with the mysteries. However, this time he makes the connection more directly. Paul’s view of baptism, Betz suggests, came originally through the Palestinian environment, in particular, the influence of John the Baptist in the early church. Paul cites an earlier baptismal formula in Gal 3:26-28 but develops it differently when writing 1 Corinthians. However, his most complete reflection on baptism, found in Romans 6:3-10, "sets forth a new kind of baptismal theology" (1995:86) based on, but substantially developed from, Gal 3:26-28 (1995:107-8). As the founder figure of the Gentile

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186. That is, that it transcends the national boundaries of the Judaism from which it arose; cf. Nock 1972a:70-71.
Christian groups\textsuperscript{187} Paul was one of the primary figures responsible for introducing substantial changes into "the traditions, rituals, and organization of Palestinian Christianity" (1995:100). Thus, in Romans 6 Paul interprets baptism as the Christian initiation ritual, which functions much like the initiation rituals found in many of the Hellenistic mysteries. In this regard, Paul was influenced by the mysteries.

Gary Lease (1980) strikes a balance between those who see the mysteries exerting a significant influence on Pauline Christianity and those who deny any influence. Lease points out that due to the shared world of the mysteries and formative Christianity, "the question of direct and conscious mutual influence and borrowings between Christianity and other late antiquity religions becomes an extremely complicated and perhaps insoluble question" (1980:1315). He goes on to outline some of the similarities between Mithraism and Christianity in the areas of doctrine (cosmogony, redeeming mediator, eschatology), origins (redeemer's birth, the cave, celebration), and ritual practice (baptism, cultic meal, purification, holy war).\textsuperscript{188} In all these cases he admits it is difficult to identify elements of derivation or direct influence; "neither Mithraism nor Christianity proved to be an obvious and direct influence upon the other in the development and demise or survival of either religion" (1980:1329).

In reaching this conclusion Lease points to the shared cultural background of Mithraism and Christianity. Once Christianity left Palestine it encountered the "broader non-Jewish Hellenistic world of late antiquity" (1980:1328). Here it was competing with other religions, including Mithraism, for the adherence of people who were

\textsuperscript{187} Betz provides ample evidence for making the claim of Paul as founder figure, including many examples from the Hellenistic period. Interestingly, he suggests that Paul's churches were founded as "religious associations" (1995:88-9) or what we have termed voluntary associations. However, he quickly moves on in suggesting that following the founding there was the much longer process of "building the house of the church community" (1995:89). It is in this later aspect that Betz sees the influence of the mysteries.

\textsuperscript{188} In doing so he is careful to note that as with Christianity, Mithraism was different over time and in various locales.
seeking a different religious experience than that of their ancestors. Their world had changed, and with it so had their religious aspirations. In those tumultuous times many were seeking a release from the overwhelming burden of fate and its control over human existence. For many this "led to an emphasis upon the personal, ritual confrontation with the transcendent" (1980:1309). It should not be surprising to find various competing religious movements addressing these and other concerns with similar language, beliefs, and practices. Some mutual influence, consciously or not, is almost impossible to avoid. This conclusion opens up the way for a much broader understanding of early Christianity by highlighting which needs of the people competing groups were addressing and how they were doing so. Such an investigation would lead to a much more nuanced understanding of early Christianity, even if no progress was made on the "sources" of certain ideas and practices.

4.4.2. Evaluation

Overall it is clear that the mysteries have not proven very helpful on a large scale for understanding early Christianity. The general failure of the religionsgeschichtliche Schule to convince other scholars of mystery influences has often led to their being considered unimportant.189 However, more recent studies that have looked at individual aspects of individual mysteries and/or have tied their studies to the religious life in specific locales have proven more fruitful. Here the concepts of the mysteries illuminate some aspects of Pauline thought in a way that the sweeping claims of the religionsgeschichtliche Schule never did. In the introductory chapter we examined briefly some recent work on the cities of Thessalonica and Philippi.190 From these

189. For example, Meeks (1983:74-84) does not include them in his survey of possible models for understanding the formation of the church.

studies it is clear that a number of the mysteries were prominent at both Thessalonica and Philippi and they probably played some role in the self-understanding of the early Christian groups in these cities. The pressing question is whether the mysteries are an adequate model for understanding the community structure of the Macedonian Christian communities.

On the basis of more recent work on the mysteries some pertinent general characteristics of the mysteries may be outlined. For the most part the mysteries tended to be of a voluntary nature.\textsuperscript{191} The initiation ceremony was collective, not individual, but the choice to receive initiation into a mystery was made by individuals outside of civic or familial requirements and loyalties. Thus, many of the mysteries were an expression of personal religion (E. Ferguson 1987:197).\textsuperscript{192}

There is evidence for three forms of organization for the practice of the mysteries (see Burkert 1987:30-53 for details). The first is the individual itinerant or charismatic practitioner who wandered around the circum-Mediterranean as a prophet and a seer in the name of a deity but who was not aligned with a particular group. The second type of organization is based upon a sanctuary, either as part of the civic administration of the city or on family property, with attendant priests and/or priestesses. During the late Hellenistic and Roman period most of the well established mysteries had sanctuaries, professional priests, and sacred symbols and rites,\textsuperscript{193} although the practice of these mysteries was not limited to these locations. The third type of organization is that of the voluntary association whose focus is a particular deity and the affiliated mysteries. In the latter two forms, the association of initiates could participate in a number of


\textsuperscript{192} Cf. Heyob (1975:7) points out that along the coasts of Greece in the third century BCE cult worship was initially confined to private individuals or associations, before the public cult arose.

\textsuperscript{193} I.e., at Eleusis (Demeter and Kore), Epidaurus (Asclepius), Samothrace (Caberii).
communal events, including meals and banquets, dances, and ceremonies, especially the initiation rites. All three types of social manifestations are not mutually exclusive. For example, an itinerant may decide to form an association of initiates, or a local public sanctuary might have a private voluntary association attached to it (Burkert 1987:32).

Of the three forms of organization possible for the mysteries mentioned above, the first two are not characteristic of the Macedonian Christian communities. Paul's exchange of letters with these communities and his sending of others as his representatives along with his own promise to return show that Paul felt a connectedness to these communities which would not be the case of the itinerant practitioner. The public, civic status held by some of the mysteries is not evidenced in the texts of 1 Thessalonians or Philippians.\(^{194}\) Certainly people did not travel from across the Empire in order to be initiated into the Macedonian Christian communities, as they did, for example, at Eleusis. Thus, the sanctuary based, civic mysteries are not a good analogue for the Macedonian Christian groups.

This leaves the third type of mystery community, that formed on a voluntary basis in private by individuals or a like-minded group. Although in some cases the distinction between the mysteries as voluntary associations and the mysteries as civic or familial cults is somewhat blurred, for the most part the private, voluntary mystery societies seem to have characteristics of other voluntary (religious) associations and should be classified and discussed as such.\(^{195}\) Thus, we will include them in our discussion of voluntary associations in the following chapters.

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194. Paul does mention civic duties (Phil 1:27) and Christian "citizenship" (Phil 3:20), but these do not indicate a public cult is in view.

195. For example, Beck 1996b has argued that early Mithraism should be categorized as a voluntary association.
4.5. Conclusion

We have arrived at the conclusion of our study of three possible analogous models for the early Christian groups in Macedonia only to find that although each has much to recommend it, none is fully adequate. Synagogues are called into question by the lack of any concrete evidence for a significant Jewish population in Macedonia and the doubt cast on the presence of Jews in the Macedonian Christian communities. Although the moral philosophers explain much of Paul’s own practice and language, there is little evidence of the Thessalonians and Philippians forming themselves as philosophical schools. The mysteries have proven inadequate both as a background for Paul’s understanding of sacraments and for Christian community formation. The exception is the non-official, voluntary mystery groups, which are different from the civic mysteries usually investigated as background. Those who have used these groups for understanding Macedonian Christian groups have tended to focus on how the mystery background sheds light on Paul’s language and ideas rather than on how they help us understand community structure reflected in that language (§1.2).

In the following chapter we will undertake a study of the final analogous model, the voluntary association, a category which includes, but is not limited to the private mysteries. We will argue that it is this model is the most appropriate as an analogue for understanding early Christian communities in Macedonia.
CHAPTER 5
VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

One final model of community associative style remains to be explored, that of the voluntary associations of antiquity. Although this model is referred to the least often, a number of studies have shown that it can be used profitably as an analogy for understanding early Pauline community formation. Nevertheless, a number of objections have been raised to this model. In this chapter we will first describe the nature and extent of the associations in antiquity, followed by a survey of scholars who have used the associations to better understand early Christianity. Since we have opted to use the associations as a model for understanding the Macedonian Christian communities we will address the objections raised to this model. We will then survey the evidence for voluntary associations in Macedonia during the Greco-Roman period.

5.1. A Description of Voluntary Associations

A voluntary association might be generally defined as a group of men and/or women organized on the basis of freely chosen membership for a common purpose. Such associations existed from as early as the fifth or fourth century BCE until well


2. The term "voluntary association" is less than ideal but captures the essence of the type of group which we are discussing. That there was no one term used for this category of group in antiquity makes it difficult to find an antique name for them. Various definitions of these groups have been attempted: "voluntary associations of persons more or less permanently organized for the pursuit of a common end, and so distinguishable both from the State and its component elements ... and ... from temporary unions for transitory purposes" (Tod 1970:254); "An association is in general a group which a man joins of his own free will, and which accepts him of its free will, and this mutual acceptance creates certain obligations on both parties" (Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936:75; cf. Meeks 1983:78); "a coherent group, which could be recognized as such by outsiders, with its own rules for membership, leadership and association with one another" (Gaston 1993:85).
into the Roman imperial period. In the Hellenistic period the voluntary associations began to grow in importance and by the time of the Roman empire they are attested in almost every city and town, despite occasional attempts to suppress them. The primary source of information for voluntary associations comes from inscriptions. The associations' membership, decrees, and statutes were engraved upon stone and set up for public reading (cf. Schmeller 1995:24). Such inscriptions, unlike papyri, have weathered fairly well throughout the former Roman empire.3

A number of terms were used in antiquity for voluntary associations, originally with differing meanings, although these nuances began to fade over time: ὀργεώνες,4 θίασος,5 and ἔρωνος6 (see Danker 1992:501; cf. Tod 1932:74-75). Roman associations were generally termed collegia. Other Greek terms used for associations or their members include ἔφηβοι, νέοι (or νεώτεροι), ἐκκλησία, συναγωγή, συνόδος, and κοινόν. Latin terms include sodalitas, factio, curia, and fratres. Due to this range of terms used, and compounded by the type of evidence available, it is difficult to distinguish clearly the various types of associations (Kloppenborg 1996a:18).

Private associations took on many forms at their foundational stage. Generally, one person would invite others to form an association, or a number of persons would collectively decide to do so (Ziebarth 1873:140; Poland 1909:271; Liebenam

3. In the case of Egypt there is some evidence for associations among the papyri. This confirms what is suggested in the inscriptive record; that associations would have also used other media for their record keeping and correspondence. Unfortunately, such media have not withstood the ravishes of time.

4. Usually used in the plural of a group of sacrificing associates (from the V BCE on). W.S. Ferguson (1944:61) points out that there is no corporate noun which corresponds to this word (such as θίασότατα to θίασος). The orgones are not designated in ancient literature as a cult association but simply as participants in a cult (Nilsson 1951:160). They were devoted to the worship of deities and local heroes.

5. Usually used of national/ethnic clubs; pl. θίασοι. Θίασοι were originally formed to worship Dionysos, although the term came to be used more broadly for many types of associations.

6. Usually used of a banquet/social club (III BCE - II CE); pl. ἔρωνταί. They were often formed under the banner of mutual-aid societies.
1890:169; Waltzing 1895:337). A three person minimum was needed to form an
association as this allowed for a majority to be reached when something was put to a
vote (Waltzing 1895:337).

Three broad categories of associations are usually distinguished. The first is
funerary associations, which are described as being organized to insure the proper
burial of their deceased members. In exchange, members paid entrance fees and/or
regular dues which would be pooled for the burials. However, Kloppenborg (1996a:20-
22) has cogently argued that associations formed solely for the burial of members did
not exist until the second century CE (from the time of Hadrian and beyond).7 In fact,
even at that time they were a "legal fiction," a way of gaining legal recognition to meet
as a group while another purpose (usually social) was the primary interest of the group.
Nevertheless, many associations did undertake the proper burial of their members
(Kloppenborg 1996a:21). Another significant aspect of the connection between
associations and funerary practices is found in a number of associations which were
-founded or endowed by a patron for the purpose of commemorating the anniversary of
his or her death at the family tomb.

The elimination of the category of funerary associations leaves two primary types
of associations: religious and professional. Religious associations had as their primary
focus the worship of a particular deity or deities though cultic acts and special festival
days. Such associations might also include a public procession. Some associations
performed public functions in connection with worship, usually in public temples,
while others were private associations which gathered most often in private shrines
(Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936:75). These associations also had a significant social
aspect to them.

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7. Cf. Ziebarth (1896:17) and Poland (1909:56, 503-04) both point out the lack of evidence for the
existence of associations devoted exclusively to the burial of members among the Greek associations; so
also Fraser 1977:58-70; see Kloppenborg 1996a:22 and 29 nn. 41 and 42.
Professional associations formed by traders or specialized workers are attested in both the Hellenistic (Fisher 1988a:1195) and the Roman periods (A.H.M.Jones 1955, esp. 170-86). Large associations of foreign merchants and artisans were formed in almost all of the cities of the empire, and especially so in the larger commercial centers (e.g., Rome, Corinth, Ephesus; Meeks 1983:32). Since most artisans would live and work in one particular area of a city, it would be easy for them to form themselves into associations (Kloppenborg 1996a:24). Professional associations of Dionysiac artists also flourished throughout the Roman empire. Under this category of professional associations we would also include associations of Roman veterans (Ginsburg 1940:150-56), hunters and gladiators (Chapouthier 1924:300-01; Collart 1937:381, 385-86), and athletes (C.A.Foerbes 1955:238-39; Plecket 1973).

Although these two broad, general categories are helpful, there was much crossing over and many associations functioned in a number of different ways. The primary function of voluntary associations was religious and social. Almost all of the voluntary associations claimed the protection and patronage of a deity and included a concern with the burial of members, and many focused on a particular trade (Duff 1938:102 citing Waltzing 1895, passim; Daube 1943:91; Cobern 1917:83). Most met together for common meals, either on an entirely social basis or in connection with a sacrifice to the god(s) or a commemoration at the tomb of a deceased member or patron. Thus, a religious association might include a number of workers and likewise insure the proper burial of the dead, or commemorate the deceased. A professional association might also be dedicated to the worship of a particular deity and undertake

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8. Kloppenborg (1996a:23) adds a third type of association, the domestic collegia. However, since for the most part these were not formed simply as being part of the household but had as their focus the worship of a particular deity (although they also served some social functions) I would include them in the category of religious associations.

9. Religious activity was part of every association, as it was of every aspect of Greek life; Cole 1988:887; Malina 1986:97; Ramish 1996:135.
the burial of its members. The members of professional associations themselves banded together for mutual worship and fellowship rather than the betterment of working conditions or increased pay (see further Kloppenborg 1996a:19-20).

Voluntary associations were relatively small groups. Only rarely did an association have more than 100 members, although evidence exists for associations of up to 300-400 members (McLean 1993:257) and even an association of 1200 members (Kloppenborg 1996a:30 n. 64). It would also be unusual for an association to have fewer than 10 members. Usually associations had a membership of between 20 and 50 persons (cf. Schmeller 1995:40). Most associations "were composed of the urban poor, slaves, and freedmen" (Kloppenborg 1996a:23; cf. Foucart 1873:7-12; Schmeller 1995:49) although some members clearly came from the upper ranks of society.10

Women are attested as equal members in some associations, although the membership of professional associations was more likely to be divided according to gender, with all male professional associations affiliated with those professions dominated by men and all female associations affiliated with professions dominated by women (see Whelan 1993:75-76 and nn. 20-23; Kloppenborg 1996a:25).

Patrons played an important role in voluntary associations.11 In exchange for large financial donations which allowed them to exist and to hold banquets and festivals, voluntary associations publicly honored their benefactors. The patron of an association could be a man or a woman, at times even an entire family.12 Often a

10. Danker's suggestion (1992:502) that few associations admitted slaves to membership, with the exception of household oriented groups, cannot be sustained as a number of inscriptions show that slaves were often part of an association and sometimes formed their own associations. See Foucart 1873:7-12; Hatch 1881:31; cf. CIL III 633 [57].

11. On patronage in antiquity generally see Garsey and Saller 1987:148-59. For a large collection of translations of inscriptions attesting to the practice of patronage, including some from voluntary associations, see Danker 1982.

single association could have several patrons, or a single patron could benefit several associations at once (Schmeller 1995:33). Schmeller (1995:35) suggests that patrons were simply "honorary presidents" and not actually members of the association; they did not participate in the assemblies, exercised no direct control of the group, and did not place any restrictions on the use of the money. However, a number of inscriptions argue against this point, suggesting that often (although not always) a patron did function as president and was active at meetings. A patron could also determine how funds were to be disbursed (particularly in testamentary foundations) and could even appoint some of the officials (often from members of his or her extended family).

Officials were common in the associations and there was a "positive exuberance" with granting titles to functionaries (Meeks 1983:134). Often these officials imitated both the titles and functions of civic officials (Meeks 1983:31, 134). Officials were responsible for the sacrifices, banquets, and festivals (priests; priestesses), the collection and disbursement of monies (treasurers), and for the convening and chairing of meetings (presidents). A person might be elected to one of these positions by the members of the association or in some cases the office would be purchased by the highest bidder. Either way, serving in such a capacity often could bring with it a heavy financial burden as the official was required to expend his or her own money in carrying out the requisite duties. In exchange, of course, he or she received multiple honours (statues, crowns, proclamations, inscriptions) from the association members.

Within many associations there was both hierarchy and equality (cf. Schmeller 1995:42). The hierarchy existed between the founder and the officials of the association, many of whom received larger portions of the meat from the sacrifices than the general membership. However, among the members themselves it is not uncommon to find citizens and non-citizens, masters and slaves, and men and women, rich and poor, all fellowshipping together in one association. Professional/trade associations
would be the most socially homogeneous (Schmeller 1995:49); other types of associations less so.

There were a number of personal benefits to belonging to an association. Membership in an association gave a person a sense of belonging in an age where many were dislodged from the traditional security of family, friends, and homeland (primarily through either military service or trade; Kloppenborg 1996a:17-18). Life could be more enjoyable through membership in an association. Many associations also provided a network of social support within the larger society. Some groups even contributed funds to members who fell on hard times (cf. Renan 1866:28). However, there is little evidence of associations contributing to the needs of the poor who were not members (Danker 1992:502). Often membership offered the benefit of the guarantee of a decent burial with the possibility of the annual commemoration of one's death (cf. Renan 1866:285-86). Finally, participation in an association allowed for the attainment of honor, prestige and authority through the replication of the organizational structure of the city (πόλεως). A person could thus reach a status "to which he or she could never aspire outside of the association" (Kloppenborg 1996a:18).

There is evidence for a number of methods of forming and propagating voluntary association in antiquity. Here we will simply highlight a few of the procedures whereby an association was formed, procedures which were subsequently referred to in inscriptions. These incorporate actions taken by individuals (including testamentary foundations), groups of professionals, and the gods (dreams and visions, oracles).

Religious associations could be formed by individuals for a number of purposes, although the primary reasons seem to have been performance of cultic rites, particularly funerary rites, and gathering for social interchange. Generally one person

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13. The following is a summary of my chapter "Formation and Propagation of Associations" written for Kloppenborg and McLean, in preparation.
would invite others to form an association, or a number of persons would collectively decide to do so (Ziebarth 1896:140; Poland 1909:271; Liebenam 1890:169; Waltzing 1895:1:337). Such association were often named after their founders. Local private associations could also be formed from larger cultic associations such as that of Sarapis and Isis. An inscription from Thessalonica records how the cult was brought to a small town and established in the home of a woman, who became the first priestess. Eventually the association was opened up to a wider group of adherents (see IG X/2 255 [22]). The patron divinity of an association was often involved in the foundation, growth, and development of voluntary associations, particularly through the use of dreams, visions, and oracles.

Often an individual would make a legal will establishing an endowment which would be given to a particular association to enact rites in memory of the deceased. In some cases, an already existing association was endowed, but very often a new association was to be formed. Associations concerned with a particular trade could be formed in a particular locale when enough people of that trade lived in that area. Another commonality which led to the formation of an association was ethnic background; people of similar origins would form associations to provide mutual support and a context for various socio-religious events to take place.

It is clear from the evidence that there were a number of different ways and a number of different reasons that voluntary associations could be formed in antiquity. Once formed, they attracted members, often outgrowing their original meeting places. We do not have evidence for a strong missionizing tendency in any of the associations, but it is clear from the study of a number of associations that they attracted new members and sometimes established new groups both in their home area and in other locales.
Excursus 1: The Rise of Voluntary Associations

In this excursus we will briefly overview the history of voluntary associations in antiquity. We take on this task bearing in mind the warning of Fisher (1988a:1195) that "the overall picture is one of complexity, and no little contradiction." Voluntary associations of various sorts have a long history extending back to Archaic Greece. At that time a number of groups flourished inside the city-states. These included groups that defined themselves in cult terms and shared common sacrifices and meals, groups that were organized on the basis of descent groups or φυλαί (tribes), as well as other groups, such as those based on localities, occupation, or shared activities.

One of the fourth century BCE laws of Solon lists a number of social groups and organizations and it legislates that their own internal regulations are considered to be binding unless they contradict the city’s written laws (see Digesta 47.22.4 [a fragment of Gaius’ commentary on the Twelve Tables]). Groups listed include members of a village community (δήμος), phratry members (φράτορες), hero-cult associates (ἱερῶν ὀργίων = ὀργεῶν [Radin 1910:40]), members of a dining club (σύσσωτοι), members of a cult society and/or burial association (ἡ ὁμόταφοι ἡ θαυσῶται, which Radin [1910:40] reads as one group), "pirates" (ἐπὶ λείαν οἰχόμενοι), and merchants (ἐπὶ ἐμπορίαν [οἰχόμενοι]).

During the classical period political associations (ἐταιρία, "activists") operated in Athens (Thucidides 3.82; 8.54; 65). These were mostly used for securing certain results at elections and in the law courts (Thucidides 8.84) and were not regarded as

14. Much of the following information concerning the history of clubs is found in Fisher 1988a and 1988b. Two important studies of the history and nature of voluntary associations are Poland 1909, and Waltzing 1895. This long history is overlooked by Saul (1994:75; 1996:79-80) who sets the rise of the professional guilds in the middle ages.

15. For the text see Radin 1910:36-37; cf. Fisher 1988a:1175; See further Radin 1910:36-51. Arnaoutoglou (1994a:12) points out that, "membership in demes was compulsory and patrilinear; while membership in phratries was patrilinear but its compulsory character is still debated; membership in other cult organisations may have been patrilinear but it was not compulsory."
harmful or illegal (Fowler 1910:564). In the fifth century there also seems to have been an increasing number of social and religious associations (see Rice and Stambaugh 1979:140-43; cf. IG II2 1237) as well as the formation of various mining and trading companies (Edwards 1963:526). In the fourth century there was considerable development of such companies, including the increased organization of groups of foreign merchants. At this time there is a significant increase in the complexity of associations. "What all such groups tend to have in common is a cult basis, a shared meal (at least annually, often more frequently), an elected organizing official or two, a shrine or cult premises, often with dining room and sometimes with a plot of land that could be leased out to provide income, and some limited concern for the well-being of members" (Fisher 1988a:1186).

In the Hellenistic period there is an increase in the epigraphical evidence for social and religious associations throughout the Greek speaking world, due in part to the increasing use of this medium for the dissemination of decrees (Tod 1932:73). Yet it is clear that the voluntary associations began to grow in importance. Benefactors and patrons became an important source of funds at this time. The Hellenistic period also witnessed the creation of associations focusing on mobile groups such as traders and shipowners. These united traders from one area who regularly did business elsewhere. In the urban areas there were many associations based on specialized workers such as clothes manufacturers, metalworkers, food retailers, barbers, etc. However, in the hellenistic period there is no good evidence for the associations of traders or manufacturers acting collectively in pursuit of their joint economic interests (Fisher 1988a:1195).

16. For example, on Delos there is evidence (inscriptional and archaeological) for second century BCE associations of warehousemen with a large clubhouse which served religious, social, and commercial purposes (Tod 1970:255; Fisher 1988a:1195): the κοινόν of the Heraclesiastai of Tyre Merchants and Shippers (see IDelos 1519; McLean 1996b:191) and the κοινόν of the Poseidoniasiastai of Berytos Merchants, Shippers, and Warehousemen (see IDelos 1772-96; McLean 1996b:196-205).
The literary and epigraphical evidence also reveals the importance of associations in the Roman Empire. By the early fifth century BCE associations of men based on shared occupations, common cults, and/or shared localities probably existed in Rome. In the middle Republic there seems to have been a steady proliferation of voluntary associations (collegia), although the evidence is sketchy. Again they would have served a variety of purposes such as occupational associations, religious groups, and social and drinking clubs. There is some evidence of disruptions being caused by certain associations in Rome during the Late Republic. The senate attempted to curb the operation of these associations in 56 BCE.

Most of the evidence for the organization and activities of the various associations comes from the imperial period. Although the various restrictions placed on the formation of private associations were occasionally enforced, voluntary associations continued to flourish throughout the Empire, particularly professional associations, although they did not function as instruments of government (A.H.M.Jones 1955:173). In Rome itself foreign collegia were plentiful and probably originated with the foreign merchants living in Rome who wanted to engage in their native cults (La Piana 1927:240, 246; cf. 274). Each was probably begun by a group of foreign individuals and they seem to have maintained contacts with their homeland.

17. The origin of workers’ associations at Rome may go back to the seventh century BCE; see Louis 1927.

18. We will discuss these restrictions in detail in §6.2.3.2. On the two types of collegia, official and private, see Kloppenborg 1996a:16-18.

19. See, for example, the Tyrian merchants’ inscription in CIG 5853; translation in La Piana 1927:257-58). Often what began as a private society of merchants eventually became a public cult. For example, a private society of Egyptian merchants was formed in Eretria during the third century BCE. It grew rapidly and flourished, and by the third century CE it had become a public cult (Brady 1978:18-19). Likewise, in Piraeus Phrygian merchants formed an association dedicated to the Mother of the Gods which was later opened up to citizens (IG II² 1273; W.S.Ferguson 1944:108-09).
Throughout the Roman Empire there seems to have been many professional associations, including such groups as bankers, doctors, architects, producers of woolen or linen goods, dyers, fullers, launderers, tanners, cobblers, workers in metal, stone and clay, builders, carpenters, farmers, gardeners, fishers, bakers, pastry-cooks, barbers, embalmers, transport workers (for details see A.H.M. Jones 1955, esp. 170-86). Most of the members of these associations were independent workers or employers of small bodies of slaves or free labourers. Their primary functions were cultic and social, not economic (Tod 1932:81; 1970:255; Stevenson 1970:256). However, by the Late Roman Empire some professional associations were transformed from voluntary associations into state-controlled guilds (Countryman 1977:136; Burford 1972:149-50) and workers had a more important part to play in society.

5.2. Voluntary Associations as a Model for Early Christianity

The use of voluntary associations as an analogy for early Christian groups is "by no means a new thought" (Countryman 1977:135). As early as the second and third centuries both Christians and non-Christians were comparing Christian groups to the voluntary associations (Schmeller 1995:10; Wilken 1971; 1984 [summarized below]). Many scholars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century often assumed that the earliest Christian groupings were voluntary associations.

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20. For a list of industrial guilds and associations of traders in Roman Asia Minor see Broughton 1938:841-44.

21. Occupational collegia were quite unlike modern trade unions (Tod 1932:81). Few benefited their members economically: "there are pitifully few cases—in the East and mostly during the later empire—when associations seem to have been seditious and refused to work" (Fisher 1988b:1222). On the increase in strikes in the later empire (after Hadrian’s reign) see MacMullen 1962:269-71 and Baldwin 1964: 75-76. Buckler (1923:27-50) discusses four strikes in the Roman province of Asia, three from the second century CE and one from the fifth century CE; cf. Broughton 1938:847-49.
Two of the earliest scholars to argue that the Christian groups were collegia were Theodor Mommsen and Giovanni de Rossi. Mommsen’s study, *De collegiis et sodaliciis Romanorum* (1843), laid the foundation for most subsequent study of the subject. He was one of the first to suggest that Christian groups have the characteristics of a voluntary association. Prior to Mommsen studies had pointed only to isolated inscriptions especially in the debates over the legal position of the associations. In his *La Roma sotteranea cristiana* (1864-77) de Rossi, an archaeologist, investigated Christian cemeteries and concluded from the evidence that the Christian communities were recognized burial societies (cf. also Cobern 1917:83, 426-27, 662).

In 1866 Ernest Renan published *The Apostles*, in which he included a chapter on the voluntary associations (1866:278-89). His primary interest was the restrictions placed on the associations by various emperors. Although he did not argue for a direct connection between the two types of groups he did suggest that both provided similar benefits to their members and that the Christian groups would have fallen under the same suspicion as the associations by those in authority (prefects and governors).

In 1876 Georg Heinrici compared the Corinthian church with voluntary associations, something he continued to maintain in publications over the next twenty years (1877; 1881; 1896). A number of factors convinced Heinrici that the associations provided a better model than the synagogues for understanding the early Christian groups (Kloppenborg 1993a:215). He pointed to the common use of the name ἐκκλησία for the group, the use of other terms from associations to describe the Christian groups, their common religious character, their open membership which included both men and women, their support of the poor, the use of the body metaphor to describe their community, and the use of familial terms in referring to members. This led him to

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conclude that the Corinthian community organized itself like a voluntary association (for a summary see Schmeller 1995:11-13).

Another important early scholar was Edwin Hatch (1881, esp. 26-39 and 1891:283-309).23 Hatch was able to make good use of the plethora of Greek inscriptions which were becoming readily available through the publication of various corpora. He argued that all of the elements of the early church organization can be traced to Greco-Roman institutions, particularly the associations (Hatch 1881:208-09; cf. 1881:36).24 In his second Bampton lecture Hatch noted a number of similarities between Christian groups and the associations: "they had the same names for their meetings and some of the same names for their officers," the members of each group professed a common religion, the members of each "contributed to or received from a common fund," they shared a common meal, admission was open and included not only free-born citizens but also women, strangers, freedmen, and slaves (1881:30-31). The primary difference between the two groups was in their charity. While the associations were charitable to their own members as a matter of course, the Christian groups were deliberate in their pursuit of providing relief to the poor (1881:35-36).

Almost a decade later Hatch would pursue this thought in another series of lectures. Here he points out that the voluntary associations and Christianity shared the same aims, "the aim of worshipping a pure God, the aim of living a pure life, and the aim of cultivating the spirit of brotherhood" (1891:292), and the same sanction, namely, "the fear of future punishments" (1891:292 n. 2, his emphasis). Moreover, Hatch suggests that since Christianity drew some of its members from other


24. Cf. Harnack (1887), much influenced by Hatch, who argued similarly that church offices arose from non-Jewish institutions; see Kloppenborg 1993a:217.
associations it would inevitably assimilate "some of the elements of these existing groups," although this happened after the apostolic age (Hatch 1891:292-93).

In the tenth chapter of his 1906 book *Studies in Roman History*, E. G. Hardy suggests that Christianity was very similar to associations (1906:129-50). In fact, he asserts that the Christian communities would have resembled the associations and been numbered among them by outsiders (1906:131, 141). Despite an edict of Augustus limiting the existence of voluntary associations, a great number of varying sorts continued to proliferate throughout the empire, most without the required special permission. It is among these unlicensed associations that Christianity best fits. Much of the early part of the chapter is taken up with a discussion over the legal status of the unofficial associations and the attitude of the governing authorities towards them. Having determined that the Christian associations could well have existed and grown, with the occasional conflict with authorities, Hardy then investigates the nature of Christian groups as associations. Similarities to the pagan associations include the diversity of terms used to describe the groups. However, Christianity does have some differing features which may have caused them to be investigated by the authorities, features such as successive growth and daily common meals which raised suspicions about them forming a ἐταυρεία, a politically disruptive club (1906:142). Nevertheless, for Hardy the voluntary associations of antiquity are the best analogy for understanding early Christian groups.

Franz Poland (1909) was much more restrained in his assessment. He allowed that in outward appearances the associations are important background for early Christianity and suggests that in some areas Christianity was influenced by the Greek associations: community meals, the collection for fellow believers, house based communities with a patriarchal leadership, glossolalia, and in a few individual phenomena. However, he stopped short of expanding this to details such as the
designation of offices within the group and the particular functions such designations had within it. Here Christianity asserted its originality and Poland had little tolerance for those who argued for direct borrowing; "Was in Griechenland Zufälligkeit der Erscheinung ist, tritt hier bald als festes, bewuβtes Gesetz auf" (1909:534).25

In his discussion of "unofficial and authorized collegia" in The Legislation of the Greeks and Romans on Corporations (1910) Max Radin includes a brief section on the Christian churches (1910:126-28). Radin makes it clear that Christian groups were the same as voluntary associations. In fact, he suggests that "worship" was unthinkable in any other form at that time (1910:127). In terms of legal status, Christianity was tolerated in the same way as the majority of other associations, including "the privileged Jewish ones" (1910:128). Local magistrates used their discretion in deciding whether to prosecute individuals who were involved in such associations.

Thomas Wilson devotes a chapter of his book St. Paul and Paganism (1927) to a study of "St. Paul and the Pagan Guilds" (1927:120-35). He begins with a brief survey of the associations, focusing his attention on the varieties of associations based on their names. He then suggests that the number of Gentile converts to Christianity in Paul’s churches would lead congregations to lean more naturally towards the model of the guild system, rather than the synagogue, for their internal structure and corporate life (1927:124). Neither the associations nor the churches possessed legal recognition by the authorities but both managed to survive any attempts at suppression. In terms of numbers, both groups were kept relatively small, being somewhere in the number of 30-200.26 Terminology within both groups was similar, particularly in the use of

25. Cf. W.S.Ferguson (1910:229) who generally disagrees with Poland on the development of associations and suggests that "[t]he line of development was, further, not from the thiasotai and eranistai to the quasi-public clubs of technitai, athletai, epheboi, neoi, presbyteroi, gerontes, of the Roman era, but to the churches of Isis, Cybel, Dea Syra, Jahwe, Mithra, and Christ."

26. Wilson suggests that they both "had no more than a fraction of our large city congregations of today" (1927:125).
Both were religious associations, specifically linked to some cult, and both had a strong sense of communion with the patron deity. In particular, a focus on the sacred drama of the deity was important. In the case of Christianity this was the passion, death, resurrection, and exaltation of Jesus.

The Pauline concept of Christian kinship relations and heavenly citizenry also finds an analogy in the associations. Both groups met in houses belonging to members in order to partake of some special type of meal together. This developed into a special house for the guilds and church buildings for the Christians. Along with this meal went a spirit of sharing of possessions manifested in both the Christian groups and the associations. This arose out of their shared sense of equality, particularly in terms of class distinctions and gender. In fact, there was a sense of freedom of speech in the churches and the associations that was not found elsewhere. Finally, the guilds and the churches both placed a heavy emphasis on one's duty to work and not be idle and on one's moral duty to one's fellow human beings. Wilson concludes by affirming that the guilds contributed greatly to the character of the Christian communities and were as much a part of the providential preparation for the coming of Christianity as Judaism and the Old Testament.

Although Judge sees in the philosophical schools the best analogy for understanding early Christian groups, he admits that the voluntary associations as an institution proved attractive to many people in the Roman Empire (1960b). After surveying briefly the characteristics of the voluntary associations he suggests that there existed both Jewish and Christian associations in the first century. Such associations were "unincorporated rather than illegal" (1960b:43), that is, they were unrecognized

27. Wilson rightly notes that all guilds were religious (1927:126).

28. In Christianity, however, it was a closer link via the Holy Spirit.

29. See further below on the relationship of synagogues to the associations.
officially. Judge points out that there are a few differences between the Christian groups and the associations. First, he suggests that Christian groups had "international links" like the Jews, although he admits that unlike the Jews they lacked a national seat for their cult. However, he goes on to suggest that, while unusual, the international links "do not seriously qualify the similarity at the local level" (1960b:46). Second, he suggests that Christian associations drew from a much broader constituency (from rich to slave) than other associations.30

Despite these differences, Judge concludes that in the mind of the public, Christians would not have been distinguished from other unofficial associations (1960b:44).31 And Christians themselves would not have questioned that they were forming voluntary associations of the usual kind (1960b:45). In fact, the description of the early Jerusalem community in the opening chapters of Acts could easily serve as a description of the activities of other associations: "initiation, the mysteries, equal partnership, ceremonial meal, the cult, wonder-working, mutual benefits" (1960b:47).

By the second century, despite many problems of factionalism along the way (reflected in 1 Corinthians), Christian groups were still being understood as voluntary associations (see Pliny, Epistulae 10.96).

In the latter part of the book Judge investigates the social constituency of the Christian groups. He points out that while it is true that Christian groups were not constituted by persons from the upper ranks of society, this would also be true for other local associations (1960b:52). In general, most people, Christian or otherwise, did not meet members of the Roman aristocracy (1960b:54). Yet within the Christian groups

30. In fact, both these "differences" have been challenged by later writers; Barton and Horsley (1981) show that the social constituency of one group at least was similar to that of the Christian associations. Below I will argue that both Christian and non-Christian associations were locally based groups with limited translocal links (also Ascough 1997a).

31. However, in a work published in the same year (1960a), and in subsequent works, Judge has tended to lean towards the philosophical schools as the best analogy for early Christian groups; see §4.3.1.
there was a diversity of people from various other social strata represented, both within local groups and among groups from various locales. Christian groups were dominated by those higher in the social order, although they drew on a broad constituency of the population, especially insofar as they incorporated entire households into the fold (1960b:60-61).

In 1971 Robert Wilken investigated how Christianity appeared to men and women of the Greco-Roman world. This was followed in 1984 with a book length treatment of the same subject. Wilken’s primary objective in his article was to investigate what conceptions were available to the outsider who observed the Christian movement. Two social movements are used as an analogy for early Christianity: burial societies and philosophical schools (for a summary of his position on the latter see §4.3.1).

After describing briefly the character of the voluntary associations in antiquity, Wilken turns to the letters of Pliny to show that the Christian groups were understood as associations much like the other associations in the area of Bythinia (Epistulae 10.96). Sometime later Celsus charged the Christians with existing illegally as they met in secret, secret societies being illegal (Origen, Cels. 1.1; 8.17, 47). Other hints of such an understanding of Christianity are found in the writings of Alexander Severus (Hist. Aug., Vita Alex. 49), who describes an altercation over a meeting place that took place between an association of cooks and an association of Christians. Tertullian (Apologia 38-39) provides the most significant evidence. He argues that Christianity should be reckoned among the legal associations, as they are not a political club but a harmless association like so many that are found in cities and towns. Tertullian’s

32. He suggests (1971:269) that the self-understanding of the Christians may differ from that of the outsider. He is primarily interested in the view of the outsider. Wilken 1984:31-47 contains similar information to the section on "collegia" in the 1971 article.
description is full of terms more descriptive of associations than the theological language often used for Christian churches (Wilken 1971:283).

Despite the ancient descriptions of Christianity as an association, Wilken finds an important difference. The voluntary associations were exclusively local groups while Christianity was "a ‘worldwide’ sect whose adherents lived throughout the Mediterranean world and shared a common religious profession and style of life" (Wilken 1971:287). This is more like the philosophical schools than the voluntary associations which "were not ‘international’," that is, "a group of associations bound together in an organization extending across the Mediterranean world" (Wilken 1984:35). Ultimately, Christianity, for Wilken, is more like the Stoics or Epicureans, in reaching beyond local boundaries. He does, however, concede that on the local level Christianity "engaged in much the same activities as other associations" (Wilken 1971:287). For Wilken, while philosophical schools were not the same as associations, often a number of shared features between the two types of groups can be found: terminology, format for meeting together, and living arrangements. He concludes that Christianity represents a combination of ‘philosophical school’ and ‘association’ (Wilken 1971:280, 287).33

Countryman (1977) suggests that among the analogues available to the ancient public for understanding the early Christian groups were the Jewish synagogue, the Mithraic group, and the philosophical schools, but the best analogue, particularly in the Early Empire, was the voluntary association. Countryman attempts to push the analogy by using it as "a tool to explore the church’s inner life" (1977:135). After briefly describing the associations he notes that the Christian churches were not "typical"

33. Barton and Horsley (1981:40) support Wilken’s view by also concluding that the Christian groups were a combination of a philosophical school and a religious association. More recently Mason (1996) has compared philosophical schools with voluntary associations (see also Ziebarth 1896:69-74; Klauck 1982:70-71; cf. Minar 1942:18-28 on the analogous similarities between the Pythagorean Society and Athenian political associations).
Greco-Roman associations and that some differences do exist. However, aspects of the church such as its restricted but voluntary membership, its worship of a heroized man, its common meals, and its reliance on rich members to support the poor\textsuperscript{34} all would suggest to the outsider that Christian groups were in essence voluntary associations (1977:136-37).

The differences between the associations and the churches lie in a number of areas. Although the rich were required to assist the poor, they were not honored for doing so in the way they were lauded in the associations. There exists few Christian inscriptions honoring patrons in contrast to the many inscriptions honoring association patrons and benefactors. He also states (1977:138) that every association, due to the characteristic of being a "strictly local institution," was "firmly enmeshed in the social order of its city" with no outside authority higher than the patron.\textsuperscript{35} The Christian groups, on the other hand, had greater extra-local links and had a higher authority (i.e., links to Jesus as founder or God) outside of the local congregation, either literally or in theory.\textsuperscript{36} Thus, like the associations, the church’s financial support came from its rich members but, unlike the associations, those with authority were its ministers, not always the same persons as the patrons.\textsuperscript{37} As a result of his study Countryman concludes that "the early church was both a club and something other than a club" (1977:140). Its association-like features allowed it to have a social analogy for those ancients who entered into membership. Its non-association-like features allowed it to

\textsuperscript{34} Countryman argues that the church was not primarily composed of the poor, but included a significant number of rich members, albeit, not of the senatorial class (1977:137).

\textsuperscript{35} He cites as an exception to this characteristic the guilds of Dionysiac actors (1977:136).

\textsuperscript{36} Countryman does recognize that the church eventually adapted itself to the pattern of local leadership with its move to the monarchical episcopate (1977:138).

\textsuperscript{37} This of course led to its own set of problems, which Countryman details. It leads him to conclude that "[t]he formulation of ethical and charitable teachings about wealth was a direct response to tension between club and non-club patterns within the church" (1977:140).
develop in its own way, eventually forming its own identifying features outside that of the association analogy.

In 1981 Barton and Horsley published a lengthy comparison of a Hellenistic religious association and the New Testament churches in which they study the details of the regulations of a private voluntary association found in an inscription from Philadelphia (SIG3 985). In their analysis they point out some similarities that early Christianity, particularly Pauline Christianity, shared with associations (especially the one reflected in the inscription). In terms of origins, both types of groups were comprised of "voluntary" membership and both relied on private initiative in their founding. Both also relied on cooperation and hospitality, particularly the opening of houses for religious gatherings. Both also offered security and salvation in an age of uncertainty about traditional institutions. The role of the deity is similar in each group. In the Philadelphia inscription the god Zeus appears to the founder of the club, Dionysius, and imparts the club ordinances to him. Likewise the New Testament is full of references to God speaking to people through dreams and prophecies, particularly with reference to the expansion of the new movement across the empire (for example, Acts 9:1-19; 10:1-48; 16:9; Gal 2:2; 2 Cor 12:1-4). In both groups the deity advocates moral purity among the adherents and threatens divine sanction if it is not attained. Both groups met in private places of meeting, commonly referred to as an oikōς, which usually belonged to a member of the community (see 1 Cor 16:19; Rom 16:5; Phlm 2; Col 4:15). Both groups held regular meetings and had special days for celebration each year.

One of the most important topics of comparison is that of membership. Both groups were open to persons of either gender and neither took social class into account. In fact, the involvement of women (and slaves) in the associations, to a degree not found in public institutions, "set a precedent for the Christians to emulate" (1981:33).
Both groups also emphasized a strong moral code among the members (the associations as a condition for membership and the Christians as a result of membership), particularly in the area of sexual ethics and social vices (that which pertains to group rather than personal life, e.g., hospitality). Failure to meet the standard set by the group resulted in a loss of membership, thus expulsion from the group. Within both groups there was a marked absence of differentiation on the basis of hierarchy, with both groups being "egalitarian and participatory" (1981:38). In terms of practice, the only significant analogy that Barton and Horsley find between the two groups is the voluntary gathering together for a religious purpose in a private house (οἶκος). The activities undertaken therein are much different (see below). In terms of aims, both groups were concerned with morality over ritual. Finally, the association and the Christian groups emphasized the communal aspects of community life over against individualism.

Barton and Horsley do make it clear that the purpose of the comparison of Christian churches and voluntary associations is to draw analogies between the two, suggesting that insufficient evidence exists to demonstrate direct influence (1981:7). Despite a number of differences between the two groups to which they point (see below), they conclude that voluntary associations are an important analogy for ancient Christian groups, and one worthwhile pursuing. In fact, they suggest that "Paul's idea of community would have been attractive to members of private cult-groups analogous to that at Philadelphia" (1981:39) indicating that Pauline churches might have been formed from such people. However, Christianity, for Barton and Horsley, comes closer to the philosophical schools than does the Philadelphia association, to the extent that they suggest that the Christians groups were a combination of a religious association and a philosophical school (cf. Wilken 1971).

In his influential work Meeks (1983) points to a number of similarities between voluntary associations and Christian churches. First, both were small groups with
intensive face-to-face interactions. Second, membership was established by a free
decision to associate rather than by birth, although factors of ethnic connection, rank,
ofice, and profession sometimes came into play. Third, both had important places for
rituals and cultic activities, common meals, and "fraternal" activities. Fourth, the burial
rules and commemorations for the deceased of the voluntary association and references
such as 1 Thess 4:13-5:11 or 1 Cor 15:29 suggest that both had a concern for the burial
of the dead. Fifth, both were dependent upon the beneficence of wealthier patrons.
Finally, both seem to have the semblance of democratic internal governance, imitating
the classical τόλως in organization, elections, and decision making, although in the
Christian groups this is complicated by the role of the charismatic spirit. However,
Meeks also notes a number of differences (to be summarized below) which cause him
to conclude that the best analogy to the Christian groups is the synagogues (Meeks
1983:80; cf. §4.2.1, above).

In a chapter on "Pauline Christianity and the World Order" Ellis (1989:122-47)
suggests that Pauline churches can be favourably compared with voluntary associations,
although "the churches are most closely analogous to one category of private
association and apparently only one," the collegium tenuiorum or "mutual-aid club"
(1989:125). After briefly reviewing the nature of associations and noting their
presence throughout the Roman empire, Ellis shows how Jewish synagogues would
have been understood as associations. When Ellis compares the Christian communities
and the associations he finds three primary points of contact:

(1) the use of common terminology by the church and the clubs, (2) certain
elements in the praxis of the Pauline church, and (3) the view of the church taken
by Roman authorities and by Christian writers in the second century. (1989:135)

38. Ellis does not explain why this should be so, although later (1989:145-47) he discusses the evidence
from second century writers which seems to place the church in this category.
Ellis maintains that the connection between Paul's Christian communities and the associations is mediated through the synagogues. For example, when he looks to "church praxis" one similarity to associations he suggests is the "reading of scripture," by which he means the churches are like synagogues which are like associations. In the disciplining of members, the collection of money for a common fund, and the gathering in houses "Paul's churches showed an affinity with the clubs that was related to and apparently mediated by their affinity with the diaspora synagogues" (1989:138). Thus, for Ellis, Paul's communities were formed directly from the synagogues, and it is only because the synagogues also reflect some characteristics of the associations that one finds these characteristics within the pauline groups.39

McLean (1993) finds a mid-II CE inscription from a voluntary association in Rome to be instructive as an analogy for early Christianity, particularly in its organizational model, internal structures, membership, and recruitment. This large association of over 400 members was actually grounded in one household, as were various early Christian groups. It had been moved from Mitylene to the Roman Campagna en masse and there seems to have attracted some new adherents from those who came into contact with the head of the household and his wife (Gallicanus and Agrippinilla). In a similar fashion, Christianity proved itself to be quite portable throughout the empire. Like the early church, this association was of mixed membership, male and female, slaves, freedmen, and masters. Its use of titles was extensive but differed greatly from those used in other associations dedicated to Dionysos, reflecting an experimentation with titles found also in the churches.

Kloppenborg (1993a) has sketched the early development of the use of the associations as an analogy for Christian groups with a particular interest in Edwin Hatch, whose work he thinks to be "sometimes maligned but mostly neglected"

39. This is due, in part, to Ellis' view of the general trustworthiness of Acts.
Voluntary Associations

Kloppenborg traces the history of the critique of Hatch and suggests that it was based more on the theological considerations of the scholars than on an evaluation of the data presented by Hatch. In particular, Kloppenborg suggests that many scholars could not tolerate the suggestion that the "Church" owed its structure to paganism. Although a number of scholars conceded the point that the churches might have looked like the associations to outsiders, few would agree that they had been influenced by them. Instead they looked to Judaism for influences on Paul’s thinking and Pauline church structure. Kloppenborg makes it clear that, to his mind, this has apologetic overtones and is not based on the evidence from antiquity—"Not only did Christian organizations appear to be collegia; there is a strong likelihood that they thought of themselves as such" (1993a:228, his emphasis). Kloppenborg also points out that, despite what his opponents thought him to be saying, Hatch was not suggesting the influence of the associations on the Christian groups (that is, that there was a genealogical connection) but merely that there is an analogical connection wherein the study of one group helps to understand the other. Kloppenborg comes out as a strong advocate of using the associations for understanding "the internal dynamics and the remarkable successes of the Pauline churches," with the hope that in so doing it will lead to "new and productive approaches for understanding the organization of early Christian churches" (1993a:238). An essay published by Kloppenborg in the same year (1993b) attempts to do just that by reading 1 Thess 4:9-12 in light of a church organized along the lines of a voluntary association, comprised of mainly poor, Gentile handworkers (esp. 1993b:274-77).

40. Specifically, Kloppenborg (1993a:230) suggests that using voluntary associations as an analogy can help scholars understand the ways in which the pauline churches were situated within Roman society, the ways in which they offered benefits, both religious and social, to members, and the way members of the groups related both to one another and to "outsiders," both on an individual level and as an institution.

41. We will take note of Kloppenborg’s arguments in chapter 6.
In a more recent essay Kloppenborg (1996b) begins with the assumption that "it is a priori likely that Christians in the cities of the Eastern empire would have instinctively organized themselves on the pattern" of the Hellenistic voluntary associations and thus "the social dynamics in play in these groups is likely to have also characterized Pauline groups" (1996b:253; cf. 1996a:23). Turning to 1 Cor 6:1-11 Kloppenborg shows how Paul’s injunction against taking one another to court betrays a problem within the Corinthian congregation which is not uncommon within the voluntary associations. Legal action of the sort described in 1 Cor 6 presupposes that both parties are from the wealthy strata of society. Civil cases were brought to the courts by such people as a means of displaying status; "[t]he courts, as instruments of social control, were one way in which superior social status was displayed and maintained" in a public forum (1996b:255-56). Paul’s charge in 1 Cor 6 aims to curb such displays of competition for honour among the wealthy of the congregation. The regulations of a number of voluntary associations shows that regularly occurring agonistic community interaction required that restrictions be placed on members who were challenging one another’s honour, both during the meetings of the association and outside of the meetings, by taking one another to court. Thus we see a marked similarity between the Corinthian Christians and the voluntary associations in terms of both internal conflict among members and regulated conflict resolution.42

For Kloppenborg the primary difference between the Christian groups and the associations lies in another area of competition for honour, that of benefaction. Displays of benefaction were strongly encouraged in the regulations of the associations with the promise of greater honours for the most generous. Such competition does not

42. In an independent study of 1 Cor 6:1-8 Schmeller (1995:86-87) arrives at a similar conclusion, although with less data to support the claim. In fact, Schmeller points more generally to the regulations concerning internal arbitration in Diaspora Jewish groups, the mysteries, and voluntary associations (1995:87).
seem to have been promoted in the Pauline Christian groups. Instead, fictive kinship was created within the group through the use of familial metaphors (e.g., ἀδελφος, "brothers and sisters") which at least attempted to introduce a sense of equality into the group.  

Two other studies warrant brief mention. Whelan (1993) has shown that women were not only active members of voluntary associations but often served as patrons of associations. This information is used to show how Paul’s reference to Phoebe in Rom 16:1-2 as both διάκονος and προστάτις has often been misunderstood to indicate that she is "merely" a "deaconess" and "helper" and thus inferior in status to male leaders in the group. Rather, these words have the unambiguous meaning of "deacon" and "patron" respectively. Moreover, since women commonly functioned as such in the voluntary associations, it is likely that Phoebe fulfills such roles in the Christian communities, not only to Paul and the church at Cenchreae, but to many others also.

My own narrowly focused study (Ascough 1996) examines the use of the verb ἐπιτελέω ("complete"; "fulfill") in 2 Cor 8:1-15 and in the inscriptions of the voluntary associations. In the latter the word is used for the performance of sacred rites, for the fulfillment of oaths made to the gods, and to indicate benefactions of various kinds. When Paul uses ἐπιτελέω in urging the Corinthians to contribute money to his collection for the Jerusalem church he is thus appealing to the Corinthians’ sense of religious duty.

In the first monograph treatment of voluntary associations and Pauline Christianity to appear in recent times Thomas Schmeller (1995) examines social

43. Kloppenborg (1996b:260) is careful to point out that Paul’s rhetoric aims to reduce conflict and status display but it is unclear to what degree he was successful. That is, we do not know if Pauline groups were "egalitarian."

44. Also Cotter (1993), who examines the associations as background for Phil 3:17-21; we will discuss this essay in detail in chapter 6.
relationships and patronage at Corinth in light of social practices within voluntary associations. His object is to determine whether the patterns reflected in the Corinthian community are antithetical to or compatible with social relationships found in the voluntary associations. (1995:9-10). Schmeller begins with a brief survey of research into the comparison of Christianity and the associations. He divides his discussion into two parts, dealing first with scholarship around the turn of the twentieth century (primarily Heinrici and Hatch [see above] and two of their detractors, C. Holsten and J. Weiß) and then with scholarship since 1970 (utilizing the brief comments of Meeks 1983:77-80).

The second part of the book begins with an introductory section on rank and status and patronage and clientage in the Greco-Roman world (1995:19-24). This leads him to a fuller discussion of associations, with a clear emphasis on the social location of typical members (lower rank and status) and their dependence on non-member patrons for such things as social protection, money for food and wine for banquets, and buildings in which to meet.

In outlining his source of information for voluntary associations Schmeller focuses primarily on four texts: SIG³ 985 and 1109; ILS II² 7212 (= CIL XIV 2112) and 7213 (= IG II² 1368). Having shown how these inscriptions are generally representative of voluntary associations in the Roman empire in terms of attraction, legal status, and purpose and function (1995:27-32) Schmeller goes on to describe the basic structure of associations in terms of patrons, officials, and membership (1995:33-

45. Relationships in Greco-Roman organizations are typically characterized as vertical, hierarchical, and status conscious while relationships in the Pauline communities are usually said to have been horizontal, egalitarian, and service oriented.

46. These texts are described by Schmeller 1995:26. The texts and a German translation of each are provided in an appendix (1995:96-115). English translations are available for all of them: SIG³ 985 in Barton and Horsley 1981:9-10; ILS II/2 7212 (= CIL XIV 2112) MacMullen and Lane 1992:66-69 no. 5.3; ILS II/2 7213 (= CIL VI 10234) in Gordon 1983:148-49 no. 66; SIG³ 1109 (= IG II² 1368) MacMullen and Lane 1992:69-72 no. 5.4.
53). He concludes that associations could have both a hierarchical and egalitarian character, hierarchical with respect to a privileged position for patrons and officers and egalitarian with respect to the general membership of the association. Such a mixture both reflects the social structure of the dominant cultural milieu (hierarchical) but also provides some escape from it (egalitarianism).

With a careful awareness of the difference between Paul’s view of his community expressed in 1 Corinthians and the actual social situation (1995:54; cf. Kloppenborg 1996b:260), Schmeller turns in the third part of his book to an analysis of the Corinthian church. When he examines patronage relationships, church offices, and the status of the individual members he finds at work a similar set of social relations as that found in the voluntary associations. Like the voluntary associations, the Corinthian church received the patronage of wealthier persons and such patrons were granted a larger portion of food at community meals. Differences with the associations lie in the area of terminology for patrons, the inclusion of patrons in the association itself, and in the rewards given for patronage (1995:73-74).

In the Corinthian community, unlike the associations, there was no clearly defined layer of officials between the patrons and the general membership and certainly no uniformity of functions and titles. Instead we find a number of general descriptions of functionaries among the membership with no clearly fixed boundaries (1 Cor 11-14, esp. 12:27-31; 1995:78). In terms of the status of members Schmeller suggests that the

47. Schmeller argues strongly, although not convincingly, that Paul does not indicate that Phoebe is a "patron" in Rom 16:1-2. See Whelan 1993 (esp. 75-77) for the argument that Phoebe is referred to in the fashion usual for a patron of an association. Schmeller does not engage Whelan’s work; this is typical as he basically ignores recent literature on Paul and the voluntary associations (see below).

48. Based on his erroneous assumption that patrons did not participate in the patronized association.

49. Schmeller examines Paul’s discussion of divisions at Corinth (1 Cor 1-4), the sexual sin of an individual (1 Cor 5), and the Lord’s Supper to arrive at these conclusions.
Christian ideal of social equality\(^{50}\) was being threatened by two conflicts at Corinth: lawsuits among members of higher status (1 Cor 6) and the "strong/weak" debate between the minority higher status and the majority lower status members (1 Cor 8-10). This Christian ideal of general equality within the "body of Christ" goes far beyond the egalitarianism experienced in the voluntary associations (1995:92-93).

Schmeller's study shows that reading 1 Corinthians against the background of the voluntary associations sheds light on the social relationships within the Corinthian community. In particular, it shows that both groups had characteristics of hierarchy and egalitarianism, where the wealthy acted as patrons and consequently received greater privileges. However, in the end the Corinthian community is shown to be different from the associations in terms of its treatment of its patrons, its lack of officials, and its ideal (if not practice) of total equality among members.

This is a helpful introductory book both for its summary of the characteristics of Greco-Roman voluntary associations and its utilization of these in a study of a particular Pauline Christian group.\(^{51}\) It is unfortunate that it is marred by a few omissions. The first is Schmeller's choice to focus primarily on four inscriptions, as these are the most frequently cited inscriptions in discussions of voluntary associations and early Christianity. While it is true that these inscriptions have much to teach us, a much greater database of inscriptions is available, literally in the thousands (Kloppenborg 1996a:23). Unfortunately many remain untranslated and, as in this case, often unconsulted. A wider database would have helped nuance Schmeller's

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50. Based on Gal 3:28, which Schmeller takes as paradigmatic for Paul's ministry.

51. However, although he claims to want to take local peculiarities seriously, Schmeller actually makes Corinth paradigmatic for all Pauline churches (see, for example, 1995:82).
arguments.\textsuperscript{52} Second, while Schmeller does have some secondary material from as late as 1995, he has missed three important articles all published in one volume: Cotter 1993; McLean 1993; Kloppenborg 1993a. These articles would have certainly helped inform Schmeller's arguments on a number of points, especially in his uncritical acceptance of Meeks' four "differences" between voluntary associations and Christian groups, three of which Kloppenborg addresses effectively.\textsuperscript{53} Nevertheless, it is hoped that Schmeller's book will prove to be the beginning of a much wider, and much more thorough, exploration of the voluntary associations and early Christian groups.\textsuperscript{54}

\textbf{Excursus 2: Overview of Other Scholarship}

The research into the nature of voluntary associations has a long tradition.\textsuperscript{55} The first essays on this theme originate from the sixteenth century, with others produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{56} However, prior to Mommsen's pioneering

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{52} To his credit Schmeller (1995:26) recognizes the extent and diversity of the voluntary association inscriptions and explains his use of these particular inscriptions as a means to move quickly to his larger purpose of using the associations as a means to better understand social relationships in the Corinthian community. He does mention some other inscriptions where appropriate. Another unusual oversight on Schmeller's part is his failure to mention the evidence for associations at Corinth. Although such evidence is meager, it is extant (see Ascough 1996:584 n. 3).

\textsuperscript{53} Even more importantly, Schmeller's conclusions should be read in light of the larger methodological considerations raised by Kloppenborg 1996b, although this latter work appeared too late for Schmeller's consideration.

\textsuperscript{54} At a number of points Schmeller builds on the work of Klauck who uses the voluntary associations as a comparative group for understanding early Christianity. However, Klauck has most often described the associations as the background for understanding how Christian house churches could be formed (see 1981a:11; 1981b:86-87; 1992:32-34) and the place of the Lord's Supper within the assembly (see 1982 esp. 68-71).

\textsuperscript{55} The following is largely summarized from Ausb"{u}t"{u}l 1982:11-13.

\textsuperscript{56} Sigonius (1593), Pancirolus (1623), Platnerus (1709), Heineccius (1723), and Brissonius (1741) were among the the earliest to write on this topic, particularly the \textit{collegia opificum}. Rein published a survey in 1842. See Ausb"{u}t"{u}l 1982:11 for details.
work (cf. above), studies had only pointed to isolated inscriptions, especially in the debates over the legal position of the collegia and *sodalicia* (Ausbüttel 1982:11).

In the early 1800s the Berlin Academy published *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (*CIG*). It first appeared in 1825 and was completed in 1877. Shortly thereafter the process was begun to replace it by *Inscriptiones Graecae* (*IG*), yet *CIG* remains the only modern *corpus* to cover the entire Greek world, as *IG* remains incomplete.\(^57\) *CIG* was joined at the end of the nineteenth century by publication of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*), which resulted in increased scholarly interest in Roman voluntary associations. The availability and fairly easy access to a number of association inscriptions in these volumes encouraged a number of important studies of voluntary associations (see Ausbüttel 1982:11).

A number of collections of voluntary associations inscriptions with accompanying studies were soon available.\(^58\) Liebenam (1890) produced an inclusive study of all the extant evidence at that time for the professional associations. On Greek associations Foucart's *Les Associations religieuses chez les Grecs* (1873) is considered indispensable for particulars of associations deeming themselves θαυσώτας, ὧργεσσων, and ἔρανσων. The works published by Ziebarth (1896) and Poland (1909) both have as their focus the Greek associations of the eastern empire, although Poland is regarded as an enlargement and completion of Ziebarth. Poland's work has helped scholars to discuss

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57. Despite its incompletion as a series, *IG* has already undergone some revision. *IG* I, II, and III have become I\(^2\) and II\(^2\) (Attica); IV 1 (Epidaurus), IX (Aetolia, Acarnania, Western Locris) have been revised. These collections of inscriptions have a minimum amount of commentary. Other collections are more selective, classifying the inscriptions according to character; for a description of each volume see Woodhead 1981:103-07.

58. Maue (1887) collected inscriptions relevant to the *fabri*, *centonarii* and *dendrophori* while Schiess (1888) worked on those of the so-called *collegia funeraticia*. Prior to 1914 there appeared in Germany further works on the Roman clubs; that of Cohn (1873), Hirschfeld (1884), Matthiass (1891), A. Müller (1905), Neubecker (1908), and Stöckle (1924). Ausbüttel (1982:12) links the increase in interest in Germany to the German civil union movement which, prior to the first world war, raised a great interest among the middle class in the forms of earlier, private, self-organized groups.
Greek associations according to nomenclature, locality, and time. Shortly thereafter San Nicolò produced studies of Egyptian associations (1913; 1927).

In French scholarship Waltzing produced a four volume work between 1895 and 1900 which collected both literary and epigraphical sources for Roman associations. In the first two volumes he discusses the organization, activities, and development of the collegia. The entire second volume deals with the topic of associations as official institutions and the development of trade guilds. Volume three contains inscriptions while volume four organizes diverse information according to various criteria. Today his work—after almost one hundred years—remains an indispensable resource for researching of Roman associations.

At the same time as Waltzing, Kornemann (1900) published a general, introductory article on collegia, and fourteen years later Laum (1914) published his analysis of voluntary associations, with the relevant inscriptions collected in the second part of the book. W.S.Ferguson (1916:109) praises the second part, which presents literary and epigraphical texts arranged according to provenance and language. However, of part one Ferguson states, "[a]nything less interesting and more stupid and useless the reviewer has seldom encountered" (1916:109-10). Ferguson (1916:109) points out that it is simply "an extended table of contents contaminated with an index" to the material contained in part two. In fact, Ferguson suggests reading only the "Historischer Überblick" as it states the (meager) conclusions (1916:110).

59. W.S.Ferguson (1910:228) regarded it not as a history but as a (complete) collection of materials which would make a history of the Greek private associations' "community life" possible. The materials are "well mastered and admirably analyzed" with many new observations. Ausbüttel (1982:12 n. 5) points out that despite the work of Ziebarth and Poland the Greek associations have not received as much systematic nor clear attention as the Roman clubs.

60. In other European countries ancient historians hardly engaged this topic. After the first world war German historians produced only occasional monographs and essays on the ancient clubs and societies.

61. Cf. W.S.Ferguson 1910:230. However, Waltzing's source material for the Eastern half of the empire is somewhat insufficient, according to Ausbüttel 1982:12.
During the thirties and forties there was a resurgence of research into associations, particularly by Italian scholars. For example, in 1934 de Robertis published a two-volume history of the Roman corporations, in which he focused principally on the legal aspect of the corporations. In English, Duff (1938:95-161) devoted two chapters to a discussion of the legal status of collegia in Roman law (cf. Daube 1943:91-93, 128-29 for summary and analysis). Post-World War II research was published primarily as essays (Ausbüttel 1982:13). As in earlier works, the history of the Empire took predominance, with the socio-historical aspects of the associations being more or less neglected. The exception was the essays of Schulz-Falkenthal (1965, 1966, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973) who used socio-historical analysis to examine workmens' collegia from a marxist perspective.

In the last part of the twentieth century interest in voluntary associations has not been sustained, although there are a few full-length works of note. Cenival (1972) studied demotic texts from voluntary associations in Egypt. Ausbüttel’s sociological study (1982) investigates the membership structure, the activities, and the social meaning and the development the Roman associations in the western part of the Roman empire (Italy, North Africa, the Iberian Peninsula, Gaul, Britain, Germany and the Danube province) from the first century BCE up to the third century CE.

Many articles are being produced by non-New Testament scholars on individual voluntary association inscriptions. Nevertheless, Robert Wilken’s observation from a quarter century ago is still apropos, "[t]he literature on associations is endless, very

62. Triggered, according to Ausbüttel (1982:13) by the rise of Italian fascism and its emphasis on the corporate state. Studies were produced by Bandini (1937), Leicht (1930, 1936), Monti (1934), and de Robertis (1955).


64. For the most part, associations are discussed briefly as a small part of larger studies on Greco-Roman antiquity, or in articles on individual inscripitional finds.
repetitive, and frequently preoccupied with questions of legal history" (1971:290 n. 35). This is changing to a small degree by the recent New Testament scholars who are investigating the relationship of early Christian groups to the voluntary associations (summarized above). However, much more work remains to be done by both New Testament scholars and scholars of Greco-Roman antiquity. Particularly desirable is a more comprehensive collection of association inscriptions and an updating of the discussion of the nature of associations.65

5.2.1. Evaluation of the Arguments Against this Analogy66

As we have seen, a number of modern scholars have suggested the use of the associations as an analogy for understanding early Christian groups in urban centers, particularly Paul’s churches. However, some of these same scholars have highlighted the differences between the voluntary associations and the Christian communities in order to lessen the significance of the analogy. Thus, there are a number of objections to the use of voluntary associations as an analogous group which need to be addressed.67

65. Much of the material remains in obscure, inaccessible works and many of the primary data sources, the inscriptions, remain untranslated. Most scholars of antiquity are still heavily reliant upon (and indebted to) Poland (1909) and Waltzing (1895-1900). A current research project at the Toronto School of Theology hopes to rectify this situation somewhat in the near future with a two volume work provisionally entitled Cultic Groups, Guilds, and Collegia: Associations in the Greco-Roman World and edited by John S. Kloppenborg and B. Hudson McLean. The second volume will prove particularly useful as it will include a number of texts and English translations, along with bibliography, from associations throughout the Greco-Roman world. Easier access to the primary data should allow for a more fruitful debate over the use of voluntary associations as a model for understanding early Christianity.

66. The following section is a revision and expansion of Ascough 1997a.

67. Although some or all of the following objections are raised by a number of scholars they are most concisely presented by Meeks 1983:78-80 and Barton and Horsley 1981:27-41. In the end, the differences prove too great for Meeks, who looks to the synagogues and the philosophical schools as the best analogous model; Barton and Horsley (1981:40) suggest a combination of philosophical school and voluntary association. Recently, Kloppenborg (1993a:231-37) has argued that Meeks has misread the evidence and effectively takes Meeks to task on a number of these differences.
5.2.1.1. Membership

Meeks (1983:79) suggests that the Christian groups were more inclusive in terms of social stratification than were the voluntary associations. He suggests that the associations tended to draw together people who were generally socially homogeneous while the Christian groups allowed for more equality within a group of varying social categories (so also Schöllgen 1988a:74-75). Barton and Horsley use the same principle as Meeks to differentiate Christian groups from the associations, but from a different perspective. They suggest that while both groups aimed at being egalitarian, the egalitarian nature of Christianity was undermined by the elevation of some members over others on the basis of their "spiritual gifts." In fact, this "undermining" of the egalitarian nature is similar to the associations which often present themselves as egalitarian but in fact evidence a hierarchy of membership based on social ranking.68 The varying data put forth by Barton and Horsley confirm Kloppenborg’s response (1993a:234-36) to Meeks that although membership within both types of "groups" was inclusive to some degree, the "inclusivity" of Paul’s churches has been as exaggerated, as has been the exclusivity of associations.

A related critique is that the Christian groups were exclusive and totalistic in ways not found in pagan associations. "Baptized into Christ" meant the sect was the primary group for the members and demanded primary allegiance (Meeks 1983:78-79). However, again the evidence has been exaggerated. It is clear that for Paul "baptized into Christ" excludes one from participation in the religious life of other sects, yet this is not how the Corinthians understood it. In 1 Cor 8-10 Paul addresses the "strong" at Corinth who seem to be attending temple sacrifices and the subsequent banquet (1 Cor

68. My sense is that in the Christian groups it is unlikely that a slave who prophesied would be elevated to a higher status than his master who had a gift of hospitality, but this would be difficult to prove.
Thus, for some of the Corinthians, at least, Christianity was not initially understood as demanding exclusive allegiance.

Barton and Horsley (1981:34) raise the objection that the "active proselytizing" of the Christian groups sets them apart from the associations. This can be joined with their note (1981:39) that in many ways membership in the Christian group was much more open to outsiders and the uninitiated. It can be conceded almost immediately that this is the case. However, Goodman (1994) has shown that "active proselytizing" and the concept of a "universal mission" are not evidenced before the rise of Christianity and when found in other types of groups (Jewish, philosophical schools, the mysteries) they can be traced to the influence of Christianity. Thus, this difference can not be used to discount the associations as an analogy for early Christian groups.69

5.2.1.2. Activities

A number of activities within the associations have been used to highlight the differences between them and the Christian communities. The concern within the associations with conviviality and cult is highlighted by Barton and Horsley (1981:39), who suggest that the early Christians' lack of mysteries, purifications and expiations, and sacrifices and the inclusion of prayers, hymns, teaching, and the sharing of a common meal sets them apart from the associations.70 This critique is problematic on two accounts. First, Christian groups did include some rituals (i.e., baptism [cf. Ascough 1994]; Eucharist seems to involve ritual [1 Cor 11:23-26]) and mystery71 and

69. Barton and Horsley (1981:32) point out that Christian meetings were more frequent than that of the Philadelphian association, occurring daily or weekly rather than monthly. This seems to be a minor objection, as we have no idea how often either type of group met outside of the officially designated days of meeting.

70. They note earlier that the deity, while present in both groups, is not represented physically in the Christian groups as it is in the association, giving the Christian groups an unusual "non-cultic" character (1981:30). This is a similar objection to the one addressed here.

71. E.g., Phil 2:17; 4:12 (discussed in §6.3); cf. Rom 16:25; 1 Cor 2:1; 4:1; 15:51.
purification language. Barton and Horsley (1981:39) recognize this but minimize the cultic and liturgical aspects of Christian practice. Second, concerning prayers, hymns, teaching, and shared meals, it is simply not the case that these were not part of the life of associations; quite the contrary is in fact the case.

Meeks (1986:114) suggests that the associations were not interested in instructing their members in ethical principles while the Christian groups concerned themselves with the behaviour of their members. Barton and Horsley are more restrained in their claim, pointing out that there are some similarities in the moral code of the Pauline groups and that found in \textit{SIG}^3 985. However, they go on to suggest that the Christian groups were more rigorous in their moral injunctions, focusing not only on the suppression of vices but also on the exhibition of virtues (1981:37). Yet it is questionable whether this distinction would have been recognized by those in antiquity. Some associations did advocate the exhibition of virtues among their members. There may have been a difference in rhetoric—Pauline groups might adopt the language of "sanctification" while other groups thought of more static qualifications such as the maintenance of moral purity in order to participate in the rituals. However, this is not a decisive distinction phenomenologically; in both maintenance of moral codes was required.

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72. E.g., Paul's concern with sexual purity; 1 Thess 4:1-8 (discussed in §6.1.1); 1 Cor 5:1-2, 9-13; 6:12-20; cf. Phil 1:1; 1:10; 2 Cor 11:3. On expiation see Rom 3:25.

73. Since this will be part of our comparative analysis in the next chapter we will refer the reader to the illustrations of prayers, hymns, and meals found there.

74. \textit{IG} II^2 1366 (II-III CE); \textit{P.Mich. Tebt.} 243 (I CE); \textit{P.Lond.} 2710 (69-58 BCE); cf. Poland (1909:499-501) who also suggests that the immorality of the associations has been exaggerated. Members could also be noted for their piety (σεβάσμα, see, for example, \textit{IPergamon} 485 [I BCE]; \textit{IDelos} 1016 [172-62 BCE]) although the outward expression of respect for the gods was often tied to financial contributions—either public or private benefaction (Adkins 1960:135; Batten 1995:4-5).

75. Barton and Horsley (1981:41) also suggest that the cult association at Philadelphia which they examined (\textit{SIG}^3 965) sought salvation from Zeus in this world, while the Christian groups looked for salvation in the world to come. While this is true for the association they examine, a number of religious associations did look for betterment in the afterlife by choosing a particular patron deity (Burkert 1987:21-23; 1985:293-95; cf. §6.1.2, below).
The final activity that has been suggested as a difference between Christian groups and associations is the production of literature by Christians and the lack of it among associations (Alexander 1995:82). First, we should note that Paul's communities did not produce literature, Paul did. Second, although we may not possess literature from the associations, that fact might be an accident of time. Most associations claimed a patron deity, many of whom did have much literary support which may have been used by the associations. It is only after initial Christian groups were founded that we get "literature" (Gospels), at the earliest in the 60s or 70s, probably later; other writings are occasional writings. In associations we do know that written records were kept, as well as the inscribed copy; see SEG III 674 (Rhodes, II BCE); Pennacchietti 1966 nos. 7, 25; IDelos 1521 (II BCE); 1522 (II CE); cf. IDelos 1520 (II BCE); P.Cairo Dem. 30605; 30606; P.Lond. 2710; P.Lillie Dem. 29; P.Mich. Tebt. 243; 244; 248; P.Ryl. 580.

5.2.1.3. Nomenclature

Meeks (1983:79) points to the "complete absence" of any common terminology between voluntary associations and the Christian groups as a significant difference between the two. However, names for officers within the churches were as diverse as those within the associations, and we should not expect to find uniformity in either (Kloppenborg 1993a:232).76 In terms of technical designations used to refer to the associations Kloppenborg suggests that the term ἐκκλησία would have been understood in the urban context of Paul's churches to indicate a voluntary association.77

76. Cf. Streeter (1929:53-65) who points out that Paul's churches did not follow a uniform pattern with regard to church leadership; while the Corinthians regarded "apostles, prophets, and teachers" as leaders the Philippians were led by ἐπίσκοποι and διδάκτοι.

77. We will discuss this aspect of Christianity and the associations in more detail below and again in chapter 6.
5.2.1.4. Translocal Links

The final argument against the associations as an analogy is that the associations did not have the "extralocal linkages" which characterize the Christian movement. Each association was a self-contained local phenomenon. In fact, it is precisely this difference of the localized nature of voluntary associations verses the translocal nature of Christianity which is most often pointed to by scholars as indicative of the vast difference between Christian groups and associations. To date there has been no sustained response to this difference.78 Thus, in the remainder of this section, we will investigate the literary and inscriptional evidence from the voluntary associations to explore whether this difference is as significant as is often suggested.79 A close analysis of relevant material leads us to conclude that some voluntary associations in antiquity had translocal links and that Christianity was more locally based than is often assumed. Thus, both Christian congregations and voluntary associations were locally based groups with limited translocal connections. In establishing this, what is often thought to be the greatest obstacle to the use of the associations as an analogy for early Christianity will be overcome and the way will opened up for more fruitful use of associations for understanding the formation and organization of early Christian groups.80

Although many scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century favourably compared voluntary associations and early Christian groups without reference to the difference of "translocal" connections, there has been a major shift by

78. In responding to Meeks, Kloppenborg does not address this issue. However, in a later essay he notes his agreement with the arguments presented below that the local-translocal distinction is not always valid (Kloppenborg 1996a:27-28 n. 19); cf. S.G.Wilson (1996:14-15 n. 5) who also endorses the argument.

79. More attention is given to this particular objection as it is the most consistently cited and the most pervasive among modern New Testament scholars.

80. This is true generally for understanding early Christian groups, although our focus in the remainder of the dissertation will be the Pauline Christian communities at Thessalonica and Philippi.
last part of twentieth century. Much of it hinges on the issue of translocal links and thus it is an issue that needs to be addressed. 81 It is noteworthy that in all of these modern scholarly works very little primary data is presented in order to substantiate the claim that the associations were local while the Christian groups were "translocal." 82 Without significant new data, one must ask how this critique of the analogy came about. It might have occurred in part as a misreading of the evidence of Tod and soon became

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81. For those who oppose the analogy on the basis of local vs. translocal links see for example Judge 1960:44; Wilken 1971:287; 1984:35; Countryman 1977:136; Meeks 1983:80; Stambaugh and Balch 1986:141; Robinson 1990; Alexander 1995:82; Pilhofer 1995:138-39; McCready 1996:63-64; Ramish 1996:135-36. Barton and Horsley (1981:28) note that the cult groups tended to be localized while Christianity was more international in scope. While they do admit (1981:28) that the local character of the Christian groups is much like that of localized cult groups, they emphasize Christianity's worldwide connections as a primary difference.

82. Some (e.g., Stambaugh and Balch 1986:141; Schmeller 1995:17) simply rely on earlier assertions such as that of Meeks (1983:80) who himself does not provide any evidence and only gives the issue two sentences. In an unpublished paper, Robinson (summarized by McCready 1996:63-64) argues that Christianity can be contrasted with voluntary associations in terms of translocal links in three primary ways: (1) a church in one city took interest in a church in another city; (2) roving apostles contributed to the holistic nature of Christianity; (3) the exchange of letters between churches served to solidify the translocal links. Each of these three aspects are problematic: (1) Paul took an interest in churches in various cities and some urban communities or their patrons supported Paul, but there is little indication of strong inter-city links (with the exception of the letter greetings); (2) One must ask whether apostles such as Paul were "roving" or rather were they travelling about as they would have as artisans anyway? Thus, Paul travels because he works, not vice versa; (3) The exchange of letters seems to have been a later phenomenon, as Christianity did become more of a solidified movement across the empire (Robinson refers also to the Ignatian letters; his own case might be strengthened by the recent work of Trobisch 1989; 1994). Letters to and from associations and their members or concerning such, and especially letters written by founders or patrons, are extant (see P. Enteuxais 20; 21; P. Karanis 575; P. Rainer V 23). However, the nature of archaeological preservation places the bulk of surviving letters from antiquity in Egypt. Thus, we have evidence of letters concerned with associations from this part of the Mediterranean. While this does not conclusively indicate that this was the case throughout the empire, it certainly suggests that it is possible that the practice was followed. Some inscriptions do indicate that letters were exchanged, to the point of recording the contents of those letters, as in the case of the Tyrian merchants in Ostia (CIG 5853).

Ramish (1995:12) calls collegia "autonomous bodies without any kind of translocal organization." She (1995:144 n. 15) also points to the suppression of a Bacchic θιάτρες by the Roman State in 186 BCE as a result not only due to charges of sexual orgy and child sacrifice but "more likely" because of "the society's unusual promotion of separation from family and local community" and "its formation of what may well have been inter-city 'cells'" which "put it well beyond the definition of local and loyal collegia." Yet this "definition" of "local and loyal" seems to be that of Ramish, as she points to no ancient authority giving this definition. In fact, Livy (39.13-14) seems to indicate that the downfall of this association came about as a result of the initiation of men (beginning with the priestess's sons) and nocturnal ceremonies which led to immoral and criminal designs rather than political treachery.
incorporated into the modern secondary literature. In 1932 Tod wrote concerning professional associations:

In the first place, these ancient societies were almost entirely local: at most they extended over an island or an Egyptian province. We hear, for example, of οἱ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ἀρχιτέκτωνες in Cyprus and of the bakers' guild of the Arsinoite νομός, but it is highly improbable that the οἰκουμενικόν καὶ σεμνότατον συνέδριον τῶν λινουργῶν at Miletus was even provincial, still less was it world-wide. (Tod 1932:81)

However, Tod's comments are given in the context of a discussion about the associations of antiquity and modern (that is, 1930s) trade-unions. He contrasts them by following the above statement with, "The modern trade-union, on the other hand, is national or even, to some extent, international" (Tod 1932:81). If this is the contrast then it is not difficult to agree with Tod as there is little evidence for economic power on the part of trade associations or other types of associations more generally (cf. MacMullen 1974:19; see note 21 above). But this is not what is implied in the comments of later writers on the subject who indicate that all associations (not just trade associations) were fundamentally different from Christianity in this area of local versus translocal links.

We see, perhaps, in Wilken's work a clearer statement than elsewhere of what is meant by "translocal links" when used by others. Wilken maintains that Christianity is "a 'worldwide' sect whose adherents lived throughout the Mediterranean world and shared a common religious profession and style of life" (Wilken 1971:287; cf. 1984:35). This is unlike the voluntary associations which "were not 'international.'" Using Wilken's descriptions as representative of the position of other scholars, we can

83. As most scholars do not footnote their assertion this is conjectural. Kloppenborg (1996a:19) is one of the few to cite Tod. However, neither do most scholars point to any primary evidence. Some earlier scholars also contrast the local associations and "translocal" Christianity. For example, Bevan (1929:108-09) makes the assumption that Christianity was united as "the one Divine world-wide Church, the Body animated by the Spirit of Christ" in contrast to local associations. However, this seems to be based mostly on his suggestion that the Christian churches were more like synagogues than associations and the assumption that Judaism in the early first century CE was a monolithic movement.
investigate the two-fold assertion of his statement: that voluntary associations were local in a way that Christian groups were not and that early Christianity was a translocal movement in a way that the voluntary associations were not. With the evidence to be presented below, what is being called into question is both a common modern understanding of voluntary associations and a common modern conception of early Christianity. I would suggest that the evidence is such that we can no longer confidently assert that early Christian groups had, to use Tod’s words, "national or even, to some extent, international" links any more than did the voluntary associations. In arguing this, yet another of the obstacles to using the voluntary associations as an analogy to early Christianity can be removed.

5.2.1.4.1. Evidence From Associations

An investigation of the evidence from voluntary associations shows that there were in fact stronger translocal links between some associations than is often admitted. The testimony from the voluntary associations is epigraphical, and thus by nature scattered both geographically and temporally, but there is enough evidence to suggest that many associations had a history of translocal links which had not died out by the first century CE.

The most obvious place to begin when investigating translocal links between associations is to look to groups of "foreigners" (people of one ethnic background living in another locale) in the circum-Mediterranean world, as they often continued the worship of their homeland (Tod 1970:254-55; cf. Fisher 1988a:1186-87). These groups are obvious for two reasons. First, the amount of contact with their native land might enlighten our discussion. Second, "foreigners" were often traders or artisans, precisely those people that are attested in numerous association inscriptions.84

84. A further reason is that Paul himself was an artisan and seems to have worked in his trade as he travelled.
Traders were, by definition, "on the move," travelling throughout the then known world. Yet traders from one area who did business elsewhere could be united in one association, as is seen in Athens. An association of Kittian merchants asked for, and received, approval from the Athenian βουλή to set up a temple to Aphrodite (IG II² 337). In doing so, they cite the precedent set by the granting of the same privilege to the Egyptians in Athens. In the Piraeus the situation seems to have been similar in terms of the formation of associations. The deme of Piraeus had to enact a decree (IG II² 1177) in the mid-IV BCE in order to control the unauthorized use of the Thesmophorion (the temple of Demeter) by the newly forming θίασοι made up of people from outside of Piraeus (W.S.Ferguson 1944:96).

That a group is composed of foreigners does not necessarily mean that there are translocal connections between this group and another group or another location. However, there does seem to be an implicit translocal element in the existence of such associations, with their inevitable orientation toward the place of origin. This implies other translocal links, even where they are not specifically mentioned.

A number of groups throughout the Mediterranean seem to have maintained ties with another locale. On the island of Salamis three decrees of θίασοι of Bendis have been found at the same spot (IG II² 1317, 1317b, and SEG II [1925] 10). Despite the association on Salamis differing in both name and organization (i.e., having a priest instead of a priestess and priest), this association seems to have had direct links to an association of Bendis in the Piraeus: both groups met on the second day of the month, and it seems probable that they either celebrated the Bendideia on the island at the same time as in the Piraeus (19/20th of the preceding month) or that they had actually taken

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85. The precedent actually goes back to the third century BCE when the Athenian state allowed the Thracians the right to found a sanctuary of their national goddess (IG II² 1283, 261/60 BCE; W.S.Ferguson 1944:97-98). This was the first instance of an alien group being granted such a privilege.
part in the celebration in the Piraeus (W.S. Ferguson 1944:100 n. 45). 86

On Delos there was a sizable group of traders called the 'Pwµωκωι οι who had their own agora, temples, and associations (ca. I BCE - I CE). These associations list their members as 'Pwµωκωι οι, but also lists their city of origin—many "were Greeks from Southern Italy and Sicily, or natives of Campania and Apulia and other Italian regions" (La Piana 1927:251). Clearly they felt some connection with the capital city of the empire (probably because they were "citizens"). Also, on Delos the Greek and oriental slaves of the merchants formed an association patterned on the Roman collegium (La Piana 1927:252), thus using an "translocal" model for a "local" organization. 87

In Rome itself, foreign collegia probably originated among foreign merchants living in Rome who wanted to celebrate their native cults (La Piana 1927:240, 246; cf. 274). Often their religious practices served to give them a sense of cohesion and continuity with their homeland (La Piana 1927:321). 88 However much they opened themselves up to other persons, they "did not entirely lose their national character and connections" (La Piana 1927:323).

Associations of foreign merchants in Rome had an official character in their city or province of origin and sometimes in Rome itself (La Piana 1927:245-46). An interesting inscription from Puteoli (CIG 5853) reveals the interconnectedness of two

86. Other groups were able to look to the Athenian δργεϊωείς for their name and, probably, structure, even where there is no intervention on the part of the Athenians. W.S. Ferguson (1944:61 n. 1; cf. Poland 1909:15) illustrates this with two inscriptions in which the word δργεϊωείς is used: IG VII 33 (Megara, "before imperial times") and RIG 1307 (Teos, ca. 150 BCE). In both cases the word is partially restored, but Ferguson suggests that the restorations are "not improbable." Thus we can see "connections" without direct "links," which may also be true for Christianity.

87. Rhodes also had a large group of Italian merchants although it is unclear whether they had "translocal" connections to their homeland. Meeks (1983:32) discounts the Delian and Rhodian merchants associations too quickly by referring to them as have grown "far beyond the bounds of the private association" before the first century CE.

88. Cf. Brady (1978:21) who suggests that an club "must have always meant more to the person who was away from home, residing in a city whose citizenship he did not possess."
associations of Tyrian merchants, both to one another and to their home city. When the Tyrian merchants at Puteoli (the port of Rome) were not able to pay their rent they wrote a letter to the city of Tyre asking for funding to maintain their statio (their business and social headquarters). The Tyrian senate responded by reinstating an old custom of having the Tyrian association in Rome pay the rent of the association at Puteoli. Thus, "between the two stations there was a connection not only of commercial, but of social, moral, and religious interest, involving mutual obligations" (La Piana 1927:258).

Along with trade associations, the associations of the Egyptian gods present an interesting case study for translocal links. The cult of Isis and Sarapis remained in the control of the Alexandrians and Egyptians even during the period of its greatest expansion (La Piana 1927:304-05). It never became Latinized but always retained strong cultic and iconographic links to the temples of the Nile valley (La Piana 1927:308). For example, on Delos a third century BCE cult of Sarapis founded by Apollonius the Elder remained private, and "Egyptian," for more than a century (IG XII/7 506; cf. Dow 1937:230). Throughout that time the association maintained ties to Egypt, as witnessed in the following second century BCE inscription:

The priest Apollonios had this engraved according to the command of the god. Our grandfather Apollonios, an Egyptian of the sacerdotal class, having his god brought with him from Egypt, continued to do service (for his god) in accordance with tradition and purportedly lived to ninety-seven years of age. (IG XI/4 1299)

In Athens, when an association of Sarapiastai was opened up to Athenians they took on the administrative roles but the Egyptians maintained the religious aspects (Brady

89. On Egyptian guilds see Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936:39-88; Boak 1937:212-20; and more generally San Nicolò 1915; 1927; Cenival 1972.

90. There are also indications that the worship of the Egyptian gods envisioned some links to Egypt, particularly with respect to the water of the Nile. For example, Serapeum A on Delos had an underground crypt which was directly connected to the Inopus River. It was thought that this river had physical links with the Nile, thus the crypt was provided with authentic Nile water (Wild 1981:34-35).
1978:21). An association in Priene (Asia Minor) stipulates that the priest must provide an Egyptian so that the sacrificial rites will be properly performed (IPriene 195, ca. 200 BCE). This tells us two things: that not all of the priests of this cult of Sarapis and Isis were Egyptian and that there is nevertheless some connection with Egypt. More significantly, an adherent of the cult of Isis and Sarapis was able to travel throughout the Empire and be received by the local Isiac group wherever he or she happened to be.

Other inscriptions from associations dedicated to the Egyptian gods stand out as particularly informative for showing translocal links. An inscription from Thessalonica (IG X/2 255 [22]; I/II CE copy of an earlier text) records that Sarapis appeared twice to Xenainetos in a dream and enjoined him to deliver both a verbal and written message to his political rival, Eurynomos, concerning the establishment of the cult of Sarapis and Isis in Opus, a town in the region of eastern Locris (on the Euboean Gulf). Since this copy of the inscription was found in the sanctuary of Sarapis in...

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91. Mixed ethnic backgrounds are attested in other associations: around 200 BCE three maenads were imported from Thebes to form three separate διασευς of Dionysus at Magnesia ad Maeander (IMagnMai 215; McLean 1995a:30-31); an inscription from Thessalonica reads "To Makedon, the διασευς of Asiani, to their fellow mystes, Publius Aelius Alexander being priest" (IG X/2 309 [33])—the use of a common Macedonian proper name in an inscription of a διασευς of people from Asia (Asiani) suggests that the διασευς was not limited to persons from Asia (cf. Edson 1948:155 incl. n. 3 for a similar situation at Dacia [CIL III 870]; see also Nilsson 1957:50, 55 n. 55).

92. La Piana (1927:337) illustrates this by citing Lucius' move from Africa to Rome after his initiation (according to Apuleius, Met. 19). Lucius does undergo the initiation rites again in Rome, but this is done because the first initiation was deemed incomplete, not as a requirement to join the Roman group; see Nock 1933:147-49.

93. Probably during a period of incubation, a time when a person slept in a shrine awaiting healing, advice, a prophecy, or a vision (Horsley 1981:31). Cf. Acts 12.7-10; 23.11; Horsley 1981:32; Sellew 1980:16. Xenainetos seems to have been in Thessalonica on official business as a representative of the city of Opus. In the cult of Sarapis and Isis dreams were important in revelations, prophecy, healing (Tinh 1982:111), and initiation (Heyob 1975:57, 59; cf. Fraikin 1974:3). The introduction of the cult of Sarapis and Isis to a new location was often inaugurated through a dream in which the god appeared and gave instructions.

94. The ruins of Opus have not been identified with certainty; Fraikin 1974:2.
Thessalonica, Xenainetos' dream probably took place in Thessalonica (contra J.S.Hanson 1978:5). After the cult was established in Opus, the story was inscribed for use by the association there and a copy was taken to the Thessalonian cult center to become part of its local tradition. The inscription was reinscribed in Thessalonica around the first to mid-second century CE by devotees of the cult in Thessalonica. Clearly there is a connection between the association in Opus and that in Thessalonica, both in the founding of the association in Opus and the memory of that founding in the Thessalonian association.

Another example of foreign connections within the Egyptian associations comes from Magnesia. An inscription records that when a priest of the cult of Sarapis at Magnesia runs afoul of the civic magistrates over the building site of a temple, a tribunal comes to Magnesia from abroad to clear up any misunderstanding (IMagnMai 99). This suggests both that the priest was a foreigner (Sokolowski 1974:446 n. 16) and that control of his actions, at the very least, was still governed from outside his current place of residence.

At Corinth, according to Pausanias (2.4.6), one of the two sacred precincts of Sarapis at the base of the Acrocorinth was dedicated to "Sarapis called 'in Canopus'" (ἐν Κανώβῳ καλουμένων; D.E.Smith 1977:210-11). Canopus, slightly East of Alexandria along the Mediterranean shore, was the site of an oracular and healing shrine in antiquity (D.E.Smith 1977:227-29). The worship of Sarapis of Canopus is also known elsewhere in the Roman world, although Corinth is the only place known to have had a temple for him (D.E.Smith 1977:227).

95. See Sellow 1980:17-19. Cf. the cult of Egyptian gods which came to Cius, in Bithynia, near the end of the third century BCE, probably not directly from Egypt but from its mother city Miletus where Isis was the focus of a βίασος.

96. Including Delos (II BCE), Epirus (I CE), Rome (II-III CE), Veneventum (II CE), Beneventum (II CE) and Athens (III CE) (D.E.Smith 1977:227 n. 86).
The guild of Dionysiac artists (οἱ περὶ τῶν Διόνυσου τεχνίται) presents another interesting case study of translocal links.\(^97\) This guild was one of the longest standing religious associations. It began in Attica around the third century BCE, or earlier, and can be traced to the end of the Roman Republic (Tod 1970:255; McLean 1995a). During that time the guild served not only to unite members of a common profession, but was employed by various states in ambassadorial duties because of its members’ wide-ranging travel (see further Pickard-Cambridge 1968:281-85; cf. Sifakis 1967:136-71). They may even have had a hand in negotiating a treaty between Rome and Pergamon; the Pergamonian βουλή and δῆμος honour the Dionysiac artists in an inscription from 129 BCE which reads, in part,

For the good fortune and salvation of our people and of the Romans and of the brotherhood of the artisans associated with Kαθογεμωνες Dionysus; let the friendship and alliance with the Romans remain with us for all time; and let there be the best possible sacrifice presented to both Demeter and Kore and the goddesses who defend our city and likewise to Roma and all other gods and goddesses. \((SIG^3 694)\)

There existed a κοινόν of several local Isthmian and Nemean συνοδοι of Dionysiac artists, centered at Thebes, with branches in Argos, Chalcis, and elsewhere.\(^98\) In the third century BCE this guild is attested in Asia Minor (the Ionia-Hellespont guild c. 235 BCE centered at Teos) and in Egypt and Cyprus under the Ptolemies \((OGIS 50)\). It continued variously during the reign of the Romans (further Pickard-Cambridge 1968:286-91; W.S.Ferguson 1911:370-73). On one occasion representatives were sent from the guild at Pergamon to secure favours from guilds at Teos and on Delos \((IG XI/4 1061;\) see Pickard-Cambridge 1968:292-93; 314-15, no. 10a) and on another

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\(^97\) Countryman (1977:136) cites the artists guild as the exception to the general statement that there were no translocal links between voluntary associations in the Early Empire. However, the "exceptional" nature does not seem consistent with other evidence.

\(^98\) Tod 1970:255; cf. Pickard-Cambridge 1968:285; cf. \(IG VII 2484, 2485\). Cf. also a single society that unites several cults on Rhodes: \(κοινὸν Δωτηριαστῶν Διοσκεφαλιστῶν Παναθαναίων Λυδιαιστῶν\) (Tod 1932:76).
occasion members of the Teos guild were sent to help out the guild at Iasos (Pickard-Cambridge 1968:292-93; cf. Pickard-Cambridge 1940:242-43). 99

A Roman decree in 125 BCE (confirmed in 112 BCE) gives the priests of the guild of Dionysian artists (τεχνιταί) the right to wear crowns of gold and purple robes in all cities, suggesting that there was some continuity among the various associations. 100 By the first century CE this guild is often referred to as τῆς οἰκουμένης which we might translate as "universal" or "world-wide" as seen in the letter of Claudius from 43 CE 101 and I Eph 22 from Nysa (142 CE). 102 This latter text comes from the second century CE when the evidence for the "world-wide" guild is most plentiful, revealing that there were branches throughout the empire, with the headquarters in Rome. 103 Local Dionysiac associations probably existed alongside the larger, "world-wide" guild (Pickard-Cambridge 1968:298; McLean 1995a:48) although eventually most were absorbed into the world-wide guild. 104

99. For other examples of translocal connections see McLean 1995a:15-16.

100. See Pickard-Cambridge 1968:290-91; S IG 3 704H; IG II 2 1134.


103. For example, the "world citizens" of the branch of an artists guild at Ephesus seems to be linked to the branch at Rome (Poland 1909:129; 146). See further Pickard-Cambridge 1968:297-302.

104. Thus, the officers of the guild of artists of Dionysus "varied from time to time and place to place" (Pickard-Cambridge 1968:303).

105. Although the Guild of Dionysiac Artists were a "huge international body" under the empire and had close ties to the emperors and other rulers (Radin 1910:126), they seem to have declined after the Antonines (Radin 1910:126). They are thought to have been amalgamated with another international guild, that of the International Athletic Union (Radin 1910:126 nn. 44, 47). But see Pleket 1973:200.
Sometimes a guild name might reveal a translocal connection. For example, a name is sometimes added to the designation of a Dionysian σπείρα suggesting that the local associations belonged to "a more comprehensive organization" (Nilsson 1957:50). Nilsson (1957:50) cites the examples of Midapedeion where altars are dedicated to Διόνυσος Καθηγεμών (the ancestral god of the Pergamene kings [Nilsson 1957:48]) and τῇ Μιδαπεδείτῶν σπείρη (Midapedeion was near Pergamon, IPerg 319, 320), Erythrae, where a σπείρα Βραχυλειτῶν is mentioned (JhOAI 13 [1910] 48, no. 13) and a dedication to Βρόμος Πακοριτῶν at Pergamon (IPerg 297). In the Piraeus there existed an association of Αἰγύπτιοι, an association of Κυπείς or οἱ δικτωροὶ τῶν Κυπείων, a group of Cyprian Σαλαμίνοι, and a group of Σιδώνιοι. Even their names suggest a connection with a former place of residence (Tod 1932:76).

In this section we have raised the issue concerning the meaning of "translocal" when it is argued by scholars that voluntary associations are local as opposed to "translocal." The data shows that it is not clear that associations had little or no contacts outside of a local group. A number of inscriptions point to the maintenance of contact with the place of origin of the association and/or its members, as well as contact between associations in various locales. Thus, there seems to be some translocal connections among some voluntary associations.

106. Latin, spira. This term is generally used in a military sense, but is used by associations as a synonym for δίσατος; other synonyms would include μυσταί and κοινών (cf. McLean 1995a:29).

107. A name of Bacchus (Dionysus).

108. As a final illustration we might mention a third century BCE inscription from Attica recording the regulations of an association concerning dues. The decree stipulates that "those of the Heroistoi away from home for whatever reason shall give three drachmae per month" (IG II² 1339 LL. 8). Cf. IG II² 1361; IG II² 1368.
5.2.1.4.2. Evidence From Judaism and Christianity

If, as we have seen, some (but not all) voluntary associations had translocal connections, it does not necessarily follow that these, rather than the "local" groups, should be given priority in a comparison with early Christian groups. Hence, the second part of our argument involves showing that early Christianity should be viewed with an emphasis on its "local" character rather than its translocal connections. In this way, we will find a meeting ground between those who contrast solely "local" associations with "translocal" Christian congregations.

Before turning to Christianity, however, it is worth a brief detour into the Jewish communities as reflected in the Diaspora synagogues and the Dead Sea community. Many scholars who do not accept the analogy of the voluntary associations for Christian groups often suggest that Christian groups had much more in common with Jewish groups, particularly in regard to their requirement of exclusive adherence and their "translocal" connection to Jerusalem (e.g., Meeks 1983:80). However, there is a growing body of literature which suggests that in fact the Jewish groups had much in common with voluntary associations.109 If this is so, then the use of associations as an analogy to Christian groups is strengthened even more.

Studies of Diaspora synagogues have noted similarities to Greco-Roman voluntary associations.110 For example, the Diaspora synagogues adopted the "Greek

109. Cf. so sure is Hardy (1906:141) that Christian groups were associations that he states that if they "were affiliated to the Jewish synagogues, these latter were certainly regarded as δικαιο, and the Christians would therefore be ranked among them too." See also La Piana 1927:349 and n. 17 for further bibliography and La Piana's assertion that the synagogues were not collegia (contradicted later [355 n. 23] in his statement that a number of synagogues "were really Jewish collegia domestica").

nomenclature of the associations" which "included a great variety of terms in different places" (La Piana 1927:360). A number of studies have also been produced illustrating the similarities between the Qumran documents and the community associated with them and the Greco-Roman voluntary associations. Here we might simply note that the Dead Sea community definitely had translocal links, both to Egypt (cf. the "Damascus Document" found in three of the Qumran caves and the *geniza* of a Cairo synagogue; Vermes 1987:81) and various towns in Palestine (Vermes 1987:15-18).

Along with the similarities between Jewish groups and voluntary associations there is some evidence that within Judaism there could exist an openness to participation in other forms of worship. In fact, it is no longer clear that Judaism was exclusive in a way different than other cult groups. For example, Philo has strong polemic against Jews who joined associations and partook of their social practices, suggesting that a significant number of Jews of Alexandria did so, so much so that Philo felt the need to address the problem. However, for Philo the actual problem with the associations is what goes on at the association meetings, as he goes on to

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111. Recently M.H. Williams (1994) has suggested that even within Rome itself the synagogues evidence a variety of structures and titles of officials and were probably not homogeneous.


113. Private associations in the form of "guilds" have a long history in Palestine, probably dating from before the hellenistic period; see Mendelsohn 1940a:17-21; Cf. Mendelsohn 1940b:68-72 on guilds in Babylonia and Assyria. *The marzah*, seen by many to be "a *thiasos* dedicated to a particular god in which the memorial rites are characterized by eating and drinking," has a long history at Ugarit, Palmyra, and in Palestine (Greenfield 1974:451).

114. Some polemical writings indicate that many people still required exclusive worship within Judaism, but this tells us more about the actual problems which were being addressed; cf. Bradshaw 1992:68-70.

115. See *Ebr.* 14; Borgen 1995:45; *contra* La Piana 1927:343.
suggest that Jews might join non-Jewish social associations which allow the Jews to keep their own customs and standards of behavior: "As for contributions and club subscriptions, when the object is to share the best of possessions, prudence \( \phi \rho \alpha \nu \mu \sigma \zeta \), such payments are praiseworthy and profitable" (Ebr. 20; translation in Borgen 1995:46). Yet there are few examples of associations which did not align themselves with any deity at all; it could be that Philo is here suggesting that Jews could be part of an association which had a "pagan" deity its divine patron.\(^{116}\) In fact, the rabbinic text \textit{t.Hul.} 2.3 implies that Jews in Caesarea Maritima joined in pagan rituals:

If one slaughters an animal in order to sprinkle its blood for idolatrous purposes or to offer its fat parts for idolatrous purposes, such meat is considered as sacrifices of the dead. If it had already been slaughtered, and one sprinkled its blood for idolatrous purposes and offered its fat parts for idolatrous purposes.... This happened in Caesarea. (Translation in Borgen 1995:42; see also Levine 1975:45)

These examples suggest that not all Jews in antiquity were against participation in the voluntary associations and its ritual practices.

The "translocal link" between Diaspora Jews and Jerusalem also had its limitations. During the Palestinian uprising of the mid-first century CE the Jews of Rome (and elsewhere) "seem to have avoided entanglement in the rebellions and to have remained calm, saving their privileges and traditions" (La Piana 1927:374). Their links to Jerusalem were not so strong that they felt compelled to take a stand in support of their brethren on the other side of the Empire.

In turning to Christianity, we must evaluate what evidence there is that it was a "translocal" or "world-wide" religion. The translocal "link" for many scholars is Paul. He is seen to "connect" the various congregations. Certainly he himself would like to think that the congregations are connected, but this may not have been the case. For

\(^{116}\) One might also note that Erastus, a member of the Corinthian congregation, would have been required to participate in cultic rituals at city council meetings due to his position as city treasurer (Rom 16:13). When writing to the Corinthians Paul does not limit the participation of Christians in pagan temple meals, except under certain conditions (1 Cor 8:1-13, 10:23-11:1; cf. Borgen 1995:57-59).
example, the support of the Philippian church went to Paul, not the other congregations with which he worked (Phil 4:10-20). For the Christian groups themselves their first priority seems to have remained their own local congregations. This is best seen in Paul’s attempt to collect money for the Jerusalem church. Meeks (1983:110) points to Paul’s collection as indicating translocal obligations to other Christians. However, Paul’s troubles with raising the money promised, and his rhetorical strategies in his letters to the Corinthians (2 Cor 8:1-15; 9:1-5), suggest that they, at least, remained unconvinced that they had a social and religious obligation to an otherwise unknown group. What confuses the Corinthians is not necessarily the fact that they have to donate, but that the monies are going to Jerusalem rather than the common fund of the local congregation (Kloppenborg 1993a:237). Also, the financial support for the Jerusalem church came from the newer, Pauline churches (not the reverse), which would have gone against expectations. In a translocal organization the established center usually supports the struggling, newer organizations (Townsend 1985:437 n. 38).

117. La Piana (1927:372-73) highlights the willingness of the Jews of the diaspora to contribute to the collection of funds for Jerusalem because of their strong translocal link to Jerusalem. If this is so, then it contrasts with the attitude of the Corinthians who, given Paul’s rhetoric and his repeated appeals, did not have such a feeling of obligation—that is to say, they consider themselves to be a localized group, much like the associations. Priority may also have been placed on smaller groups within one urban centre—1 Cor 1:10-17. Voluntary associations could also have more than one local group. Cities with more than one grouping of a larger association include Thessalonica (Dionysiac, early III CE) and Magnesia ad Maeander (Dionysiac, III BCE); see McLean 1995a:30-31.

118. The local nature of Pauline Christian communities is noted by Hainz (1972) who argues that Paul himself does not hold to any concept of the "church universal" but emphasizes each of the local churches as in itself the "church of God." "Paulus spricht nicht von der 'Gesamtkirche'..." and 'Volk Gottes' sind für ihn keineswegs identische Größen... Paulus spricht nur von konkreten Gemeinden, und seine Gemeindetheologie ist primär eine Komponente seines Apostolatsverständnisses; d. h. es muß als erste Grundbestimmung für die Gemeinde gelten: sie ist ‘apostolisch’" (Hainz 1972:359, his emphasis). This seems to me to be overstating the case for Paul, who did see some connections among his communities and among all of the Christian communities, including the one in Jerusalem, even if the local communities themselves did not perceive these connections.
Concerning both terminology for group designation and terminology for officers, Christian groups have similarities to voluntary associations not in particular usages, but in the diversity of usages among the groups. Local particularities of language can be cited for both Christian groups and associations. Dow (1937:191) points out that of eight societies of Sarapiastai throughout the Greek world "there is no similarity of organization, so far as one can observe, between any two of them." However, the same can be said of Pauline churches, where it would be difficult to show a similar structure between, for example, the church at Galatia and the church at Corinth.

There is no a priori reason to assume that there was uniformity among the Pauline churches, any more than one should assume a uniform organizational structure in associations. On the contrary, titles were highly variable, local particularities abound, and in many instances, we have no indication of how officers were designated" (Kloppenborg 1993a:232).119

In the case of Paul, and of the Sarapiastai, the "differences" are due to their differing locations in the circum-Mediterranean world.120

For example, the term ἐκκλησία is used by Paul as a designation for his churches in both the singular and the plural. Paul’s use of the word in the plural shows that in his mind there were connections among Christian groups within one or more provinces rather than simply within a town (e.g., Rom 16:16; 1 Cor 7:17; 11:16; 16:19; 2 Cor 8:1; 11:28; Gal 1:22; 1 Thess 2:14; cf. Meeks 1983:42-43); sometimes he uses the singular to indicate the church "universal" (e.g., 1 Cor 10:32; 15:9; Gal 1:13; Phil

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119. Cf. Vincent 1897:50: "The church was not one body, but only an aggregate of local communities; and the features of organization and government in any single community and the official titles which their administrators bore were not the same in other communities."

120. Dow (1937:191) suggests that since it has proven unfruitful to compare various clubs of Sarapiastai throughout the Greek world, we would be better served to compare the Attic Sarapiastai to cult societies of all other kinds within Attica itself, a task which proves to be quite successful (see McLean 1995a). The same could prove to be the case for Pauline churches; more local studies are needed before any solid conclusions are put forward.
3:6).\textsuperscript{121} However, both Paul (and the Christian community) used \textit{ekklēsiā} in the local sense (e.g., Rom 16:1, 5; 1 Cor 1:2; 11:18;), much like some associations who used it as a self-designator (Liebenam 1890:272-73; Hardy 1906:141; Poland 1909:332; further §6.2.1). While the term may have been used by Paul on the basis of the LXX (as Schmidt 1965:513-14, esp. n. 25 maintains), "[i]n the environment of Greek cities, the term would almost certainly be understood (by all involved) as one of the names for a voluntary association" (Kloppenborg 1993a:231).

When Countryman (1977:138) suggests that the associations were "strictly local" he goes on to state that "[i]n the church, however, the officers enjoyed life tenure and derived their authority from outside the congregation, either literally or in theory." Yet this assumes much for Pauline churches. The disputes within the Corinthian congregation makes it clear that there was no one authority in the church who could oversee all aspects and negotiate between various factions. Paul attempts to take on this role as an external authority, but the letters of 2 Corinthians should show us that he was not always successful (1 Cor 9; 2 Cor 1:15-2:13; 2 Cor 10-113; cf. Furnish 1984:44, 141). The earliest that we might see some indication of Christianity as a "world-wide" phenomenon with a central seat of authority is the early to mid-second century in the writings of Ignatius and 1 Clement. Even here, however, the idea of the primacy of the bishop of Rome is not entirely clear.\textsuperscript{122}

Meeks suggests that Paul and other "missionaries" actively sought to establish a notion of a "universal people of God"\textsuperscript{123}; "The letters themselves, the messengers who

\textsuperscript{121} Hainz (1976:229-55) is incorrect in suggesting that Paul's use of \textit{ekklēsiā} in the plural always refers only to the Jerusalem church (e.g., 1 Cor 11:16) while in the singular it refers to the local congregation.


\textsuperscript{123} Stemming from Paul's Jewish roots (Meeks 1983:108).
brought them, and the repeated visits to the local assemblies by Paul and his associates all emphasized this inter-relatedness" (Meeks 1983:109). Yet this assumption can be called into question. Certainly Paul refers to his "churches" and the common teaching and practices therein (1 Cor 4:17; 7:17; 11:16), but this does not necessarily represent a monolithic movement. The Corinthians may not have been impressed with Paul's rhetorical strategy; it is unlikely that they moved swiftly and eagerly to "correct" their practices in light of Paul's letters. Also, Paul never assumes that his own communities were in contact with one another, even in 2 Cor 8, where the reference to the Macedonians is very general. If his aim was to establish a translocal, "world-wide" group, one would think that from the beginning he would be encouraging local leaders to meet with leaders from other locales or even go to Jerusalem.124

Meeks' claims are again called into question when he states that it is "peculiar" that early Christian groups could emulate the "intimate, close-knit life of the local groups" and still be part of a much larger, worldwide, movement (Meeks 1983:70). It is unlikely that Paul's words that others "invoke the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place" (1 Cor 1:2) would have been any different than a similar claim of a priest of Isis or of Asclepius, the worship of whom was spread throughout the empire.125 Meeks simply assumes this indicates "translocal connections" before immediately turning to the "supralocal organization" of Christianity in the time of Constantine.

124. Townsend's call (1985) for a re-evaluation of the consideration of Acts as presenting Paul undergoing "missionary journeys" is apropos. He warns about (and illustrates) commentators "reading their own presuppositions back into apostolic times" in this regard (1985:436). It may be that neither Paul nor, especially, his converts thought of what they were "up to" as a mission (as Vaage [1995b] has suggested) or even as having any more translocal connections than other associations.

125. Cf. The formula εἷς Θεός ("one God") is applied not only to the Christian God but also to other deities such as Sarapis—εἷς θεός Σάραπις ("one God, Sarapis"); see Bonner 1950:10, 41, 46-47).

126. Although Meeks himself points out that some scholars think that this phrase was added later to the pauline copus in order to "catholicize" it (Meeks 1983:229 n. 155).
We see perhaps in the Dionysus artists' association an analogy to what may have occurred in Christianity. Over a period of three or four centuries this association grew from local groups with very loose translocal connections to the "world-wide" guild of artists (see above). Likewise Christianity did become a strong, well-defined global movement, but not until a few centuries beyond the foundations of the original groups. Christianity became a universal religion without national or racial connections only "[t]hrough a long and painful process of evolution" (La Piana 1927:339). Thus, the description of formative Christian groups as "universal" would certainly not be an apt description.

It is also significant that early Christian and non-Christian writers "did not consider it incongruous to speak explicitly of the church as a thiasos" (Malherbe 1983:89). When Trajan banned fraternities, Christian groups, at least in Bithynia, gave up their usual practices because they thought that the ban applied to them (that is, they fit the description of fraternities; Pliny, Epistulae 10.96; Judge 1960b:48). It is worth noting that Pliny's letter concerning the Christians in Bithynia does not reflect the governor's anxiety that the world-wide phenomenon might lead to rebellion but rather the local merchants' distress over the effect on their trade of masses of people joining Christian groups.

We can conclude that our survey of the available data reveals that some voluntary associations in antiquity had translocal links and that Christian groups were more locally based than is often assumed. There is no doubt that the primary basis for associations was local (Fisher 1989b:1209), but, we would argue, this would be equally true for the Christian groups. Christian congregations and voluntary associations were both locally based groups with limited translocal connections.

127. Cf. Malherbe 1983:88; Hardy 1906:141; Celsus in Origen, Cels. 3.2.3; Lucian, Pergr. Mort. 11; cf. Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. 6.19, 16; 7.32, 27; 10.1; Tertullian, Apologia 39 (refering to Christianity as factio Christianae, corpus, secta Dei, and other titles used of associations); CIL VIII 9585.
5.2.2. Evaluation

The voluntary associations of antiquity have often been seen positively as an analogy to early Christian community formation, although a number of objections have been raised against the analogy. However, in many cases these objections misread the evidence of either the associations or the early Christian groups. The most compelling objection against the use of associations as analogy, that of translocal links, was addressed in detail. The elimination of the false dichotomy between local associations and translocal Christianity removes one of the primary obstacles to using the associations as an analogy for understanding the formation and organization of early Christian groups. It is to this task that we now turn for the region of Macedonia and the Christian congregations formed by Paul at Thessalonica and Philippi. However, we will turn our attention first to a survey of voluntary associations in Macedonia to see how (in contrast to synagogues) there is abundant evidence for associations in Macedonia, some of it extending back before the first century CE.
5.3. Voluntary Associations in Macedonia

In this survey of Macedonian voluntary associations we will look at a number of inscriptions from the area which date from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. As can be seen from the chart at the beginning of Appendix I, a survey of voluntary association inscriptions from Macedonia reveals that there is quite a diversity in the function of the association, the deity worshipped, the name of either the association or the associates, and the type of officials in the association.128

5.3.1. Provenance and Date

Although not claiming to be complete, the 71 voluntary association inscriptions from Macedonia in Appendix I are certainly representative.129 They range in provenance from Kallianion and Stobi in the South and North of the western part of the province respectively, to Philippi and its surrounding villages in the eastern part of the province (see map 2 in Appendix II). The existence of voluntary associations is not limited to urban areas. Although most of our inscriptions come from cities (e.g., 46 of the 73 come from Thessalonica, Philippi, or Edessa), there are a number of inscriptions from smaller villages, particularly those around Philippi (Reussilova, Proussotchan, Alistrati, Podgora, Kalambaki, Raktcha, and Selian). While the villagers may have

128. The chart summarizes the information from the inscriptions collected in Appendix I. On this collection see pages vii-ix, above.

129. This number excludes the four Jewish inscriptions included in the collection. It is an incomplete collection insofar as some known inscriptions are placed in the footnotes of chapters 4 through 6 rather than in the appendix; in these cases they are either fragmentary or well attested (i.e., dedications to Zeus Hypsisos). Other voluntary association inscriptions may also exist but have not yet been noted for our database. Other pertinent information might include a mosaic found on the public bath floor at Dion depicts a marine θίασος (Pandermalis 1988:211-12 [no other information is given]). A sarcophagus from the western necropolis of Thessalonica depicts a Dionysiac thiasos (Pandermalis 1988:216-17 [Thessalonica Museum no. 1246]). Whether these represent a θίασος in the sense of "voluntary association" that we are using here or whether they represent simply "a band or company marching through the streets with dance and song, esp. in honor of Bacchus, a band of revellers" as the word is defined by LSJ (s.v.) is unclear. The latter seems more likely in the case of the Thessalonican sarcophagus, which has a depiction of satyrs and maenads, Cupids and children, along with panthers and goats carved into three of its sides.
been imitating what was begun among their urban counterparts, the number of village associations suggests that voluntary associations were an important part of village life, at least during the Roman period.

Most of the inscriptions date to the common era, although three dedications to Zeus Hypsistos date from the second century BCE. A number come from the first and early second century CE. Unfortunately many of the inscriptions cannot be accurately dated (marked as n.d.), but almost all of them certainly come from the Roman period (common era). Nevertheless, they can be helpful for understanding the earlier history of voluntary associations in Macedonia.130

5.3.2. Deities

The following deities are attested in the inscriptions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deity</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zeus Hypsistos</td>
<td>13 (plus 13 dedications not in the database)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theos Hypsistos</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dionysos</td>
<td>9 (including once as Zeus Dionysos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liber and Libera</td>
<td>6 (1x both, 3x with Herakles, 2x Liber Pater Tasibastenus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylvanus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herakles</td>
<td>6 (three times with Liber and Libera)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero god</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarapis</td>
<td>4 (twice with Isis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isis</td>
<td>2 (both with Sarapis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anubis</td>
<td>2 (once as Hermes-Anubis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asklepius</td>
<td>1 (indicated by Asklepiastoi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aphrodite</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diana</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemesis</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cupid</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souregethes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gods of Samothrace</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emperor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

130. Cf. Clover 1981:16: "The inscriptions of Thessalonica are the key to the epigraphical testimony on Macedonia in antiquity. It is no matter that the bulk of them date from the time of the Roman Empire. This mass of documentation forms one basis for understanding the earlier history of Macedonia."
5.3.3. Types of Association Inscriptions

Most of the associations attested in Macedonia seem to be religious associations. However, there is some evidence for workers associations. A guild of purple-dyers is found at Thessalonica (IG X/2 291 [30]) and perhaps Philippi (IPhiliippi 2 [62]). An association of donkey-drivers is found at Beroea (IBeroea 2 [12]), copper smiths at Amphipolis (SIG 3110 1140 [49]), silversmiths at Kalambaki (IKalambaki 1 [56]), and perhaps yoke-makers at Thessalonica (IThessalonica 3 [28]). We have evidence for an association of merchants at Acanthus (IAcanthus 1 [47]). Other evidence for Roman merchants in Macedonia comes from Beroea, where oi ἐνκεκτημένοι Ἑρμαῖοι honour the proconsul Calpernius Piso (cf. IMakedD 58), and Edessa (IMakedD 3, ἦ πόλις καὶ...)

131. An inscription of a religious society devoted to Cybele and Attis was found in Philippi but is now, unfortunately, no longer legible (Collart 1937: 455-56) and we did not include it in the database. The title of the eponymos was repeated several times (ὑπὸ στιράρχην) along with the word ἄρχει ταῖς ἄλλοις (Collart 1937:456 n.1; see also Picard 1922:197). The title spirarches is perhaps associated with this society (Edson 1948:156, footnoting Collart 1937:455-56, incl. 456 n. 1; the evidence can be dated no earlier than Hadrian). The existence of an epitaph dendrophorus Augustalis suggests that one association was at the same time dedicated to both Cybele and the imperial cult (Collart 1937:270; cf. 456). The inscription reads [M. V]elleius M. I.... | [dendro]phoros Aug(ustalis), an. L. | [sibi et V]elleiae Primigeniae u[xori...]. See Collart 1937:456; P. Lemerle, BCH 58 (1934) 466 no. 7.

132. The authenticity of IPhiliippi 2 [62] has been called into question but is affirmed by many commentators; see further the discussion the comments on the inscription itself in the appendix (including bibliography). I do not consider it to be authentic. The existence of the association of purple-dyers at Philippi is thought to be confirmed by the fragmentary Latin inscription reading [PU]RPURAI (CIL III 664). On purple-dyers in Macedonia cf. CIG 3496 (Thyatira) in which a guild of purple-dyers honours a Macedonian who acted as a benefactor towards their city; Acts 16:11-15 which names Lydia the purple dealer as the the first Christian convert in Europe—she is a Thyatiran living and working in Philippi.

133. An association (fabri) of carpenters is attested at Dyrrachium, which is the city at the beginning point of the Via Egnatia on the shore of the Adriatic Sea (CIL III 611 = Waltzing 3 no. 198). Although this area was occasionally included within the provincial boundaries of Roman Macedonia, it is far enough away from our focii that we have not included it in the collection of inscriptions in Appendix I.
Associations of merchants (Asiani) are also attested at Thessalonica (IThessalonica 2 [29]; IG X/2 309 [33]; 480 [34]).

A number of different types of association inscriptions have been found in Macedonia. Some inscriptions are honorific, bestowing honours on a founder (IG X/2 58 [23]), a member (IPhilippi 8 [68]), a patron (IG X/2 192 [39], 220 [40], IMakedD 1104 [54], SIRIS 124 [60]), a civic benefactor (SIRIS 122 [58]; IPhilippi 2 [62], 7 [67]), and even the Emperor (IAcanthus 1 [47]). Such honourary inscriptions usually follow and act of benefaction to the association. A good number of inscriptions are dedications or votives to a deity. A few are simply membership lists (IG X/2 244 [27], IRaktcha 1 [72]), one with an account of dues given (CIL III 633 [57]). The interesting inscription from Thessalonica (IG X/2 255 [22]) records the founding of an association of Sarapis and Isis in Opus.

Other inscriptions are dedications or votives, given in thanks for specified or unspecified benefits. While most of these types of inscriptions are unspecified, IG X/2 67 [16] presents an interesting example of a votive set up after the dedicator has, as the result of a dream, avoided placing himself in a situation at sea that would have proved perilous. In contrast, IThessalonica 1 [21] is a memorial to a less fortunate fellow who perished at sea.

A significant number of inscriptions are indicative of funerary practices of some sort, either the rosalia, the parentalia, or some other type of memorial for the deceased. However, this does not indicate that the association was a funerary association. Often an already existing association is endowed with a bequest of money or property (i.e., vineyards or land) the income of which is to be used for a memorial

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135. On the rosalia see further chapter 6.
at the tomb of the deceased. The remainder of the income, however, goes to the association for their own use, probably in social gatherings such as and banquets (see IG X/2 259 [19]). Occasionally an association is formed in order to keep an annual memorial for the deceased, such as is the case with CIL III 656 [75].

Some associations also seem to have set up inscriptions in memory of their deceased members. This is the case with the professional associations of donkey-drivers from Beroea (IBeroea 2 [12]), the associates (οἱ ὀνυθεύς) of Poseidonios (in conjunction with the deceased’s wife and son; IBeroea 3 [13]), and purple-dyers in Thessalonica (IG X/2 291 [30]). It is also the case with other associations such as the Thessalonian worshipers of Dionysos (IG X/2 503), Herakles (IG X/2 288 [25] and 289 [26]), the Asiani (IThessalonica 1 [21], IG X/2 309 [33] and 480 [34]), and a Hero cult (IG X/2 821 [35]). A more elaborate funerary practice is described in the tomb epigram from Amphipolis (IAmphipolis 1 [50]) where the dances of the Bacchants are detailed. Some associations may have been involved in the actual burial of these members, as is the case with IKAkkandreaia 1 [45] and CIG 2000f [46].

5.3.4. Social Location of Members

As far as we can tell, the membership base of the Macedonian voluntary associations comes predominantly from the lower ranks of society, although in a some cases upper rank or wealthy persons are patrons and/or members. For example, IG X/2

136. For other examples of testamentary foundations see IG XII/3 330 (Thera, III BCE); IG IV 840 and 841 (Kalauria, c. III-l BCE); CIG 2562 (Crete). In antiquity an endowment could be made in order to secure certain rites be performed in memory of an individual and his or her family (for a comprehensive collection of such texts see Laum 1914; cf. Mannzmann 1962:136-47). There were two primary types of "foundations": private and public (Schmitt-Pantel 1982:177; C.P.Jones 1983:116). These latter foundations established a link between the civic magistrates and the deceased. In exchange for a significant bequest a perpetual memorial was established, with attendant priests and sacrifices. Of more interest for our purposes is the private or "familial" foundation whereby an association is formed (or an existing one endowed) in order to establish a memorial at the family tomb (C.P.Jones 1983:116). An interesting example of a foundation which benefits extant private (guild) associations and also the city (IEph 3803) is discussed by Drew-Bear 1980. A private citizen of Hypaipa benefacts the wool-sellers and the linen-weavers with a sum of money and gives to these two guilds and four others the use of a vineyard which he donates to the city (Drew-Bear 1980:515-16).
192 ([39], III CE) attests to the erection of a bomos honouring their προστάτης by the association of Sarapidai, with the consent of the βουλή and δήμος of Thessalonica. Poplius Aelius Nicanor is named as a Macedoniarch, which indicates that he is an important official of the Synhedrion, the provincial council (Edson 1948:187). The inscription indicates that at least some of the members belonged to the municipal aristocracy (Edson 1948:187). However, we have no way of determining whether all of the members of this association were of the same status.

In CIL III 633 [57] a freedman (libertus) who had become a Roman official, Publius Hostilius Philadelphus, acted as patron to an association of worshippers of Sylvanus. The membership was all male, most of whom are probably freedmen (Pilhofer 1995:110). However, of the sixty-nine members named in the second inscription four are slaves of the colony (Orinus coloniae, Tharsa coloniae, Phoebus coloniae, Phoibus coloniae) and three are slaves of individuals (Hermeros Metrodori, Crescens Abelli, Chrysio Pacci). For the most part the members of the association seem not to be wealthy (Waltzing 1890:73; Pilhofer 1995:112). The third and fourth inscriptions were set in place with lists of new members as the association either grew or replaced deceased members. The first three inscriptions are from the II CE while the fourth is from the III CE, indicating that the association was popular and persistent (Abrahamsen 1995:37). Other inscriptions from Philippi similarly show members of the lower ranks (CIL III 656 [75]; 704 [52]) as well as reliance on wealthy patrons (SIRIS 122 [58]; 123 [59]; 124 [60]). In IPhilippi 11 [71] the name Marronia Eutycia may indicate former servile status in that the name may be derived from the geographical place Maroneia, a town 70 km east of Philippi (Portefaix 1988:101).

A vine dresser from Kalliani consecrated to Zeus Hypsistos two rows of vines from his private property (peculium) "for the sake of his master" (IMaked 22 [01], III

137. Caius Paccius Mercuriales is the only other member designated libertus).
This inscription indicates the servile status of the dedicator (Papazoglou 1988a:200). Other inscriptions also indicate the lower rank status of worshipers of Zeus Hypsistos, namely the two slaves named in IPydna 1 [15] lines 33 & 34. IBERoea 1 [11] may name as the dedicator a female slave, Aglais (see note there). At the same time, there are also worshipers of Zeus Hypsistos of a somewhat higher status, as is attested by the mention of civic position (IANYdron 1 [10]) or by the use of tria nomena (IEdessa 3 [06]; IPydna 1 [15]), an indication of Roman citizenship (Garnsey and Saller 1987:116-17). We should also note that the inscription from Pydna [15] records a membership of mixed rank (citizen and slave) and as well as mixed gender (three women are named among the thirty-one men). Nevertheless, citizenship should not necessarily be taken as an indication of great wealth. Slaves are attested in other associations. Of fourteen persons named in IG X/2 58 [23] at least six were probably slaves or freedmen, as indicated by their names: Felix, Primus, Secundus (Hendrix 1994:15), although at least two Roman citizens are also members. In IG X/2 288 [25] at least two of the members were slaves: Demas and Primitas (Bömer 1957:4:238), although they both served as secretaries within the association alongside a citizen, Marcus Cassius Hermonus.

Isidorus, named as the deceased in IG X/2 506 ([37] 209 CE), was a modest civic official, a curialis, of the civic council. His family was of limited economic means, as indicated by his commemoration by a bomos rather than a sarcophagus (Edson 1948:160). The text indicates that he was a priest of two or more θίασου, although it does not indicate whether he was so simultaneously or successively. In contrast to most of the previous inscriptions mentioned, the inscription of IG X/2 220 [40] is poorly executed, with a semi-literate text, suggesting a membership from the lower ranks of society (Edson 1948:187).

The ethnic origin of the membership is known in a few cases. In IPydna 1 [15] of the thirty-four people named the only obvious Macedonian name is that of Alexander
(L. 36), although Paramonos (L. 37) is also common in Macedonia. The others are probably either foreign born or of immigrant families. For the most part the membership of the associations of Asiani are composed of non-Macedonians, usually artisans. However, the membership is not exclusive to those from Asia Minor, nor is it necessarily only those of lower rank.

The funerary dedication to a fellow mystes named Makedon was inscribed by the \( \theta \iota \alpha \sigma \varsigma \) of Asiani (IG X/2 309 [33]) and names their high priest—Publius Aelius Alexander.\(^{138}\) His name indicates status as a Roman citizen and he is at least a freedman (Edson 1948:157). This name, and the careful work on the monument, suggest that the social standing of some of the members was higher than that of labourer (Edson 1948:157). However, the dedication is to a common person (as is the case with IThessalonica 2 [29]), suggesting that the Asiani at Thessalonica was a mixed group of higher status and lower status persons (cf. Edson 1948:157). The name Makedon, used in the same inscription (IG X/2 309 [33]) was a common proper name in Macedonia indicating that this particular person was a native of Macedonia. Thus, "the Asiani of Thessalonica did not limit membership in their \( \theta \iota \alpha \sigma \varsigma \) to persons of Asianic origin" (Edson 1948:155).\(^{139}\) We can conclude that the Asiani of Thessalonica were a doubly mixed group which included both higher and lower status people and those from Asia Minor along with native Macedonians.\(^{140}\)

The evidence of our inscriptions leads us to conclude that, in general, voluntary associations in Macedonia were composed of people of mixed social rank or lower

\(^{138}\) This may also be the case on the fragmentary IG X/2 480, where a certain Cassia Antigona Memoni is named.

\(^{139}\) An association of Asiani at Napoca in Dacia (CIL III 870) also admitted natives (see Edson 1948:155 n. 3).

\(^{140}\) IG X/2 480 [34] also suggests that the deceased was a member of both the Asiani and an association of Asklepiastoi.
social rank (freepersons, and especially freedpersons and slaves) and could include both foreign persons and ethnic Macedonians.141 There is some evidence for the inclusion of persons who held civic positions, although this in itself does not make them part of the elite (Publius Hostilius Philadelphius was an aedile at Philippi but was also libertus; CIL III 633 [57]). Most associations were composed of men, although some also included women (IPydna 1 [15]; IAMphipolis 1 [50]; IPhilippi 11 [71]). The associations of workers and merchants would be predominantly lower ranking persons. The Roman merchants of IAcanthus 1 [47] would also fall into the lower ranks of society. Even when great wealth had been gained through trade, there continued to be a distinction between the mercantile class and that of the upper ranks. We have no example of an association with a membership limited to higher ranking people.

A significant factor which arises from these inscriptions is related to the political history of the region. The dominating presence of the Romans after 168 BCE led not to a predominance of Roman collegia among the populace, but rather a blending to Greek and Latin elements of small group formation. This can be seen in the interchange of certain vocabulary, such as the use of "collegium" in Greek (κολληγιον, CIG 2007f [46]) and the Latinization of θιασος as thiasum (IPhilippi 10 [70], IRaktcha 2 [73]; cf. CIL III 703 [51], 704 [52]). Also, we see the blending of Roman and Greek elements in the combining of local religious symbolism with Latin festivals (the Thracian horseman and the Rosalia; IPhilippi 3 [63]) or the depiction of Latin deities (Nemesis, Nike, and Mars) with accompanying Greek inscriptions (IPhilippi 4 [64], 5 [65], 6 [66]; cf. Chapouthier 1925:243).142

141. Elsewhere we find a Macedonian listed as a member of an association in Piraeus; see IG II² 1335.

142. Papazoglou (1988a:204) speaks of two religious conceptions coexisting in Macedonia. One was the Greek religion of the Macedonians which worshipped aloof and majestic gods. The other was the emotional religion of the indigenous population which included mystic rites and orgiastic cults. Eventually these two conceptions interpenetrated one another. They then seem to have been mixed again with the elements of Roman religious sensibilities.
5.3.5. Summary

Our survey of voluntary associations in Macedonia has shown a diversity of types of associations spread out both geographically and temporally. Among known inscriptions the majority are from Thessalonica and Philippi, which tells us more about archaeological excavations in Macedonia than about the distribution of voluntary associations.\footnote{Thessalonica and Philippi have undergone significant archaeological exploration primarily, but not exclusively, due to their connection with the New Testament and early Christian history.} The finds in these cities add further confirmation that in large cities of the Greco-Roman world voluntary associations can be found in abundance.\footnote{Other Macedonian cities with a number of important texts include Edessa (6 inscriptions), Beroea (2), Kassandreia (1), and Amphipolis (2). A possible third association inscription from Amphipolis is reported by Tod (1918-19:89-90 no. 15). It may contain a reference to an Amphipolitan club, Ὄξος Ἀλεξι[ς]θρο[π] and possibly even include the title [ἵ]ξεκούρ[το]ν, used primarily for state officials although sometimes used by an official of an association (this would be the first example from Macedonia). Unfortunately, the inscription is too poorly preserved for Tod to even attempt a transcription so we have left it out of our database.} However, finds of voluntary association inscriptions in smaller Macedonian villages confirms that voluntary associations are not simply an urban phenomenon. The widespread dispersion of our texts should come as no surprise. The provenance and date of any local collection of association inscriptions will show that Macedonia is typical.\footnote{This is the case with the large database (over 1000 inscriptions) compiled for a separate project. See note 65 above.} This is noteworthy insofar as while each region did have a diverse socio-political history, voluntary associations continued to be formed. This, of course, deserves a sociological investigation which cannot be pursued here.

In terms of dating, we want to be clear that a number of associations are attested in the second and third century CE, about the same time as we begin to find evidence for a Jewish presence in Macedonia. In the previous chapter we suggested that the late date for the Jewish inscriptions means that they should not be used as a means for understanding early Christianity in the region. Methodologically the same is true of
these later association inscriptions. However, we also have some inscriptions which come from the first century CE and earlier, and the diversity of the material suggests that associations of various types were common in Macedonia in all periods, as they were elsewhere throughout the Greco-Roman empire. For this reason, we are more confident in using them analogously for understanding Pauline community formation.

The social location of the membership of the associations, where we were able to determine such, showed that it is also consistent with evidence from elsewhere—that members predominantly come from "the urban poor, slaves, and freedmen" (Kloppenburg 1996:23). Yet, as S.G. Wilson (1996:10) points out, "this tells us only that they catered to all but an elite minority."

5.4. Conclusion

We have now come to the end of our survey of possible analogous groups for understanding the early Christian communities at Thessalonica and Philippi. We began by noting that households are at the core of many different types of groups, including Christian groups, but are not in themselves sufficient for explaining the wider community structures of these other groups. Synagogues are the most obvious choice as an analogous group for Pauline Christianity, but we showed a number of problems with using the synagogues as a model in the case of the Macedonian churches. The use of the philosophical schools and the mysteries have proved useful in a number of studies of early Christian groups, particularly for understanding some background to Paul's thinking, but fell somewhat short as comparative model for community structure.

Finally, in this chapter, we turned our attention to the voluntary associations. Having first described the essential nature of these associations we then outlined how they have been used profitably as a means to understand aspects of early Christian groups. A number of objections raised against the associations as an analogous model
were addressed, including the often perceived notion that associations are local while Christianity was translocal. Having overcome these objections we turned our attention to the existence of associations in Macedonia. Unlike the paucity of evidence for synagogues, there is significant evidence for associations in Macedonia, particularly in Thessalonica and Philippi, during the formative period of early Christianity.

An investigation of the social location of the members of these associations, as well as the types of associations, revealed that the members are generally from the lower ranks of society and in a number of cases were artisans and merchants. Since this is similar to the social location which we determined for the members of both the Thessalonian and the Philippian Christian community we are in a strong position to read 1 Thessalonians and Philippians in light of the data from the voluntary associations to see how these Macedonian Christian communities are organized like an association while at some points also taking a stance in deliberate contrast to the voluntary associations. It is to this task which we turn in chapter six.
CHAPTER 6
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

We began this study by noting that the actual local context of Macedonian has not been given sufficient attention by those studying 1 Thessalonians and Philippians. Too often assumptions about the early Christian communities at Thessalonica and Philippi are made on the basis of Acts or studies of other communities such as 1 Corinthians. After briefly surveying Macedonia generally, we turned to each of 1 Thessalonians and Philippians. A rhetorical analysis of each revealed that the social location of the audience addressed in each letter is best understood as lower rank persons, and, in the case of 1 Thessalonians, artisans. We then spent some considerable time looking at various analogous groups from antiquity which have been used generally in understanding early Christian groups. Households were seen as the basis for most types of group formation. Synagogues, however important background for much of early Christianity, are the least helpful group formation for understanding Pauline Christianity in Macedonia because of the minimal presence (if any) of Jews in the province in the first century CE. Philosophical schools are a helpful analogue for understanding much of Paul’s ministry, but are less helpful for understanding the resulting communities formed. The emphasis of the older religionsgeschichtliche Schule on finding mystery terminology in Paul’s understanding of baptism and Eucharist has rightfully been discounted, although more recent studies have proved helpful in giving background to some of Paul’s letters. However, for an investigation of the Macedonian Christian communities the voluntary associations were presented as being potentially the best analogous model, since we have evidence from Macedonia for the existence of voluntary associations from the second century BCE through the third century CE, and a survey of the social location of members of such associations reveals that they
predominantly come from the same social location as that determined for the Macedonian Christians.

Having gained a sense that there are strong reasons to suspect that the Macedonian Christian communities and the voluntary associations belong to the same broad category of community model, we need to turn again to Paul’s letters to the Macedonian Christians and read them in light of the community practices and language of the voluntary associations. Doing so will allow us to see typicalities and particularities in a new light or context that will bring a new sense to the pauline texts. Illustrating the language and practices of 1 Thessalonians and Philippians by reference to the associations will help explain both Paul’s language and, in turn, the language and structure of the communities to which he writes.¹

We want to be clear from the start that when we find analogous material in Paul’s letters and the voluntary association inscriptions we are not suggesting that this is where Paul got his ideas and languages from (the "genealogical" argument; J.Z. Smith 1990:47). Rather, we want to show how Paul’s choice of words and concepts reflects the structure and the ethos of the communities to which he writes. Although Paul founded each of the communities, the members of each must also have had a part in determining salient features of their community interaction. To presume otherwise is to presume that the Macedonians did not know how to organize clubs. This is unlikely.

We also need to be clear from the outset that at some points we will show how Paul uses concepts and language common in the associations which would resonate with Macedonian Christians in a positive manner—that is, it would serve to further Paul’s aim in supporting and encouraging the Christian life of his audiences. At other points

¹. Some of the concepts and language that we look at will have been familiar to most persons living in antiquity (what V.K.Robbins [1996a:62-63] calls the “social intertexture” of texts); however, looking at the specific use in the associations and in 1 Thessalonians and Philippians can help us uncover resonances within the texts which have previously been overlooked.
we will show that Paul’s concepts and language contrasts with that typical of the voluntary associations. Paul is aware of the voluntary associations and knows that the Macedonian Christian communities share the same discursive field as them. However, he also attempts to nuance the Macedonian’s self-understanding as groups by playing off the associations. However, in doing so Paul’s starting point is voluntary association language. Thus, we are not attempting to conclude that the Macedonian Christian communities are now to be understood simply as Christian voluntary associations, as if that would explain the two Pauline letters in toto. Rather, we are concerned to show that many of the features of the two Macedonian Christian communities find ready analogies in voluntary associations, as thus would appear to outsiders as associations and would function internally as associations.

We will begin by examining which type of voluntary association is the best analogy for each of the Christian communities. We will then turn to an analysis of the internal organization of each community and examine the group designators, the leadership structure (officials and founders), community interaction (internal relationships and concern with outsiders), and finances (dues and benefaction). In the third part we will examine the use of religious vocabulary and metaphors. Throughout this chapter we will investigate both 1 Thessalonians and Philippians together under each of the categories summarized above. This will allow us to see not only how these letters reflect salient features of the associations but also how some features of the associations are more enlightening for one letter than for the other. While we will draw on the Macedonian voluntary association inscriptions for some of our data, we will also look more widely to the language, structure, and practices of the associations throughout the Greco-Roman world.
6.1. Analogous Types of Associations

6.1.1. The Thessalonian Christian Community

In chapter three we concluded that the Thessalonian Christian community was composed primarily of "handworkers" who shared the same trade as Paul. As a group of artisans who planned to meet together regularly and participate in the worship of a deity, they would not need to search far for analogous groups on which to base their own group structure. One of the most predominant form of voluntary association in antiquity was that of the professional trade association. As we noted earlier (§5.1) there is considerable early evidence for the existence of voluntary associations formed on the basis of common occupation (cf. McLean 1995b).

Among the professional associations from antiquity we have evidence of guilds of leather-workers; for example, a first-century CE inscription from Phrygia (IGR IV 907) records honours bestowed by "the most venerable guild of leather-workers" (ἡ σεμνοτάτη συνεργασία τῶν σκυτοβυρέων). In Lydia an association of leather-workers (ἡ σύμοδος τῆς σκυτικῆς) set up an honourary inscription at a member's tomb (SEG 29.1183). At Termessus (Pisidia) a guild of leather-workers erected a statue to their benefactor (IPisidia 93). Although no leather-workers guilds are attested in Macedonia, a number of other trade associations are evident in the inscriptional record. An association of purple-dyers is found at both Thessalonica (IG X/2 291 [30]) and perhaps Philippi (IPhilippi 2 [62]). Also at Thessalonica is an association of yoke-makers (IThessalonica 3 [28]). Associations of donkey-drivers are found at Beroea

2. This was a conclusion shared by a number of scholars.

3. Guilds associated with the leather trade are also attested at Thyatira, Mitylene, Ephesos, Philadelphia (see R.J.Forbes 1966:57) and Rome and Ostia (R.J.Forbes 1966:54-55).
Had Paul preached among workers of the same trade, especially in a workshop setting, he was probably addressing men who were already members of a professional association. As such, they would have been involved in the worship of a patron deity or deities. McLean (1995b:19) points out that owing to the occasional nature of inscriptions, "one does not expect to find a description of the day to day religious life and belief of trade guilds." Nevertheless, it is clear that the professional associations were involved in the worship of some deity (Poland 1909:5-6; Duff 1938:102; Daube 1943:91; Kloppenborg 1996a:18). For the most part, a professional association would take as their patron deity a god usually associated with the resources, tools, or products of their trade. Thus, we find an association of gardeners which erected a monument to Demeter, the goddess of the earth (CIG 2082; Pessionos [Phrygia]; McLean 1993:19) and woodcutter’s guilds dedicated to Sylvanus (CIL VI 642) or the Great Mother (CIL VI 641; Kloppenborg 1996a:19). Other professional associations simply took on the name of the patron deity; e.g., "the κωνόν of the Beirut Poseidoniast wholesale merchants, shippers and receivers" (IDelos 1520; 1774; 1778; Kloppenborg 1996a:18) or the guild of dockyard porters in Smyrna, known as Asklepiastai (ISmyrna 713; McLean 1995b:19).

This context helps shed light on Paul’s comments in 1 Thess 1:9, where he conveys to the Thessalonians the report that he has heard about them from others; πῶς
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\[ \text{ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων δουλεύειν θεῷ ζω̣ντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ.} \]

In 1 Thess 1:9b-10 Paul is thought to be reciting a creedal formulation of the Christian mission to the Gentiles (Best 1972:81-87; Bruce 1982:18; Perkins 1989:326; Richard 1995:75-76; Murphy-O’Connor 1996:122). Throughout the entire passage Paul uses words and concepts in ways atypical for other pauline letters. In particular, typical Pauline formulations for expressing Christian commitment are not used; there is no mention of justification by faith, membership in Christ’s body, and redemption and reconciliation to God (Neil 1950:25). More importantly, \[ \text{ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν} \] is not typical of Paul’s expressions for "conversion" (Neil 1950:27).\(^7\)

Best (1972:87) lays out the passage according to two three-line stanzas, in each of which "the first line refers to the past, the second to the present, and the third to the future":

You turned to God from idols
to serve the living and real God
(and) to wait for his Son out of heaven
Whom he raised from the dead
Jesus who delivers us
from the approaching anger.

The suggested provenance for this creedal statement is a Jewish-Christian context which is experiencing an influx of Gentile converts. Paul uses this creed here as it encapsulates well his thoughts and fits the Thessalonians situation of the conversion of Gentiles.\(^8\)

Given this background, most interpreters of 1 Thessalonians seem to understand the second person plural in 1:9b as a reference to individual conversion experiences

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6. Πῶς should be taken not as "how," that is as a description of the method of their becoming Christian, but as "that," indicative of their having done so (Best 1972:81-82).

7. Paul is more apt to use πιστεύειν; e.g., Rom 13:11; 1 Cor 2:5; 15:2, 11; Gal 2:16.

initiated by Paul's preaching. 'Επιστρέφω literally means to "turn" or "turn back." It can be used with ethical sense of obligation to do something that one has been asked or required to do (which can be acted upon or ignored; see Moulton and Milligan 1914:246; cf. Bertram 1971:722-23) or in the religious sense of turning to a deity (Bertram 1971:722-25; Richard 1995:53). In the LXX it is found particularly in the phrase ἐπιστρέφων . . . κύριον (θεόν). Although it is rare in Paul, he does use it for conversion experiences in 2 Cor 3:16 (turning to the Lord, a citation from Exod 34:34) and in Gal 4:9 (for Christians turning back to idols). The word ἐπιστρέφω "is a suitable word to express the change from one faith to another" (Best 1972:82). As such, it is possible that Paul is referring to the collective experience of an already formed group of Thessalonians. If Paul did preach among workers of the same trade (as we have suggested) they were probably part of a professional association of "handworkers" of the same trade and were involved in "idolatrous" worship. Rather than envision a scenario in which a number of individuals were converted by

9. I found no instances in which this was expressed, but it was certainly implied in the comments of most exegetes, esp. Perkins 1989. Some, such as D.J. Williams (1992:33, 35), suggest that a confirmation of the Acts account can be found here, thus indicating individual conversions. Holtz (1986:62) suggests that one can see behind 1:9 a mission sermon with an emphasis on monotheism like that in Joseph and Aseneth, a text which focuses on the conversion of an individual.

10. For individual conversions see for example Acts 3:19; 11:21; 14:15; 15:19; 26:18. A collective conversion might be envisioned in Acts 9:35 "all the residents of Lydda and Sharon saw him, and they turned (ἐπιστρέψαντος) to the Lord."

11. Cf. R.F. Collins (1984:295) notes that in 1 Thess 1:6 (sic 1:7) Paul calls the Thessalonians an example (singular) to other churches, indicating that "[i]t is not the believing individuals as such who are cited as examples for the believers of the Grecian provinces, rather it is the belief of the church as such which is exemplary."

12. The use of εἰδώλιον is usually understood in the sense of "a phantom, a figment of the imagination" (Neil 1950:27; cf. Frame 1912:87). Certainly Paul would side with the Hebrew prophets in denouncing the worship of gods through idols (e.g., Ps 115:4-7; Isa 44:9-20; Jer 10:1-10; Neil 1950:27; cf. Frame 1912:88). But in antiquity the word does not always carry such a pejorative sense and was used often by Gentiles to describe that upon which they focused their worship as an "image" (LSJ s.v.; Moulton and Milligan 1914:183; Büchsel 1964:375-77).
Paul over time, a picture encouraged by the usual reading of Acts, we could imagine that over time Paul manages to persuade the members of the existing professional association to switch their allegiance from their patron deity or deities "to serve a living a true God." In this case 1 Thess 1:9b would be better translated "you all turned (collectively) to God from idols."

The introduction of a new deity to a collective, family-based and/or guild-based association is attested in some cases in antiquity. We may see this in the regulations of SIG 985, which recognizes that an older, more established deity (Agdistis) has been replaced by Zeus as the patron deity of the group, and is careful to acknowledge her at least in passing. The inscription opens by noting that the following regulations were given by Zeus to Dionysius in his sleep, but it notes later that "these ordinances were placed with Agdistis, the very holy guardian and mistress of this oïkos" (LL. 45-46). Soon afterwards "Saviour Zeus" (Zeû Σωτῆρ, L. 60) is invoked again. Agidistis is Phrygian manifestation of the Great Mother who was probably once the patron deity of the association but who has come to be replaced more recently by Zeus, along with Hesita and "the other saviour gods" (LL. 6-11; cf. Barton and Horsley 1981:13). There is also an instance of entire households adopting the worship of a new deity among the

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13. Not to mention the Christian history of missions in which the focus has often been on individual conversions.

14. The transformation of an existing trade association at Thessalonica is suggested by Kloppenborg (1993b:276; cf. 1993a:235). His alternative suggestion is that Paul formed a new association at Thessalonica, although he seems to lean towards the former scenario. Unfortunately, he does not pursue this line, although it is clear that the associations form the appropriate backdrop for Kloppenborg's understanding of the Thessalonian Christian community; see Kloppenborg 1993b:274-77. Cf. Evans (1969:89): "The Christian Church at its inception was another of the small associations which flourished in Thessalonica in the middle of the first century." Also Cobern (1917:674): "Wherever Paul travelled he could meet other weavers of tent cloth in fraternal fellowship, while Luke would naturally go with the physicians." While I disagree with the details of Cobern's analysis, he does suggest that Paul would be drawn to the associations in his field of work. Perkins (1989:327) is correct in noting that 1 Thess 1:9 reflects "primarily a cultic issue, not a turn toward philosophical enlightenment."

15. Zeû is reconstructed but is the clear reference from earlier in the inscription (LL. 6, 12).
Macedonian inscriptions. In IG X/2 255 [22] the worship of Isis and Sarapis is introduced into the room of the household gods, but seems quickly to have become the focus of the association.16

Old allegiances die hard, and it would take some time for former patron deities to be replaced by a new deity, if ever, since in Greek associations there would be no need for an exclusive switch—more than one deity could be worshipped. For this reason there is no clear example of a voluntary association converting en masse to the worship of a new deity accompanied by the disregarding of earlier allegiances. That the Thessalonians have done so stands out as unique—perhaps this is the reason they have been noted among other believers and that they have become a paradigm for imitation (1 Thess 1:7-9). We may also explain the lack of analogues in antiquity as a result of the aggressive missionary impulse of Pauline Christianity, with its monotheistic demands, being a unique feature in antiquity—other groups were not concerned with converting individuals or groups.17 Groups that did undertake the worship of another god often broke away from earlier deities slowly as they were not faced with the same monotheistic demands that Paul's Christianity brought with it.

We have suggested that the Thessalonian Christian community was formed from a professional association of "handworkers," perhaps tentmakers or leather-workers. If this were the case, we would expect that the group would be composed primarily of males since, generally, women would not be members of an association of artisans in a trade dominated by males (Waltzing 1895:1:348; Schmeller 1995:48; Kloppenborg


17. Goodman 1994, as summarized in chapter 4, above.
1996a:25), even if they worked in the same occupation (Pomeroy 1975:201). Most interpreters do not read 1 Thessalonians this way, but rather see the group as including both men and women.

A careful reading of 1 Thessalonians provides some indications that the Thessalonian Christian community seems to be made up primarily, if not exclusively, of men. There is no indication of women in the community, and no advice is given to women, children, or families. However, most telling is Paul’s command to each member of the community: εἰδέναι ἐκαστὸν ύμῶν τὸ ἐαυτοῦ σκέυος κτάσθαι ἐν ἁγίαις καὶ τιμῆς, μὴ ἐν πάθει ἐπιθυμίας καθάπερ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ εἰδότα τὸν θεόν, τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν τῷ πράγματι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ (4:4-6). This passage has created much difficulty for commentators. Any interpretation rests on the precise meaning of σκέυος in the context of this passage. Quite literally the word indicates "vessel, tool, utensil" (LSJ s.v.) but is probably being used euphemistically by

18. The exception might be associations formed by workers in occupations which involved women: e.g., the sociae mimae in Rome (CIL VI 10109) and the collegium cannoforum in Saepinum (CIL IX 2480), both cited in Waltzing 1895:1:348; Whelan 1993:76. Kloppenborg (1996a:25; cf. Waltzing 1895:3:348-49; Whelan 1993:76; Cotter 1994:364, esp. n. 42) points out that women could serve as patrons of all-male guilds, although they did not participate in it (citing CIL III 1207; V 4411; V 5869; IX 2687; IX 5450; XI 1356; X 7; Whelan [1993:76 n. 24] adds CIL X 810, 811, 813; see further Saavedra 1991). Honorifics given to a woman patron by an association do not necessarily indicate that she is a member in the association (Waltzing 1895:1:349). Pomeroy (1975:200) notes that women still "comprised less than five per cent of known patrons during the period of the Empire." An interesting Latin inscription from 153 CE records that a woman patron of a man's association was among those who received part of the cash generated from her foundational donation, but she was the only one "who did not take part in the drinking for which she had also paid" (Duncan-Jones 1974:280 n. 1; see ILS 7213).

19. This is particularly obvious in newer works which tend to translate ἀδελφὸς inclusively as "brothers and sisters"; see NRSV; Hainz 1972:41 n. 5, 45; McGehee 1989; Richard 1995:128 and passim; Lürrmann 1990:247. I have little doubt that Paul elsewhere uses ἀδελφὸς inclusively and support such translations. However, for the reasons given below it is better translated as "brothers" in 1 Thessalonians.

20. Although this is not the only problem in the passage; see R.F.Collins 1984:299.
Paul. Three primary interpretations have been put forth: "wife," "body," and "male genitalia."

Many commentators have taken it to mean "wife," translating τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκέυος κτᾶσθαι "to take a wife for himself" (RSV). Best (1972:161-62) suggests that Paul is advocating sexual abstinence on the part of the man in a context which allows men but not women sexual freedom. He points to rabbinic evidence that the Hebrew יְלָה, "vessel," was used for women in sexual contexts. He then takes κτᾶσθαι in the "durative sense" as indicating that "husbands are to restrict their sexual activity to their own wives and to enter on this with them in sanctification and honour" (1972:162-63). He responds to the objection that "wife" is too restrictive and suggests Paul is only writing to husbands by pointing to the Haustafeln (Col 3:18—4:1; Eph 5:21—6:9; 1 Pet 2:13—3:7) where no information is conveyed to single men. This understanding of the passage has some merit, and might indicate that only men are present in the congregation, although implicit in Best's understanding of the passage is that the women would also be present. However, it falters on several facts: (1) that it takes a view of women inconsistent with Paul's view elsewhere, (2) it presumes a more than superficial knowledge of Hebrew on that part of the Thessalonians, (3) the context in 1 Thessalonians involves sexual issues (4:3, 5) not well suited by this interpretation, and (4) it is not obvious why Paul did not simply use γυνή (Wanamaker 1990:152).

21. Other Pauline usage: Rom 9:21-23, where it is used literally and figuratively for that which God creates; 2 Cor 4:7, used of the human body; cf. 1 Tim 2:20-21, used literally and figuratively for the human person.

22. It was taken this way by Theodore of Mopsuestia and Augustine (De nuptiis 1.9; Best 1972:161); also Frame 1912:149-50; Maurer 1971:365-67; Meeks 1983:228 n. 130; R.F.Collins 1984:313; Yarbrough 1985:69-73; Holtz 1986:157-58; Malherbe 1987:51. See further those cited by R.F.Collins 1984:311-12. Bassler (1995:61) uses 1 Cor 7:36-38 as background and suggests that in 1 Thess 4:4 σκέυος refers to a virgin and indicates that the Thessalonians should stay celibate, even if betrothed to another.

23. Best (1972:162) suggests that σκέυος κτᾶσθαι reproduces the Hebrew idiom הָעַרְנָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל used of entrance into marriage (Deut 21:13; 24:1) and its continuance (Isa 54:1).
telling is Best's struggle to explain why the sentence ends with reference to "wronging a brother in this matter" which he suggests may mean sex with another Christian's wife or homosexuality (which are different contexts from the sexual practices Best illustrated at the beginning of his interpretation).

Other commentators understand σκέως to mean "body" and read "to gain mastery over his body" (NEB; NIV); "[t]he meaning 'body', influenced by Greek ideas of the body as the dwelling-place of the soul, was coming into general use about the first century A.D." (Best 1972:161).24 Best (1972:161) suggests that the problem with this reading is that κτάσθαι ("keep") in the present tense normally means "gain, acquire" which would not fit in this context—"gain one's body." However, Bruce (1982:83) points out that κτάσθαι in the perfect means "possess" but that the present infinitive used here is best translated "gain control over"; "its proper force is retained and a more natural sense is preserved for σκέως" (cf. D.J. Williams 1992:73). That natural sense, then, is body, which Bruce suggests is how Paul uses it elsewhere, particularly in 2 Cor 4:7, "we have this treasure in earthen vessels (ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκέῳσιν)" (cf. Rom 9:22, 23; Acts 9:15).

However, a number of interpreters take σκέως as more specific than merely "body." Wanamaker (1990:152) summarizes this position: "it seems better to understand σκέως as connoting the human body in its sexual aspect, that is, as a euphemism for the genitalia."25 This is how it is used as a translation for נְן in the LXX of 1 Sam 21:5, where David assures the priest of Nob that "the young men's


vessels are holy" in response to a question about whether they have kept themselves from women (see Bruce 1982:83; Best fails to cite this use). However, it is also attested in such uses in non-biblical Greek (see Maurer 1971:359; BAGD s.v.).

Donfried (1985:341-42) points to the larger cultic context of Thessalonica:

All of this suggests that Paul is very deliberately dealing with a situation of grave immorality, not too dissimilar to the cultic temptations of Corinth. Thus, Paul's severe warnings in this section, using the weightiest authorities he possibly can, is intended to distinguish the behaviour of the Thessonian Christians from their former heathen and pagan life which is still much alive in the various cults of the city.

The passage is clearly placed in the context of sexual misconduct, with Paul enclosing his words not only with references to ἀγνωσμός (4:3, 7) but also πορνεία (4:3) and ἀκαθαρσία (4:7), the latter two often used in contexts of sexual immorality (Murphy-O'Connor 1996:125; Donfried 1985:341).

This latter interpretation of σκεύος as "genitalia" seems to be the one that best takes account of the textual data, although it is clear that none of the options is without problems (R.F.Collins 1984:299, 314). However, one cannot simply assume that although the pronouns used are masculine, the instruction to control (κτάσθαι) the genitalia "would apply equally to women" (Wanamaker 1990:153). The understanding of sexuality in antiquity seems to mitigate this. In the understanding of the ancients' "ideology of sexual hierarchy" it was assumed that "at the masculine end of the scale stood strength and control, at the feminine end weakness and vulnerability"
As Dale Martin (1995:227) points out with respect to 1 Cor 7:36-38,

Paul's exclusive address to the young man thus reveals his assumption of the male-female hierarchy of strength. He addresses the one who has power, the man, and delegates to him the responsibility for doing what needs to be done in the woman's best interest (at least according to Paul's point of view). The weaker of the two, the woman, cannot be relied upon to make a decision for herself.

Women were assumed to be more easily consumed by desire and more willing to give in to it. However, control in such situations rested with the male. Due to their own physiology, women lacked the ability to control their own sexual desires. Thus, when Paul speaks of controlling the genitalia (σκεύος) it would be addressed to the males, who physiologically were thought to have the ability to do so.

Paul's injunction against wronging a brother in "this matter" (τῷ πρᾶγματι, 4:6) is also difficult to interpret. Most suggest that in this context it refers to sexual relationships with another Christian's wife. However, the larger context of πορνεία (4:3) has created interpretive problems—why does Paul suddenly restrict the meaning here? We might be better advised to understand the entire passage in the context of a purity regulation; one by which the Thessalonians have agreed to live and of which Paul reminds them of (4:1-2). Paul is not narrowing his concern to adultery with another's wife, but placing the call for sexual control among men within the boundaries

29. For the arguments that this is a continuation of Paul's discussion of sexual ethics and not the introduction of a new topic concerned with business dealings see Wanamaker 1990:154-56; Bruce 1982:84-85; D.J.Williams 1992:74. This alternative interpretation rests on arguments that πρᾶγμα indicates commerce or business, which it does, "in the plural, but never in the singular, which is used here" (Best 1972:166). For a summary of the debate see R.F.Collins 1984:317-19.
30. So Yarbrough 1985:76; R.F.Collins 1984:319. However, as Bassler (1995:65) points out, Paul does use words elsewhere for adultery (μοιχεία, μοιχός). However, I find her suggestion that the reference is to the wooing of woman committed to a celibate relationship with another less compelling (Bassler 1995:65).
of the sexual purity the group members are to abide by to remain part of the group and

to avoid the wrath of God (4:6b, 8).

In the regulations of an association of Zeus (\textit{SIG}^3 985, Philadelphia [Lydia], I
BCE) a male association member must only have sexual relations with his wife. Failure
to follow this will result in severe penalties for both the man and the woman involved:

Woman and man, whoever does any of the things written above, let him not enter
this \textit{oikos}. For great are the gods set up in it: they watch over these things, and
will not tolerate those who transgress the ordinances.

A free woman\textsuperscript{31} who does not restrict her sexual practices to her husband faces even
stiffer penalties; not only is she "defiled and full of endemic pollution" she is
"unworthy to reverence this god" and barred from the rituals. Failure to obey brings
about

evil curses from the gods for disregarding these ordinances. For the god does not
desire these things to happen at all, nor does he wish it, but he wants obedience.
The gods will be gracious to those who obey, and always give them all good
things, whatever gods give to men they love.

The retribution of the gods on those who disobey are similar to (in fact, harsher
than) Paul's warnings in 1 Thess 4:6b, 8. In both cases, the concern is not with
personal sexual purity in and of itself but with the larger implications for the
community to which the transgressor belongs. In the inscription sexual indiscretion
seems to affect adversely the rituals while in 1 Thessalonians it remains less specified.
It does seem to involve "honour" (\textit{τιμή}) which might also be connected with the
concern to "command the respect of outsiders" (4:12), as honour was always ascribed
by how a person was perceived by others. The transgression of one member of the
Christian community in the area of sexual ethics could have larger implications for the
entire group; Paul calls each of the members to sexual control. While the latter part of
this argument need not necessarily point to an all-male association, our earlier

\textsuperscript{31} That a free woman is specified is probably a recognition that a female slave would have little control
over how her master treated her. The association is open to "men and women, free people and slaves."
contention that it involved sexual control of the penis suggests that Paul is addressing a group of males, not a gender inclusive group.32

As a further indication of the gender makeup of the Thessalonian community we might look to the term ἀδελφός, which is used more times as a term of address in 1 Thessalonians than in any other letter of Paul, with the exception of 1 Corinthians, despite the brevity of this letter (R.F.Collins 1993:86).33 The word literally means "sons of the same mother" (LSJ s.v.). Although it can be used inclusively (as it clearly is in Philippians), there is no clear indication in 1 Thessalonians that must be taken this way. In fact, the lack of any reference to women suggests that it could be taken as referring to males.

Although he provides no direct evidence himself, Plummer (1918a:19) asserts that ἀδελφός is commonly used for members of voluntary associations.34 As an illustration, we have an interesting inscription from an association of masons from mid-first century CE Rough Cilicia (TAM Suppl IV 201) which lists the names of a number of unrelated men35 who have joint shares in a tomb which belongs to a κοινόν. Their regulations stipulate:

32. Even the understanding of κτησθαι αδελφός as "procure a wife" can be interpreted as indicative of a male only association, although we see this as a less likely understanding of 1 Thess 4:3-6 (cf. Kloppenborg 1993a:236 n. 84). Even less likely is Lührmann's contention (1990:247) that Gal 3:28 is a "basic formula for the communities founded by Paul," which leads him to argue that Paul's injunction in 1 Thess 4:4 deals with the body in general, "neither male nor female," and must be directed to both men and women in the congregation. McGehee's re-reading of 1 Thess 4:4 with reference to "body" seems to me to be predicated on an assumption that Paul is speaking to a mixed gender congregation (1989, esp. 88).

33. The vocative ἀδελφός is used fourteen times in the letter: 1:4; 2:1, 9, 14, 17; 3:7; 4:1, 10, 13; 5:1, 4, 12, 14, 25. In the much longer 1 Cor the vocative is used twenty times.

34. Plummer has probably overstated the case as it is not a particularly common designation (cf. Kloppenborg 1996b:259; Harnack 1908:1:405-06 n. 1). Nevertheless, there is evidence for its use in associations; see Poland 1909:56; Bömer 1958:72-78; Deissmann 1901:88; Moulton and Milligan 1914:9.

35. The exception being two of the ten who are named as sons of the same father.
Now if any brother should wish to sell his share, the remaining brothers shall buy it. If the brothers do no wish to buy the share, then let them take the aforementioned cash, and let them (all) withdraw from the association."

This is a clear, mid-first century CE example of ἀδελφός used of men in an association. Another example comes from third century BCE Manshiyeh, where members of an association of Dionysiac artists are named as ἄδελφοι (OGIS 51; cf. OGIS 50) although it is clear that they are not relatives. In P.Paris 42 (II BCE) it is used of members of a religious association formed within the Serapeum at Memphis (Moulton and Milligan 1914:9; cf. P.Tor I.1.20, II BCE). In Latin inscriptions one also finds reference to members of associations as fratres (CIL VI 377, 406, 7487, 10681, 21812; see Kloppenborg 1993a:216 n. 17).

If we understand the Thessalonian Christian community as a predominantly male (workers) community, then we must explain the use of familial language in 1 Thessalonians, for, as Malherbe (1995:116-25) has shown, Paul draws on familial

36. The men named earlier in the inscription are not the entire κοινόν, just those who have a share in one particular tomb of the κοινόν. The regulation suggests that should one of these men withdraw the others must "buy-out" his share unless a replacement can be found. If they do not, they must withdraw (as a group) from the larger κοινόν, each receiving the stated amount of cash. However, the tomb remains the property of the κοινόν, which is not disbanded.

37. The association is dedicated to the Twin Gods (θεοῖς ἀδελφοῖς = the Dioscuri) as well as Dionysos. The Dioscuri were seen as prime examples of brotherly affection (Kloppenborg 1993b:285, 287).

38. Secondary support for the Thessalonian Christian community as a predominantly male group comes from Paul’s use of φίλαδελφία in 1 Thess 4:9-12 (see further Kloppenborg 1993b:265-89). The Thessalonians seem to have "expressed some puzzlement about the ways in which φιλαδελφία ought to be expressed, and particularly about the limits and possible abuse of quasi-familial solidarity" (Kloppenborg 1993b:274). Paul clarifies it by evoking the Dioscuri as a paradigm for φιλαδελφία, as they were held up by many as the best example of this virtue (Kloppenborg 1993b:282-87; for evidence that the Dioscuri would be familiar to the Thessalonians see Kloppenborg 1993b:286-87 and further Hendrix 1984:148-50). These twin brothers illustrated the need for familial solidarity and selfless sharing if a group is to remain cohesive. However, since φιλαδελφία can be used of males or females (see Kloppenborg 1993b:272 n. 31), it does not in itself show that the Thessalonians were an exclusively male group, although it does supply secondary support for the contention.
language in 1 Thessalonians. Paul makes use of metaphors such as a wet nurse taking care of her own children (2:7), a father with his children (2:11), and an orphan (2:17). However, in each of these cases the relationship exists between Paul and the Thessalonians, not the Thessalonians themselves. They are "intended to strengthen the bond between Paul and his readers" (Malherbe 1995:122). In fact, Malherbe's analysis seems to conclude that "God's new family in Thessalonica" is a family of brothers.40

However, this familial language might suggest to some that the basis for the Thessalonian congregation is the household (so R.F.Collins 1993:29-30) and thus the congregation is mixed. Collins then suggests that, "[i]t was not only in the leather worker's shop that Paul proclaimed the gospel of God; he also did so in Christian homes, where he and his companions acted as mother and father toward the Thessalonian Christians" (1993:30). However, as Collins himself (1993:30) points out, Paul does not refer explicitly to a home in 1 Thessalonians. In fact, to support the household connection Collins immediately refers to works that have used other Pauline texts that illustrate the household basis for Pauline community foundation.41 In 1

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39. One need not look far for familiarity with wet-nurses and nursing mothers as they would be a part of most households in antiquity. Our question is whether there is any connection with associations. There is, but it is not particularly a strong one. As we saw earlier, the Dionysiac cult was strong at Thessalonica and there were a number of voluntary associations that took Dionysos as their patron deity (IG X/2 503 [24]; 244 [27]; 261 [32]; 506 [37]; 260 [41]; perhaps 65 [38]). We know that in the Dionysiac mysteries the women attendants who represented the divine women were referred to as "nurses" (Donfried 1985:338-40; also summarized in Perkins 1989:329).

40. Malherbe does not say that the Thessalonian church is gender exclusive, but his choice of "brother" throughout the latter part of the article would indicate this.

41. Collins (1993:86) also points to Paul's use of oikodōμέω ("building upon"); "founding upon") in 5:11, a word commonly used for the erection of a building (it is also used metaphorically for "strengthen" or "build up" with reference to a community but not a household; Wannaker 1990:189). He attempts to tie this in to the idea that the core of Thessalonian church is a household. However, "building a house" is different than "living in a household" (οικέω) or "managing a house" (oikonoméω), the latter being more appropriate themes for addressing households. In fact, "building" relates more to tradespeople than to householders (cf. CIG 3467 [Sardis, Lydia, IV/V CE], a professional association of oikodōμου). This returns us to the purview of the trade associations rather than the household (or even household based associations).
Thessalonians itself the "familial" language is almost exclusively ἀδελφος. Thus, there is little in Paul’s language of community relationships to persuade us that the analogy of an all male workers association is inappropriate for the nascent Thessalonian Christian community.42

Professional associations often had as one of their concerns the burial of their own members. For example, the association of purple-dyers at Thessalonica erected a marble stele with a relief of the Thracian horseman and an inscription in memory of one of their members (IG X/2 291 [30]). The association of silversmiths at Kalambaki (near Philippi) set up a funerary stele for one of their members (IKalambaki 1 [56]). The associations of Asiani at Thessalonica, who are probably merchants, set up at least three memorial inscriptions for members (IThessalonica 2 [29]; IG X/2 309 [33]; 480 [34]). Finally, we might mention the association of sailors who insured the burial of their ship’s captain when they docked at Thessalonica (although he was from Amastris, on the Black Sea; IThessalonica 1 [21]).

In 1 Thessalonians, a concern about the passing away of members has been brought to Paul’s attention (4:13-18). It seems as though the death of some members took those remaining by surprise. One could argue that the concern over the dead arose because the Thessalonians were a voluntary association and therefore involved in burying their dead members and honouring their memory. Paul, in effect, "interfered" with their usual practice with his initial preaching of the immediate return of Jesus. However, the promised appearance of Jesus has failed to materialize for some members, who have already died, and those remaining alive are now worried that death

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42. 1 Thessalonians is Paul’s earliest letter, probably written fairly soon after his founding of the Christian community. Our suggestion should not preclude the later expansion of the Thessalonian Christian community to include the wives and children of the men, along with men and women not involved in their particular trade.

43. The Asiani were worshipers of Dionysos, a cult whose members made the hope of a joyous afterlife central and symbolized it through the phallus (as is seen at Thessalonica); see Donfried 1985:337.
has excluded the others from participating in the parousia of Christ. This "misunderstanding" was probably precipitated by Paul's own preaching at Thessalonica (see further Plevnik 1975:202-03). Paul was required to address this problem, and did so by promising participation of the dead as well as the living in the Parousia of Christ (1 Thess 4:13-18). Thus, the Thessalonians could return to the practice of burying dead members, but with greater hope for the future than that usually expressed on the tombstones of the deceased in antiquity.

6.1.2. The Philippian Christian Community

The social makeup of the Christian community at Philippi was quite different than that at Thessalonica with respect to gender. Within the Philippian congregation it is clear that both men and women were members. That Paul's use of ἄδελφος is inclusive (Phil 1:12, 14; 3:1, 13, 17; 4:1, 8, 21) is seen in his reference by personal name to both men (Epaphroditus, Clement?; cf. "yoke-fellow") and women (Euodia, Syntyche) who are members of the Christian community. Although there is a paucity of women in professional associations, this is not the case for the religious associations of antiquity, where women were not only members but also served as leaders. It is these religious associations that prove to be the best analogue for understanding the Philippian mixed gender group.

44. A further worry that perhaps the living have missed participating in the parousia is addressed by Paul in 1 Thess 5:1-11.

45. The after-life benefits for the Thessalonians clearly include resurrection from the dead at the return of Jesus. This is in contrast to the many tombstone inscriptions from antiquity which reflect a pessimistic view of the after-life (see for example Pfohl 1966 nos. 10, 14, 17, 22). It is such as these that Paul is referring to in 4:13 as "those who have no hope" (Perkins 1989:332; cf. Malherbe 1989b:64-66).
Women played an active role as members in religious associations. Women played an active role as members in religious associations. A number of religious associations seem to have been composed exclusively of women. Steading (1895:4:205) cites five collegia mulierum (CIL V 2072; VI 10423; XI 5223; IX 4697; VI 2239) to which he adds an association of cervae (CIL III 1303; Steading 1895:4:256). RIG 993 (43 BCE) records the decree of an association (κωμόν) of priestesses of Demeter at Mantinea (Arcadia). An honorific inscription set up in memory of Apollonis in Kyzikos (1 CE) indicates that she was a member of an association composed exclusively of women, designated as the "Pythaistrides" (see Horsley 1987:10-17). A fragmentary inscription from Alexandria, Egypt, records the dedication of a black granite statue by an association of women; [τῷ Ἀπολλώνιῳ κυκή γυναικίᾳ [συνόδῳ] ἐκ κωμόν (IAlexandria(K) 70; early 1 CE), which the editor suggests may be a woman's chapter of an Apollonian association (Kaysar 1994:226; cf. I Alexandria(K) 65). In Macedonia I Philippi 10 [70] records a dedication by a "thiasos of the distinguished maenads" (thiasus Maenadarum regiarum), indicative of an all female association.

Kloppenborg notes (1996a:25) that "[t]he most inclusive type of voluntary association was probably the collegium organized around the cult of a deity" citing the formulaic description of SIG3 985 (Philadelphia, II BCE), "men and women, freeborn

46. In addition, we might also note that women could also found or benefit from such associations without being members; see for example, IG IV 840 (Kalauria [Peloponnesus], III-1 BCE); IG IV 841 (Kalauria, III BCE); Foucart 1873 no. 51 (Rhodes), no. 55 (Citium [Cyprus], II/I BCE); IDelos 1522 (II CE); see further Poland 1909:293-96. On women's patronage of professional associations; see note 18, above. Some groups restricted women to serving as priestesses (see Poland 1909:292-93, 95) and did not grant them full membership in the association (contra some of the examples given by Foucart 1873:6).

47. The other two cited we noted earlier as professional associations composed of women; CIL VI 10109; IX 2480.

48. Perhaps the same group is also responsible for I Philippi 9 [69] as it is dedicated to the same trio of deities (Liber and Libera and Hercules) and is set up under the auspices of a woman, Pomponia Hilara.
and slaves" (LL. 5-6, repeated LL. 48-49).\textsuperscript{49} The regulations of the private association worshipping Men Tyrannos (\textit{IG} \textsuperscript{II} 1366 [Attica, II/III CE]) also indicates that women participated in the rites alongside the men. One of the most important examples of the involvement of woman in an association occurs in the regulations of the mysteries of Andania (\textit{IG} V/1 1390, 96 BCE)\textsuperscript{50} where we find evidence for women at all levels of the association: initiates, officers overseeing the ceremonies, priestesses, virgins, and the wife of the founder/patron who shares in some of his honours. An inscription from Thera (Foucart 1873 no. 55 =IApamBith 35, imperial period) attests to an association of men and women (\textit{οι θιασῖται καὶ θιασίτιδες}) who have sacrificed to the gods on behalf of their priestess.\textsuperscript{51}

A number of membership lists from associations also make it clear that women were involved independent of their husband or fathers:\textsuperscript{52} for example, \textit{IG} \textsuperscript{II} 2347 (Salamine, second half IV BCE) lists three women along with twenty-five men; \textit{IG} \textsuperscript{II} 1297 (Athens, c. 237 BCE) lists twenty-one women and thirty seven men; \textit{IG} \textsuperscript{II} 2354 (Athens, late III BCE) lists at least nine women among the 23 members of \textit{τὸ κοινὸν ἔρανιστῶν}.\textsuperscript{53} The large household based Dionysiac \textit{θίασος} that moved from Lesbos to Rome around 150 CE lists 402 members who contributed to the erecting of a statue of

\textsuperscript{49} Whelan (1993:75 n. 20) makes the same point using this inscription but does not cite the formula. Instead she misunderstands the name Agdistas (L. 46) as the name of woman of distinction; it is actually the name given to a deity, a Phrygian manifestation of the Great Mother; cf. Barton and Horsley 1981:13.

\textsuperscript{50} Meyer 1987:51-59 provides a translation of this lengthy text.

\textsuperscript{51} Foucart (1873:6) suggests that the \textit{θιασίτιδες} are a separate section of a larger association ("elles formaient une section distincte").

\textsuperscript{52} As indicated by the fact that they are not identified with reference to such (cf. unpublished comment by John S. Kloppenborg on \textit{IG} \textsuperscript{II} 1297).

\textsuperscript{53} It is not clear that all the members are women; \textit{contra} Foucart (1873:6). Ziebarth (1896:143) and Poland (1909:292) suggest that thirteen are women. This is likely, as it would also divide the membership list in two between the thirteenth and fourteenth name, the latter ten names being male.
their patron and priestess (McLean 1993:240-45). Among these names twenty-seven percent are women (110 names). McLean (1993:262) notes that the statue includes only those names of people who made a financial contribution to the statue. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that more women than men are omitted since women generally had lesser economic means.

Another second century Bacchic θίασος also seems to include both men and women as it mentions a male founder (Amandos) and a Maenad, the overseer of a college of women (IG IX/1 670; Physkos). A number of Latin inscriptions also list both men and women as members of the association (see Waltzing 1895:4:256): CIL III 870 (Napoca Bacchic association, 17 women and 27 men); III 7437 (Nicopolis Bacchic association, several women among 109 men); VI 261 (Roman Bacchic association); VI 377; V 992 (= 8307). 54

That women could be full members of associations as is also seen in two grave inscriptions from Boetia. 55 IG VII 687 (ca. 200 BCE) reads 'Ιππόμαξη | χήρη' | οὖτον ἔθαψαν | τῷ Ἀθηναίστῃ. ΠΙ.ΙΧ.ΙΕ ("Farewell Hippomache. Buried by the Athenaistai"). Similarly IG VII 688 (after 175 BCE) reads 'Ελπίς | ταύτην ἔθαψεν ἡ σύνοι δός τῶν Ἀθηναίστων ("Elpis. The association of the Athenaistai buried her"). 56

54. Waltzing (1895:4:256-57) also notes the presence of women in youth associations, two of which may be composed entirely of females; see CIL X 5907 and Waltzing 1895:3 no. 2334.3. He also points out an unknown type of association of slaves which includes five or six women (CIL II 5812; Waltzing 1895:4:256).

55. Cf. also IGR 796 (Apama [Phrygia], n.d.) records that a mother had a tomb made for her son, the president of the market-centre merchants (ἐποριάρχης), and for herself and that the members (συμβωταί) helped her with it. Although it is unclear whether she was also a member of the association, it does seem that she had some relationship to the group.

56. See also the lists of Waltzing (1895:255-56) and Whelan (1993:75 n. 21) which give extensive examples taken from so-called funerary collegia. Cf. Liebenam 1890:173-74. Those whose taxonomy includes three types of associations, professional, religious, and funerary, often cite the funerary associations as the exception in the inclusion of women; e.g., "sind Sklaven und Frauen eher in römischen als griechischen und eher in religiösen (besonderes Begräbnis-) als in Berufsvereinen anzutreffen" (Schmeller 1995:48 [my emphasis], summarizing most earlier studies). However, in the previous chapter we sided with Kloppenborg (1996a:20-23) that this separate designation does not exist and thus we need a re-evaluation of the place of women in the associations. Since most of those designated as "funerary" which include women are similar to "religious" associations, this opens the way for broadened understanding of the place of women in these associations.
Private associations dedicated to the worship of Isis and Sarapis were inclusive of women. *IG II² 1292* (Athens, 215/14 BCE) names a woman as the head (*προερευνίστρια*) of both the male and female members of a private association of Sarapiastai (see Heyob 1975:105; Dow 1937:194-95; Foucart 1873:6). Two private associations on Delos involved women: *IG XI/4 1216-1222* (III/II BCE) names a woman as a member of an association of therapeutai (Heyob 1975:106); *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν δεκαδιστῶν καὶ δεκαδιστριῶν (IG XI/4 1227)* before 166 BCE lists among its members seven women and nine men. A first century BCE inscription from Eretria attests to an association of navarchs⁵⁷ dedicated to the Egyptian gods in which women were members; *SIRIS* 80 lists forty-five women and fifty men as members.⁵⁸ An undated inscription from Rome lists among the members of an association of melanephors⁵⁹ a freedwoman named Marcia Salvia (*CIL VI* 24627 = *SIRIS* 426; Heyob 1975:107).

A few of the Macedonian associations attest to women members. In *IPydna* 1 [15] three women are named among the thirty one men as members of the association (*οἱ συνελθόντες θησευτοί*) of Zeus Hypsitos (Aurelia Sabina, Aurelia Parthenope, Aurelia Atheno).⁶⁰ The tomb epigram of IAmpipolis 1 [50] makes it clear that men and women are members in the Dionysiac association (Nilsson 1957:8). Finally, a private association dedicated to Sarapis is founded in Opus by a man but established in

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⁵⁷. "The navarchs were connected to the feast of *ploiaphesia*, though precisely how seems uncertain" (Heyob 1975:106); see further Vidman 1970:76-87.

⁵⁸. Another inscription, *SIRIS* 81 repeats four names from *SIRIS* 80 while *SIRIS* 82 records the dedication of a stele to the Egyptian gods by four persons, one of whom is a women. These inscriptions are summarized in Heyob (1975:106) who indicates that they are connected to the association of navarchs.

⁵⁹. Another type of association dedicated to the Egyptian gods, distinguished from others by the wearing of black garments in order to identify themselves with the mourning Isis; Heyob 1975:107.

⁶⁰. Cf. *IBeroea* 1 [11] may be a dedication of a female slave to Zeus Hypsistos; see Appendix I.
the ὀἶκος of a woman, with the administration of the mysteries and initiations falling to a succession of women (IG X/2 255 [22]; Thessalonica, ca. I CE).

Foucart (1873:6) may be overly optimistic in his assessment that such examples "suffiront d’autant plus que, même dans les cérémonies du culte public, une part considérable était accordée ou réservée aux femmes." Dow’s conclusion (1937:194 n. 47; cf. Poland 1909:296, 98; Schmeller 1995:48; Kloppenborg 1996a:25) that "[w]omen had only a meager share in cult societies generally all over the Greek world in all periods" is true enough when one looks at the proportion of male involvement to female involvement. Yet women had almost no share in the political process generally, in the same way that most lower rank men were not given such opportunities. That the women had any involvement at all, especially in mixed gender associations, is significant insofar as such associations provided a location in which they could participate more fully in collective life than was usually allowed them in the Greek and Roman cities and villages.61 The ratio of men to women involved in the associations should not obscure from view that it was common for women to be involved in associations.62

All this shows that it is possible to understand the Philippian Christian community as a mixed gender group and still use the voluntary associations as an analogue for understanding how they may have understood themselves and for investigating the context for Paul’s letter to them. However, it is better to designate the Philippians as a religious association rather than a professional association, since it is among the religious associations that we find a mixing of the genders. As a religious association it

61. Heyob’s comment on the Egyptian cults generally is true also for the associations: "The fact that women did participate in the religion even to the small extent that they did is in itself significant, however, since their participation in the Greek and Roman religions was very narrowly limited."

62. Below we will detail the presence of women in the various cults at Philippi more generally; here we have been concerned to show their participation in religious voluntary associations.
is clear that it would be dedicated to a God who is made known through the Saviour Jesus Christ. This particular aspect of the religious life of the community is worth comparing to the practices of religious associations at Philippi and in Macedonia more generally.

In Phil 3:20 Paul refers to Jesus as σωτήρ. Since this is the only time in the genuine letters that Paul ascribes this epithet to Jesus, its significance might be sought in the context of Philippi. The title is used of various saviour figures in the LXX (including humans and YHWH; Fohrer 1971). Many interpreters look to the LXX as the appropriate background for Paul's use (Michael 1928:182-83; Hawthorne 1983:171; O'Brien 1991:462-63; U.B. Müller 1993:181; Fee 1995:381). Yet this is unlikely to have been the most apparent referent for the Philippians, who would not know the LXX.

A more immediate context for understanding σωτήρ within Greco-Roman culture was its application to the gods. We find such use in the inscriptions from voluntary associations. Among the inscriptions connected to the associations of Zeus/Theos Hypsistos we have examples of the title. For example, we have a first century CE

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63. It is not a common title in the New Testament. There are only twenty-three other occurrences, ten in the Pastoral epistles, five in 2 Peter, two in Acts, and one each in Luke, John, Ephesians, 1 John, Jude. A much more common title for Christ is κύριος. O'Brien (1991:462 n. 119) points out that the lack of the definite article suggests that σωτήρ is to be understood in a descriptive sense rather than as a title, although in the following note he admits that it would also have been heard as a title. Others suggest that it is used as a title; Collange 1979:140; Hawthorne 1983:169; Fee 1995:380-81 n. 23. Some commentators point to the closest parallel in Paul being ὁ βασίλευς in 1 Thess 1:10; Gnilka 1980:207; U.B. Müller 1993:181.

64. Fee (1995:381) suggests that Paul's audience was familiar with the use of σωτήρ in the contexts of both Emperor worship and the LXX; the latter is more unlikely.

65. This would also include the Emperor, who is frequently referred to as "Saviour" among his many titles, as were the Ptolemies in Egypt (Moulton and Milligan 1914:621; Foerster 1971; Nock 1972e; cf. Scramuzza 1940:261-66). The cult of the Emperor is particularly well attested at Thessalonica (cf. Hendrix 1984). It is not as prominent at Philippi, although some interpreters use Thessalonica as a context for understanding σωτήρ in Philippians (Witherington 1994:100; cf. Michael 1928:183). Further on the Emperor cult at Philippi see Bormann 1994:41-60.
votive offering from Thessalonica dedicated to "Theos Hypsistos, Great Saviour" (Θεῶ Τϊψίστω υ μεγίστω σωτηρί; IG X/2 67 [16]). From elsewhere we have plentiful evidence for patron deities of voluntary associations bearing the title Saviour, especially Zeus (SIG³ 985; IG Π² 1291; IG IV 840; 841; LSAM 56; 65) and Sarapis and Isis (IG XI/4 1299). There is also inscriptional evidence from various locales for associations called "Soteriastai"; τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σωτηριωστῶν, IG Π² 1343 (Athens, 37/36 BCE); IG XII/1 161 (Rhodes); Foucart 49 (Rhodes). The patron deity seems to have been Soteria (Σωτηρία; see IG Π² 1343 LL. 24, 40). In a decree of a Piraean ἔρανος we find the mention of the "sacred rites of Zeus Soter (Διὸ Σωτηρί) and of Heracles and of the Saviours (τῶν Σωτηρίων)" (IG Π² 1291), while SIG³ 985 (Philadelphi; I BCE) names Zeus and Hestia and "the other saviour gods" (τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Σωτ[ήρων], LL. 6-11) and later invokes "Saviour Zeus" (Zeivalence, L. 60).66

Some of the Macedonian associations seem to have adopted as a patron deity the heroized Thracian Horseman (Papazoglou 1988a:205; cf. 540 n. 106; see IG X/2 291 [30]; CIL III 704 [52]; IMakedD 920 [55]; IPhilippi 3 [63]). The cult of the Thracian Horseman was one of the more popular of the indigenous cults in Macedonia, expressed primarily on funeral stelae.67 The iconography of this deity presents him on a horse, riding at full gallop, usually charging a wild animal such as a boar or a wolf with his spear (Casson 1926:249).68 The cult of the Thracian Horseman was particularly important at Philippi, where we find a nearby sanctuary along with

66. Barton and Horsley (1981:27) note that the focus of this association is on present "this worldly" salvation.


68. He was probably originally identified with the Thracian hero Rhesos, who fought in the Trojan war (Casson 1926:248).
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numismatic evidence (see Pilhofer 1995:33-34). In Among the many epithets of this deity is the title "Saviour" (see CCET I no. 10). In Macedonia the cult of the Thracian Horseman was affected by local belief in an afterlife which represented the dead as heroes (Papazoglou 1988a:205). In fact, it may be that non-domestic slaves and freedmen in Macedonia "chose to be buried under the auspices of the Horseman/Hero, in hopes of an afterlife that was better than their earthly life" (Abrahamsen 1989b:65; cf. Collart 1937:423). Some slaves may have formed associations to express these hopes (Abrahamsen 1989b:65).

Although Paul's use of the epithet Saviour arguably derived from his knowledge of the LXX, among persons familiar with the use of this ascription for deities worshipped in associations it would have been rhetorically effective in a different way. Since hope for a better afterlife is the context in which Paul uses this title in Philippians, the title would have underscored this hope. Overall, this suggests that ascribing to the Philippian Christian community the designator "religious association" is entirely appropriate.

69. Pilhofer (1995:33) records the discovery near Philippi of a sanctuary to the Thracian Horseman, bearing the name Hero Auloneites, which dates to the Hellenistic period but was especially thriving in the time of the early Roman empire (cf. Pilhofer 1995:93-100). This may be connected to the association attested in Abdera, Thrace, not far from Philippi. For the latter see Poland 1909:223 and B66 = CIL III Suppl. 7378.

70. Collart 1937:427; Kazarow 1918:1141. The Thracian horseman also carried the title ἐπηκοος ("he who answers prayer"; see Hampartumian 1979:17); cf. the references to prayer in Philippians and the obvious θεός and κύριος.

71. Often the word ἱπωσ is added to the various epitaphs he is given.

72. Abrahamsen (1988:51) notes that the workmanship on most of the Thracian Horseman inscriptions is simple, making it "fairly certain that they were used among the lower and middle strata." Upper rank men seem to have favoured a banqueting scene on their grave monument (Abrahamsen 1989b:64).

73. Further evidence that this is a deliberate use of the epithet is suggested by the fact that in its context (Phil 3:18-21) Paul is directly countering the social practices of some voluntary associations, as we will argue below.
The extensive evidence for the connections between associations and the deceased in Philippi (and Macedonia more generally) leads Beare (1959:9) to conclude that, "[w]hen Paul came to Philippi, he would find ready hearers for a gospel of resurrection from the dead, and life eternal." Beare (1959:9) calls these associations "burial-clubs" as does Perdrizet (1900:318), who points out that it is interesting to note the large number of funerary associations at Philippi, the first European city in which Christianity took root. In both cases they seem to indicate that the associations at Philippi are similar to the Roman *collegia funeriticia*. However, that they should be designated as such is not at all clear. Many religious and professional associations took care of the burial of their members without having that as a primary focus of their corporate life. In the case of most of the Macedonian associations, an existing religious association is benefacted (or founded) in order to commemorate the deceased after he or she has passed away. This is not the same as insuring a proper burial for the deceased and thus these associations should not be understood as funerary associations.

In fact, in an earlier discussion we agreed with Kloppenborg (1996a:20-22) that associations which were formed for the sole purpose of burial of members probably did not exist before the second century CE, and even then "funerary" association was a fiction of Roman law makers. The frequent mention of associations in burial contexts is a result of associations constituted for professional or religious reasons also taking care of the burial of their own members. It may also be the case that others have commissioned an association to carry out certain rites at their tomb, although this was not the principal *raison d'être* of the association.

Many of the association inscriptions with funerary contexts indicate that the association was involved in a festival known as the *rosalia*74—from Philippi and its

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74. On the *rosalia* see Perdrizet 1900; Poland 1909:511-13; Collart 1937:474-85; Hoey 1937:22-30; Picard and Avezou 1914:53-62. The festival was popular throughout the Roman empire (Phillips 1996). Poland notes that the evidence for associations involved with the *rosalia* comes primarily from Bithynia in Asia Minor and around Thessalonica and Philippi "*in Thrace" (sic; see 1909:511).
surrounding area we have *CIL* III 703 [51], 704 [52], 707 [53]; *IMakedD* 920 [55]; *IPhilippi* I [61], 3 [63]). Many *viciani* (associations formed of members of a particular village) also participated in the celebration of the *rosalia* or *parentalia*\(^7^5\) at the tomb of the deceased (Collart 1937:479-80). The *rosalia* is also mentioned in a Thessalonian inscription; in *IG X/2* 260 [41] a priestess of a *θίασος* bequeathstwo plethra of grapevines to insure that festivities involving rose crowns are conducted.\(^7^6\)

In Italy the rose played a significant role in the funeral cult—the Italians called their feasts of dead the *rosalia*, or "day of roses."\(^7^7\) Since there is little evidence that the connection between roses and funerary practices was indigenous to Macedonia or Thrace before the coming of the Romans, it is probable that when the Italian colonists came to Macedonia they brought many of their own practices and beliefs with them, including the *rosalia*. Since Macedonia was famous for its roses (Edson 1948:169; Picard and Avezou 1914:53-54)\(^7^8\) it is no surprise that the *rosalia* was easily imported by the Italian settlers.\(^7^9\)

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75. The *parentalia* occurred for nine days in February (13-21). Temples were closed and marriages did not take place. The days were taken up with private celebrations to the family dead. The final day was a public ceremony called the Feralia in which a household made offerings at the graves of its deceased members (see further Rose 1970a, 1970b). The *parentalia* is found in *CIL* III 656 [75] from Selian. Also from Selian: *Aliuaibes Zei| pa Ali (filius) uxori ter| iiae suae fecit an(no) X o(bitae). | Secus, Firmi | | filia, reliquit vicani| bus (!) Satricenis X | CXL | ut m(anibus) i(nferis) decimo ka| landas parentetur (Collart 1937:474-75 n. 3 no. 7).

76. Perdrizet (1900:323) points to a large sarcophagus from Thessalonica (now in the Louvre) on the lid of which a man and wife are shown in repose. The wife holds in her hand a crown of roses. See further bibliography in Perdrizet 1900:323 nn. 1 and 2.

77. The roses symbolized the return of "la belle saison" when the earth seems to burst into life.

78. On the making of rose crowns in Macedonia see Theophrastus, *de Causis Plant.* 1.13.11 (Dion), *Hist. Plant.* 6.6.4 (the region around Philippi), and Herodotus 8.138.1 (below the eastern slopes of the Bermion range); see McLean 1995b:12 n. 100.

79. However, it is interesting to note that although the Italian *rosalia* is celebrated, the Thracian Horseman often decorates the tombstones in Macedonian villages (Perdrizet 1900:320), obviously suggesting synchronistic funerary practices (see *IPhilippi* 3 [63], *IMakedD* 920 [55], and *CIL* III 704 [52]).
The *rosalia* took place at the end of the spring (May), when roses were in bloom. The particular day seems to have been the choice of the family or of the association (Perdrizet 1900:300). On the chosen day each family, sometimes accompanied by members of an association, visited tombs of their dead, decorating it with roses, and participating in a solemn banquet, and perhaps offering a burnt sacrifice (Trebilco 1991:80; Papazoglou 1988a:206). Rose crowns might also be worn as part of the ceremonies. Often a bowl was filled with wine in front of the grave and the grave itself was crowned (Edson 1948:175). The *rosalia* had two aspects: one was the commemoration of the deceased, but another important aspect was the joyous celebrations of the return of spring and summer with an emphasis on banqueting and fun (Hoey 1937:22).

The festival of the *rosalia* was often performed by members of a voluntary association. However, it was not always the case that the one for whom the *rosalia* is held was a member of the association involved. In fact, a number of Macedonian inscriptions suggest that the deceased was not a necessarily a member of the association involved in the *rosalia* (*CIL* III 703 [51], 704 [52], 707 [53]; IPhilippi 1 [61], 3

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80. In adorning the tomb of the deceased the Macedonians probably did not simply use roses but rather they used all kinds of flowers, particularly those in season (Perdrizet 1900:299). The rose itself symbolized for the Greeks a life too early finished, that is, those who die before their time (Perdrizet 1900:299). This can be seen in the epitaph of Soudios Paibilas, who predeceased his mother (IPhilippi 3 [63]).

81. The roses themselves were probably not burnt in the sacrifices. Youtie (1949:277-78) notes that the theory of burning roses in the rosalia originated from a grammatical misunderstanding on the part of Picard and Avezou (1914) which was corrected by Collart 1937:474-85. The theory was again put forth by Edson (1948:169) but is corrected by Youtie.

82. When a member of a Greek association died, his colleagues often funded the making of a crown. However, the inscriptions never stipulate that this crown must be made of roses (Perdrizet 1900:300).

83. Cf. Trebilco (1991:80) who mentions only the involvement of professional associations and suggests that these had constituted themselves as funerary associations.
In order to pay for the festival the deceased left an association a bequest of money to be invested or a plot of land or a vineyard. The revenues from the bequest provided the necessary funds for the *rosalia* to be carried out (Trebilco 1991:80). It was in the interest of the association to accept the bequest as they were able to fund not only the celebration at the deceased’s tomb, but presumably the unused portions of the interest from the endowment went to the further social practices of the association (cf. *IG X/2 260 [41]*). To ensure that the request was actually carried out after the testator’s death the bequest was made public through an inscription. Further insurance was sometimes provided by designating alternative recipients of the bequest, in whose interest it would be to watch the original association carefully to see whether they carried out the required activities (as is the case in *IG X/2 260 [41]* and *IPhilippi 1 [61]*).

Returning to Paul’s letter to the Philippians we find that elements of the practices of the *rosalia*—special day, memorial, sacrifice, banquet—in the configuration of images Paul uses in writing to the Philippians about the return of Christ. Along with the obvious reference to Christ’s return in 3:20, Paul also refers three times to the "day

84. In some of the Macedonian cases the testator may have been a member; the inscriptions leave his membership unclear. McLean (1995b:13) reaches a similar conclusion in his study of guild inscriptions from Lydia and Phrygia, where in all but one of the cases where a guild is involved in commemorative rites there is no indication that the deceased was a member of the guild.

85. It should be noted that much of this is speculative as the association inscriptions from Macedonia which mention the *rosalia* are not dated, but probably come from the second or third century CE. Furthermore, the earliest evidence for the *rosalia* comes from *CIL X 444*, dated to the time of Domitian (Phillips 1996), but it may have been celebrated earlier. For these reasons we are unsure whether the *rosalia* was practiced in Philippi at the time when Paul wrote Philippians. Since Philippi was a Roman colony from the time of Antony, and was settled by veterans, many of them from Rome, there is a good possibility that the *rosalia* was commenced there soon after becoming popular in Rome.
of Christ" (ἡμέρας/αν Χριστοῦ, Phil 1:6 1:10; 2:16). Some commentators see in Paul’s language in Philippians the Old Testament concept of "day of the Lord" (Hawthorne 1983:21-22; O’Brien 1991:65; Fee 1995:86; Bonnard 1950:17). However, that day was one of distress and anguish (Amos 5:20; Zeph 1:15), whereas Paul’s view in Philippians is a day of salvation and celebration. A further point against Paul’s immediate reference being the Old Testament is his omission of κῦριος when writing of this "day" to the Philippians. Thus, another, more local context, might help to elaborate on the image Paul is presenting to the Philippians. Reference to the "day of Jesus Christ" may bring to the minds of the Philippians the rosalia, which was celebrated on a specific "day" and which was anticipated throughout the year. While there are some obvious differences, especially the annual nature of the rosalia versus the singular return of Christ, the configuration of images in Philippians suggests that the rosalia is a significant background factor. The anticipation of the "day of Christ" might replace for the Philippians the "day of roses" in which the deceased were commemorated.

The first aspect of the rosalia reflected in the Philippian texts concerning the day of Christ is the concept of memorial. However, instead of simply remembering the one

86. In the case of 1:6 it is the "day of Jesus Christ." In anticipating the return of Christ Paul frequently makes reference to the "day" on which he will return. This is expressed variously as "the day" (1 Thess 5:4; 1 Cor 3:13; Rom 13:12), "that day" (2 Thess 1:10), "the day of the Lord" (1 Cor 5:5; 1 Thess 5:2; cf. 2 Thess 2:12), and "the day of our Lord Jesus (Christ)" (1 Cor 1:8; 2 Cor 1:14). It is only in Philippians that Paul refers to the "day" (ἡμέρα) with "Christ" (ἡμέρας/αν Χριστοῦ, Phil 1:6 1:10; 2:16). His usual practice is to use κῦριος in this context, a more clear reference to the Old Testament "day of the Lord." Paul also does not use παρουσία for the return of Christ in Philippians as he does elsewhere (1 Cor 15:23; 1 Thess 2:19; 3:13; 4:15: 5:23; cf. 2 Thess 2:1, 8, 9). He does use παρουσία for his own return to Philippi (1:26; 2:12; cf. 2 Cor 10:10), a use of the word also employed elsewhere of others (1 Cor 16:17 of Stephanas; 2 Cor 7:6-7 of Titus).


88. We are not denying that in speaking of the "day of Christ" Paul is anticipating some future return of Christ with eschatological overtones.
who has died the Philippians anticipate the one who died and returned to life (Phil 2:9) and who will bring about a transformation of their own physical bodies that death may be avoided (Phil 3:21; cf. 3:10). This would have affinities with that aspect of the rosalia that celebrated the return of spring and the blossoming to life of the flowers used in the celebration. However, rather than spending money on flowers for processions and the decorating of the tombs of the deceased with roses, the Philippians have given a gift to Paul, which he describes as ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας, θυσίαν ἐκείνην, ἐνάρεστον τῷ θεῷ (4:18). The ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας would be an expression apropos of the thousands of flowers used in the rosalia.89

This brings us to the second aspect of the rosalia reflected in Philippians, the idea of sacrifice. Paul's use of the expression ἡμέρας/αν Χριστοῦ occurs in contexts where other obvious religious language is used: ἐπιτελέω in 1:6, a word often used in contexts of religious duty within associations (Ascough 1996:590-96); purity, blameless, righteousness in 1:10-11, all important aspects of ancient sacrificial rituals; pouring out a libation and sacrificial offering in 2:16-17 (see §6.3 for further elaboration on these terms). In the case of the Philippians, it is God who will bring what God began to completion on the "day of Christ" (1:6) and it is the Philippians' faith which reflects the "sacrificial offering" to God. Again the configuration of images in Philippians reflects the type of language and practices used in the context of the rosalia.

89. The only other New Testament use is Eph 5:2 with reference to the death of Christ as "a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God" (θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας). O'Brien (1990:541) ties the expression ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας to the Old Testament, where it is used of the odour of the sacrifices offered to God, first of Noah's sacrifice (Gen 8:21) and then often of the levitical offerings (Exod 29:18, 25, 41; Lev 1:9, 13, 17). So also Lightfoot 1881:167; Bonnard 1950:81; Beare 1959:156; Barth 1979:79; Collange 1979:153; Gnilka 1980:179-80; Hawthorne 1983:207; Bruce 1983:155; U.B. Müller 1993:206; Fee 1995:451. This Old Testament background is appropriate in a Jewish context, and also for Paul himself, but not in the non-Jewish context of Philippi.
Finally, there is the aspect of banqueting found in the *rosalia* and Philippians. In the context of Paul’s words about Christ’s return and the transformation of the Christians’ physical body (3:20-21) Paul contrasts the Philippians with a group at Philippi whose "god is their belly, and they glory in their shame, with minds set on earthly things" (3:19). The associations generally had a reputation of indulging in food and drink, and the configuration of images in this passage points to the associations generally as those who Paul deems as "enemies of the cross of Christ" (cf. Cotter 1993:98-104).90 According to Philo’s description of the banning of associations in Egypt by Flaccus (during Tiberius’ reign), "the sodalities (ἐταυρείας) and clubs (συνόδους) . . . were constantly holding feasts under the pretext of sacrifice in which drunkenness vented itself in political intrigue" (Philo, *Flacc. 4*, LCL). Later Philo describes them in this way:

In the city there are clubs (θίασοι) with a large membership, whose fellowship is founded on no sound principle but on sottish carousing and their offspring, wantoness. ‘Synods’ (σύνοδοι) and ‘divans’ (κλίνοι) are the particular names given to them by the people of the country. (*Flacc. 136*, LCL)

At Philippi we have the immediate context of the grave side meal celebrated by the association members during the *rosalia* (e.g., *CIL III 703 [51]*), surely not a simple affair, as this was the primary use of the monies bequested.91 That Paul makes this reference to the banqueting practices of another group(s) in the context of anticipating Christ’s return and the transformation of the physical body alludes to a funerary context.

90. We will detail this below in §6.2.3.1, including the association’s indulgence in food and drink. Here we want simply to highlight the possible connection to the *rosalia* without suggesting that this is the only issue involved.

91. The connections with a commemorative meal would be stronger if we had evidence for a eucharistic meal in Philippians. We do know that such occurred at Corinth (1 Cor 11:17-34). However, we cannot simply assume that the same practice took place at Philippi.
Overall, Paul's language suggests that the Philippians would be familiar with the practices of the day of the *rosalia* within the contexts of voluntary associations. His contrasts with these practices suggest that the Philippians might consider the celebration of the *rosalia* to be a constituent part of their community life. Paul subtly shows how they already do so in a way quite different than the other groups around them, but one that is more appropriate in the anticipation of the "day of Christ." By suggesting this we are not attempting to construct a genealogical argument that Paul took over specific concepts and language from the voluntary associations when he wrote to the Philippians. Rather, we are attempting to highlight how Paul's use of a variety of terms and concepts would have resonated with his audience. The connections with religious associations supports our contention that Paul's letter to the Philippians reflects a group which finds as its best analogous model the religious associations.

6.1.3. Summary

It is important to note that we have two very different types of Macedonian Christian associations in their formative stages. At Thessalonica it is most like an all-male professional artisans' association which has adopted a new patron deity. At Philippi it is more like a gender inclusive group whose members formed themselves as a religious association concerned with the worship of a deity. Having looked more closely at what type of associations each group would most likely resemble, we now want to turn to some specific issues raised in each of the letters to determine how the general purview of the associations can shed light on how Paul’s words might have been heard by his audience.

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92. Cf. Poland (1909:511) suggests that later the Christian churches compensated for the loss of the *rosalia* by holding an offering of wine or a banquet for a deceased member of the church.
Excursus: Lydia’s Household in Acts

We have already seen the tendentious nature of the account of Paul’s founding of churches in Acts, and we have noted a number of places where the veracity of Luke’s account has been called into question. We must return to it one final time to investigate the possibility that the conversion of Lydia might shed light on our attempt to determine what type of association, if any, the Philippian Christian community might resemble. Since Acts 16 preserves a tradition that an early convert to Christianity in Philippi was a woman involved in the purple trade (πορφυρόπολις, 16:14), we will briefly investigate the nature of the purple trade in antiquity and role of women in the work force.

The manufacture of purple, and the purple trade generally, was a well organized and important industry during the early Roman empire. Purple had a number of uses in Roman antiquity. The most important use of purple was in the clothes of the upper ranks of Roman society. The toga, which only Roman citizens were allowed to wear, was given a purple border as a mark of distinction. While for most citizens the

93. There were a number of methods used to obtain the purple dye in antiquity. Various sea-shells contained a small bladder which held a tiny amount of juice. This juice was extracted, purified, and manufactured into varying grades of purple dye (Moritz 1970:901; Pliny NH 9.125-34; details in R.J. Forbes 1956:112-121). Dye from seashells was manufactured in a few places, but the best dye was thought to come from Tyre in Syria. Purple extracted from murex fish was very expensive, even in the second century CE when its popularity was at a peak (Horsley 1982:25). Two other methods of manufacturing dye were less expensive but actually gave more of a red than purple dye. One involved the roots of the madder plant (Rubia). This type of dye was manufactured in Western Anatolia, including the city of Thyatira, where Lydia is said to be from (Hemer 1983:53; Pliny, NH 19.17.47-48). The other method involved the use of the kermes-oak, either a plant or an insect (Hemer 1983:54; more detail in R.J. Forbes 1956:100-07; Pausanias 10.36.2-3; Pliny, NH 19.65.140). The lack of consistency in the results of dying meant that a range of colours such a violet, scarlet, and purple could be categorized as "purple" (R.J. Forbes 1956:99-100; Pliny, NH 21.22.45-46).

94. On rank (ordo) and status in Roman society see Garnsey and Saller 1987:112-23; Gager 1972:100-12.

95. The toga itself consisted of a cloth approximating the shape of one third of a circle, with the straight edge being about five and one half meters long, while the widest point of the outside curve was just under two meters (Stephens 1987:335).
toga was plain white, families of men in the equestrian order had a narrow purple stripe along the border and senators and their families had a broad purple stripe on the border.96 Children of any status had togas with purple strips along the edge, although at age fifteen they began to wear the plain white toga (Stephens 1987:335).97 Generals who were triumphant wore a completely purple toga, as did some later emperors (Stephens 1987:335).

During the funeral of a consul or praetor those who were chosen to display the images of the ancestors of the deceased were dressed in togas with a purple border (Portefaix 1988:39; Polybius 54.1-3;). If the deceased was a censor these representatives were dressed in a purple toga. Rich and distinguished women were shrouded in purple winding sheets when they were being prepared for burial (Portefaix 1988:47, n. 100; Propertius 4.3.51). As well, purple dyed coverings were used for dining couches (Pliny, NH 9.63.137; R.J.Forbes 1956:115). Purple dye was also used as rouge for cheeks and lips (Portefaix 1988:171; Apuleius, Met. 8.27) and to dye ivory (Homer, Il. 4.141-42).

Despite the official preservation of purple clothing for the elite, there is some indication that purple was used by all social groups, not just the wealthy. Since purple dye was manufactured and readily accessible in different grades of quality and colour variation, the use of purple trimmed robes or robes dyed completely purple was quite common among the masses, to the chagrin of the upper ranks of society (Horsley 1982:25; Yamauchi 1980:53-54; Danker 1992:559).98

96. There were about 600 senators and over 1000 knights in Rome. Each city of the empire also had a number of men of the equestrian rank, the qualification for which was the attainment of a certain amount of money as well as being a free-born citizen; see Stambaugh 1980:76-77.

97. See Pliny, NH 9.60.127; but cf. Portefaix (1988:40) who claims that only freeborn children who were allowed to assist in religious ceremonies could wear the toga with purple borders.

98. Often cloth was double-dyed in order to give it more consistency, but this, of course, increased the price (Pliny NH 9.62.137; R.J.Forbes 1956:115).
During the time of the Roman Empire clothing was both in high demand and expensive (Hopkins 1988:764). The high demand would have enabled a number of people to be employed in the clothing industry including weavers, spinners, fullers, and dyers. In a comprehensive study of inscriptions Treggiari (1976) lists a number of women employed in the urban staff of upper-rank slave owners in the period from Augustus to the early second century. A number of the jobs for women involve clothes: clothes-folders (*vestiplicae*/vestispicae), spinners (*quasillariae* [11:0]),100 weavers (*textores, textrices, staminariae* [2:2]), managers of an entire operation of wool working including the distribution of wool, spinning, and the finishing of a garment (*lanipendi* [6:6]), tailors/clothes makers (*vestificae* [4:4]), and clothes menders (*sarcinatrices* [14:1]). Treggiari concludes (1976:91) that while women are absent from outdoor work in town and administrative jobs, they predominate as personal attendants to women, midwives, nurses, and entertainers. In clothes production they outnumber men about three to one.101 Women often shared in the profession of their husbands and could carry on the profession of the husband should there be no son to take over the business (Treggiari 1979:76-78).102

Trade guilds were common in the clothing industry, and include dyers (*βαφεῖς*), purple-dyers (*πορφυροβάφοι*), and fullers (*γναφεῖς*; Tod 1932:79). Associations of

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99. Hopkins (1988:764) also notes that we are dependent upon the papyri, literature, and epigraphical sources for information about clothing as very few textiles have been preserved.

100. Numbers in square brackets refer to the ratio of female names to male names found in the inscriptions, see Treggiari 1976:91.

101. But see Pomeroy 1975:199-200 who notes a few examples of lower status women in employed in other occupations such as mill-worker, butcher, fisherwoman, brickmaker, and the selling of various items in the marketplace. The most public of female occupations would be waitressing and prostitution (cf. Pomeroy 1975:201).

102. According to Pomeroy (1975:200), "[f]reedwomen, since they often came from the East, frequently sold luxury items or exotic merchandise, such as purple dye or perfumes." Lydia the Thyatiran may be an example of such (so Gillman 1992:31).
purple dyers are attested in a number of important cities, including Tyre, and regions such as Lydia (including the city of Thyatira), Phrygia, and Egypt (Horsley 1982:25; R.J. Forbes 1956:118-19; Broughton 1938:818-21). An inscription from the second century CE Thessalonica illustrates the links between people involved in the purple trade in Macedonia and the city of Thyatira: "The society of the purple dyers of the Eighteenth street. In memory of Menippus, son of Amius who is also called Severus, from Thyatira. Greetings" ([I]G X/2 291 [30]). From Philippi itself, there is mention of the purple trade in a fragmentary Latin inscription: *pupari* ... ([C]IL III 664). As well, there is a record of an inscription which reads "The city honoured from among the purple dyers, an outstanding citizen, Antiochus, the son of Lykus, a native of Thyatira, as a benefactor" ([I]Philippi 2 [62]).

This survey of the purple trade has revealed its importance in antiquity and shown that it would be a natural place to find artisans and merchants who could form voluntary associations. The question remains whether we should understand the core of the Philippian Christian community consisting of an association of women merchants or artisans. Certainly this is an attractive possibility. To be sure, it would be consistent

103. Trade guilds associated with the strong textile industry were a significant part of Thyatira, with the guild of dyers being particularly important. Magie (1950:48) notes that the guild of purple dyers in Thyatira was "evidently unusually prosperous" citing a number of inscriptions, including [C]IG 3496, 3497 (= [I]GRR 4.1213), and 3498 (= [I]GRR 4.1265). We might add [B]CH 11 [1887] 100-01, no. 23; [I]GRR 4.1239; [I]GRR 4.1242; [I]GRR 4.1250 (see Hemer 1983:54). See further Broughton 1938:819; McRay 1991:244; Magie 1950:1.147-48; 2.812 n. 79, n. 80.

104. At Hierapolis two Jewish guilds are known, one of which is a guild of purple dyers, the other, carpet weavers. See [C]IJ 2.777; Applebaum 1974:480.

105. This is the inscription alluded to but not cited in Haenchen 1971:494 n. 9. Since Thyatira had many trade associations, continuing contact between Thyatira and the Macedonia may have influenced the workers of the Macedonian cities (cf. Hemer 1975:110).

106. The authenticity of this inscription is disputed; personally I doubt that it existed. See comments on the inscription in Appendix I and further Pilhofer 1995:179-82, who thinks that it is authentic.

107. One which I attempted to argue in an earlier paper, with only limited success; see Ascough 1993. Certainly merchants in general formed associations; for example see [I]Acanthus 1 [47].
with the extensive use of marketplace language in Philippians. Limited evidence is also suggested by Origen, who records the accusation by Celsus that Christianity is propagated among women and children. It is interesting that Celsus singles out those who work in the clothing trade, particularly wool workers, leather workers, and fullers:

We see indeed, in private houses workers in wool and leather, and fullers, and persons of the most uninstructed and rustic character, not venturing to utter a word in the presence of their elders and wiser masters; but when they get hold of the children privately, and certain women as ignorant as themselves, they pour forth wonderful statements, to the effect that they ought not to give heed to their father and to their teachers, but should obey them . . . . [And] that if they wish (to avail themselves of their aid), they must leave their father and their instructors, and go with the women and their playfellows to the women’s apartments, or to the leather shop, or to the fuller’s shop, that they may attain to perfection—and by words like these they gain them over. (Origen, Cels. 3.55, Roberts and Donaldson 1976)

If the Acts account is to be considered credible in regard to the conversion of Lydia, it possibly indicates that a group of women workers involved with the purple trade were among the first converts to Christianity at Philippi.108 As a household association they would have met periodically for times of veneration of their new deity,109 common meals and fellowship, and mutual support. They may have also done this with other groups or households of workers involved in the trade of purple in Philippi. However, soon afterwards, either through Paul or perhaps another Christian worker,110 the nature of the core group was broadened to include other types of people from the same (lower) status persons at Philippi. As such, the group quickly began to


109. In this regard they would be similar to the Thessalonians who have "turned" from idols to God. In an unpublished paper I have suggested that given the religious context of Philippi, the most likely deity to be worshipped by such a group would be Isis; see Ascough 1993. Since the aspect of Lydia being a ἀγαθομάρτη ὁ ν θεόν can be ascribed to Lukan redaction (see the earlier discussion in chapter 4) the Jewish nature of the riverside meeting in Acts 16:13-14 can be discounted.

110. The unnamed "we" narrator who seems to appear for the narration of the Philippian material and disappears at its conclusion, only to reappear again when Paul returns to Philippi. I do not consider this narrative voice to be the same as that of the final composition of Luke-Acts.
resemble a religious association more than a professional association. However, we must recognize that this entire scenario is tenuous at best, and the remainder of our comparative analysis does not rest on the persuasiveness of this particular part of the argument.
6.2. Internal Organization

Having now looked at features of both 1 Thessalonians and Philippians that allowed us to be somewhat specific in our analysis of what type of voluntary association would be most analogous for each, we turn to an examination of a number of features which may reflect the internal organization of each group. In each case we will attempt to show how Paul’s language and the assumptions he makes about the communities to whom he writes resonates with the language and practices of the voluntary associations, both in Macedonia and more widely in the empire. Again, our concern is not to show that this is the source of Paul’s ideas, but how those who have received his letters in these Macedonian cities might have heard them or how they would appear to other Macedonians.

6.2.1. Group Designators

The opening greeting of 1 Thessalonians (1:1) is the only place among the authentic Pauline letters where Paul designates the Christian community ethnically (τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικῶν) rather than greeting them by city or region (e.g., Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:1; Gal 1:2; cf. Col 1:2) or as "saints" (Phil 1:1; cf. Eph 1:1).111 The phrase is usually explained as a partitive genitive, signifying "the church from among the Thessalonians" (R.F.Collins 1984:288) or "the community made up of Thessalonians" (Richard 1995:38).112

In the opening of Paul’s letter to the Philippians his readers are given the group designation "saints" (τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, 1:1)113 and in the conclusion Paul passes on greetings to "all the saints" (Ἀσπάσασθε πάντα ἁγίον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,

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111. On the use of ἐκκλησία in voluntary associations see below.


113. Paul’s usual designation is ἐκκλησία. It is also missing in the opening of Romans (and Ephesians and Colossians) where ἁγιοί is used. ἁγιοί is used elsewhere with ἐκκλησία (1 Cor 1:2, 14:33; 2 Cor 1:1).
4:21). The term does not imply moral excellence but designates them as "set apart" by God (Beare 1959:51; Gnilka 1980:31; Hawthorne 1983:5). The most obvious point of reference for Paul is the LXX where Israel or members of Israel are referred to as a "holy people" (e.g., Deut 7:6; 14:2) or "holy nation" (e.g., Ex 19:6, 23:22) or as "saints of the Most High" (e.g., Dan 7:18-27).114 This might be the way in which Paul intends it.115 However, it may simply indicate "holy ones" to the largely Gentile audience at Philippi; Paul's addition of Χριστῶν Ἱησοῦ in both cases requires no knowledge of the LXX for understanding the epithet ἅγιος. The Philippians are those whose central focus is this particular deified human.116

An examination of titles within the voluntary associations might help us understand how these group designations might have been heard in their contexts. Once an association was founded it might take on any number of possible names. Often associations were named after their human founders (κτίστης or κτίστωρ; see IKyme 30; IG XII/1 127.60; XII/3 1098).117 A group's name might also be taken from the basis of their common association (i.e., Αϊγυπτοῖοι, Σαλαμίνιοι, Μόλπαι,


115. Lightfoot's (1881:81) suggestion that "[t]he Christian Church, having taken the place of the Jewish race, has inherited all its titles and privileges; it is 'a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation (ἅγιος ἅγιος), a peculiar people' (1 Pet. ii.9)" is true enough for the verse he cites. However, this assumption begs the question with Paul's letters.

116. On the interpretation of ἐν Χριστῶν Ἰησοῦ in Paul see Wedderburn 1985. Here it indicates that "Christ Jesus is both responsible for their becoming the people of God, and as the crucified and risen One, he constitutes the present sphere of their new existence" (Fee 1995:65).

117. San Nicolò 1915:2:7; cf. Ausbütel 1982:20, 31. That associations were founded by private persons is attested to in Digesta 47.22.4 (cf. Duff 1938:103; Daube 1943:91). Weinfeld (1986:45) suggests that the "Teacher of Righteousness" was considered as κτίστης of the Qumran community, according to the Damascus Scroll (CD 1:9). Examples of other groups named after founders might include the Epicureans (see De Witt 1936:205), Pythagoreans, and the Christians (Χριστιανὸς cf. Acts 11:26; 26:28; 1 Pet 4:16).
Porphyrobaphon; Wilken 1984:34-35, 44) or from their patron deity (Dionysiastai, Herakleistai).118

This variation in association names is reflected in the Macedonian associations, where we have a group named after its founder/benefactor (οἱ περὶ Ὄρηφον Ζείπας, IMakedD 1104 [54]) and another for its patron deity (the Asklepiastoi; IG X/2 480 [34]). More general terms are used in the Macedonian association inscriptions. Θῖαςος is used of six of the associations (IThessalonica 2 [30]; IG X/2 309 [33]; 506 [37] for two different associations; 260 [41] for two different associations) and the Latinized thiasus is used of four associations (CIL III 703 [51]; 704 [52]; IPhilippi 10 [70]; IRaktcha 2 [73]). The corresponding Latin word, collegium is used of two of the associations (IKassandreia 1 [45]; CIL III 633 [57]), and the Greek form of the word, κολλήγιον, is used once (CIG 2007f [46]). We also witness the use of συνθείας of four associations (IBeroea 1 [11]; IThessalonica 3 [28]; IG X/2 291 [30]; 933 [36]), along with συμφωνία (IPhilippi 1 [61]), τέχνη (SIG3 1140 [49] of a guild), and δούλος of an association of merchant marines (IThessalonica 1 [21]; cf. term used in IG X/2 860).

More often an association is named according to its adherents. Μύστα is the most common name, being used of six different associations, four of them devoted to Dionysos (IG X/2 259 [19]; 260 [41]; IMakedD 920 [55]; 1104 [54]) and two of them associations of Asiani (IThessalonica 2 [29]; IG X/2 309 [33], which may have worshipped Dionysos; see below). Maenads is used of an association of women worshipers of Dionysos (IPhilippi 10 [70]). Consacrani is used once (IPhilippi 8 [68]), it being the Latin equivalent of συμμύστας (Collart 1938:431). Συνθείας is used once

118. For a more complete list of guild names which indicate religious activities or divinities see Poland 1909:33-46; 57-62. Inscriptional evidence attests the fact that there is no standard nomenclature for the designation of associations. Even lawyers in ancient Rome used no single, clearly defined name for an association. In their writings they use synonymous words, particularly the idea collegium and corpus, to indicate private associations (Ausbüttel 1982:16). Sometimes one association had several names; for example see the lexx collegi from Lanuvium (CIL 2112; Ausbüttel 1982:19). Often the names of associations differed according to geographical location (Ausbüttel 1982:33).
(IMakedD 284 [03]). Θρησκευταί is used in five inscriptions (IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 192 [39]; 220 [40]; SIRIS 123 [59]; 124 [60]) while cultores is used in three others (CIL III 633 [57]; SIRIS 122 [58]; IPhilippi 7 [67]). The designation συνκλίται is used of two groups of associates (IG X/2 68 [20]; 58 [23]) while συνήθεις is used of four others (IFedessa 3 [06]; IBeroca 3 [13]; IG X/2 288 [25]; 289 [26]). Finally, a number of singular designations are used of an association indicating either a trade (purple-dyers, silversmiths, donkey-drivers) or some other form of identification (Asiani, Πρινοφοροί, etc.; see the catalogue in Appendix I).

Paul's address of the Thessalonians by an ethnic designation was one way among the many that associations could be designated. This is particularly true in Thessalonica where we have three funerary inscriptions from the late second to third century CE (IThessalonica 2 [29], IG X/2 309 [33], 480 [34]) which refer to associations of Asiani. Paul's use of ἀγγεί in Philippians is not attested in the associations, but for the Philippians not fully familiar with this Jewish designation, it would be similar to designations such as μῦσται, θρησκευταί, συνκλίται, etc. used in the voluntary associations to indicate a relationship with the patronal deity, especially since the fuller designation in Philippians is "the saints in Christ Jesus" (Phil 1:1; 4:21).

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119. Lemarle (1935:142) suggests that associations of θρησκευταί are rare; cf. Poland 1909:36. All of our instances come from the III CE, which is late for such usage.

120. Evidence for the existence of associations of Asiani (people from Asia) comes primarily from the larger Balkan region including Thrace and Macedonia; Edson (1948:157) lists Heraclea—Perinthus, Thessalonica, Kutlovica—Ferdanovo, and Napoca. It was only during the expansion of the Roman Empire that the Balkan and Danube regions were settled by foreign traders, merchants, and professionals who would have been attracted by the rich natural resources. Having travelled to the region from the cities of Asia, "[i]t is understandable that such individuals should form cult societies composed, initially at least, of persons from their own province and devoted to the worship of the most popular god of their homeland" (Edson 1948:158).
A more significant referent for the Christian community used in both 1 Thessalonians and Philippians is ἐκκλησία.\textsuperscript{121} We saw earlier (§5.3.3) that Paul can use this term in the plural to indicate Christian groups in various locations and in the singular to indicate the church universal. However, we also noted that it is used to refer to the local Christian community. This is the sense in 1 Thess 1:1 when Paul addresses τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικῶν. In Phil 4:15 he writes "ποὺ ἐκκλησία entered into partnership with me . . . except you only," implying the designation ἐκκλησία for the Philippians.

Two different types of background are often recognized Paul’s use of this term: the Greek civic assemblies and the LXX. The term ἐκκλησία is derived from καλέω ("call") and is used commonly of a town meeting, where people come in response to the call of a herald (Schmidt 1965:513, 530-31; R.F.Collins 1994:286). It is most commonly used of "an assembly of the citizens of a ‘free’ city" (Cotter 1994:370).\textsuperscript{122} While most commentators recognize this civic background, more often they point to the use of ἐκκλησία in the LXX.\textsuperscript{123} The word ἐκκλησία is used over one hundred times in

\textsuperscript{121} It is used only in 1 Thess 1:1; 2:14 and Phil 3:6; 4:15. It is used much more frequently throughout the remainder of the Pauline letters; Romans 16 (5x), 1 Corinthians (22x), 2 Corinthians (9x), Galatians (3x), Philemon (1x); cf. Ephesians (9x), Colossians (4x), 2 Thessalonians (2x), Pastorals (3x).

\textsuperscript{122} Of one hundred and eleven occurrences in the New Testament only three have this civic sense: Acts 19:32, 39, 41. Only one of these refers to a legal body (ἐκκλησία ἐννομος, Acts 19:39) and is presented in contrast to the ἐκκλησία gathered without official sanction at the theater in Ephesus (W.D.Ferguson 1913:54-55).

\textsuperscript{123} Plummer 1918a:3; Rigaux 1956:348-49; Schmidt 1965:516; Hawthorne 1983:134; Holtz 1986:38; Wanamaker 1990:70; O’Brien 1991:377; Richard 1995:38; McCready 1996:60-61. Campbell (1948) argues that the term does not come from the Old Testament as a designation for ‘the true people of God,’ but he does find the primary source for Christian usage in the Psalms and Sirach. R.F.Collins (1984:287) suggests that as a Christian community designator it originated among Jewish Christian in Jerusalem from which Paul "borrowed" it, although he goes on to suggest that in 1 Thess 1:1 it retains both the civic and the LXX sense. However, he emphasizes the LXX in suggesting "Paul enables us to see that his choice of the term ἐκκλησία was not simply a borrowing of traditional terminology but the deliberate application to the Thessalonians of a biblical model whereby he could interpret their experience. By using the idea of election in reference to this community, composed essentially of Gentiles, Paul inserts them into the context of salvation history." Few scholars address cogently the issue of why the Christian groups would use ἐκκλησία over συνοργητή (cf. Rigaux 1956:349). That they wanted to "differentiate" themselves from Jewish groups undermines the argument for the Jewish connections being offered in understanding the LXX as the background for the term ἐκκλησία.
the LXX for a number of different types of assemblies: "an assembly summoned to bear arms, a general assembly of people that included women and children, and a whole congregation in assembly having some significant religious meaning" (McCready 1996:60). In most instances it is used for the Hebrew כפירה, which described Israel, the people of God, "as a community which had been assembled together" (R.F.Collins 1984:287).124

Yet despite McCready’s claim (1996:62) that "there is little evidence that voluntary associations or clubs used the word ekklēsia as a community designation," there are some examples:125 Girard 1891:480 no. 3 (Samos);126 OGIS 488 (Kastollos near Philadelphia, II CE);127 IGLAM 1381 (Aspendus [Pamphylia]);128 IGLAM 1382 (Aspendus);129 IDelos 1519 (196 BCE).130 The most obvious source from which these

124. Although more frequently συνωραγη is the word of choice as a translation of כפירה (McCready 1996:60; Schmidt 1965:513-14, esp. n. 25).

125. O’Brien (1990:377 n. 61) is simply incorrect in stating that ekklēsia "did not designate an ‘organization’ or ‘society’."

126. The inscription opens with ἑπὶ Δευκάτου, Ληφανόνος ἑ ἐδοξεν τοις ἁλειφωμένως ἐν τῇ γεροντικῇ παὶ| λαοῦτα συναχθεῖσιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν. Noted by Poland 1909:332; Ziebarth 1896:116 no. 3.


128. The inscription reads: [......... σὺν παντὶ τῷ ἑπὶ]κειμένῳ κόσμῳ Ζήνων [Θεοδόρου] | ἱστικτέων τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀνεθήκει τῇ πέδωκι εἰς ἄγονα γυμνικὸν γενεὰ] λιῶν τοῦ θεάτρου Χ τρισχείλα, [καὶ εἰς εὐφήμους ἐκκλησίαν ἐχαρίαστο] | κέπους τρός τῷ ἱπποδόμῳ [...]. Noted by Hatch 1881:30 n. 11; Liebenam 1890:272-73; Hardy 1906:141 n. 68; Kloppenborg 1993a:215 n. 12. This is the same as CIG 4342 d.

129. The inscription reads: 'Ἡ Βουλή καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐτείμησαν Ζήνων[α] Θεοδόρου ἱστικτέων τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ τῷ τῆς τόλμως ἔργῳ, ἐπιστημονικά [εἰς] ἄγονα γυμνικὸν | γενεά[] λιῶν τοῦ θεάτρου | δημόσια τρισχείλα, καὶ εἰς εὐφήμους ἐκκλησίαν[αν] ἐχαρίαστον κέπους τρός τῷ ἱπποδόμῳ [...]. Noted by Hatch 1881:30 n. 11; Leibneram 1890:272-73; Hardy 1906:141 n. 68; Kloppenborg 1993a:215 n. 12. This is the same as CIG 4342 d2.

130. The text reads: 'Ἐπὶ Φαυδρίων ἄρχοντος, Ἑλαφηβαλαύνως ὡγδόη, ἐκκλησία | ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος, Διονύσου Διονύσων | ἱστικτέων οἰκία | Σιμώνιος, Λικνίσδος ἱστικτέων οἰκία | ἱστικτέων οἰκία (L.L. 1-3; ἐκκλησία is used again in L. 5). Noted by Liebenam 1890:272-73; Hatch 1881:30 n. 11; Hardy 1906:141 n. 68; Poland 1909:332; Weiss 1910:xvii; Kloppenborg 1993a:231 n. 65. This is the same as Foucart 43; Ziebarth 1896:29 no. 3; RIG
associations have taken over the term is the civic government as were so many of the other terms used by the associations such as τάξις, φυλή, αἵρεσις, κολλήγιον, σύλλογος, συντέλεια, συνέδριον, σύστημα, σύνοδος, κοινόν, cf. σκέιρα (see Poland 1909:152-68). The conclusion of Kloppenborg (1993a:231) quoted earlier bears repeating: "In the environment of Greek cities, the term would almost certainly be understood (by all involved) as one of the names for a voluntary association."\textsuperscript{131} Whether Paul takes the term from the LXX or not, given the lack of a significant Jewish presence in the Macedonian Christian communities, the designation ἐκκλησία would have been heard by the Macedonian Christians as indicative of their structural similarity to a voluntary association.\textsuperscript{132}

6.2.2. Leadership

6.2.2.1. Officials and Their Titles

Before turning to Paul’s letters we will give a brief summary of the titles given to officials in the voluntary associations from Macedonia. A number of different officials

998; \textit{CIG} 2271.

\textsuperscript{131} Cf. Neumann (1890:46-47), "it would have needed explanation if Greek Christians had not seen religious fellowships or thiasoi in their new associations" (quoted in Schmidt 1965:516 n. 36; Neumann’s work was not available to me).

\textsuperscript{132} Lietzmann (1969:4 n. 2) calls the three uses of ἐκκλησία cited by Poland the exceptions that prove the rule ("die drei scheinbaren Ausnahmen . . . bestätigen diese Regel") that the LXX is the source for the Christian use of the term: "Es ist ein in der Christenheit selbst entstandener Name der Gemeinde, der in der LXX seine Quelle hat." However, this view tends both to blur all of the Christian groups and ignore the context of how it would be heard by local recipients of Paul’s letters (perhaps differently from place to place). Despite his agreement with Lietzmann, Schmidt (1965:514) admits that, "[s]ome Gentile Christian circles, which were not so well, or not at all, acquainted with the OT context, might have understood the term in the light of its immediate derivation and possible recollections of Greek fellowships. It is quite possible, and wholly natural, that many matters of organization in Christian congregations should have been regulated according to the pattern of contemporary societies." This is apropos for the Macedonian context.
are attested in the Macedonian voluntary association inscriptions.\(^{133}\) Some associations have either a priest (IEdessa 3 [06]; IG X/2 259 [19], 503 [24], 309 [33], 506 [37]; IThessalonica 3 [28]; CIL III 633 [57]; IPhilippi 4 [64], 5 [65], 6 [66], 8 [68]; cf. ἀρχιερεύς SIRIS 124 [60]) or priestess (IG X/2 255 [22], 260 [41]) or both (IG X/2 261 [32]). Some mention either a patron (προστάτης; IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 192 [39], 220 [40]) or a benefactor (ἐυργέτης; IMakedD 1104 [54], SIRIS 123 [59]; cf. IRaktcha 2 [73]). Quite a diverse number of other functionaries are also mentioned: πατήρ,\(^{134}\) ἐπιμελητής, λογιστής, ἀρχων, γραμματεύς, ἐξεταστής, ἵδροςκόπος, ἀρχινακάρος (ἀρχινεωκάρος), ἀρχιμαγαρεύς, γαλακτηφόρος, κισταφορήσασα, ὀργιοφάντης, ἀρκάρις, γυμνασιάρχης, ἀγωνοθέτης.

One of the most interesting titles is that of ἀρχισυνάγωγος, which appears in six inscriptions. The use of the term ἀρχισυνάγωγος in an inscription does not necessarily mean that the association is Jewish.\(^{135}\) Obviously it is used of Jewish associations (see Rajak and Noy 1993:89-92 for a list of 30 Jewish inscriptions; cf. Juster 1914:406 n. 2). However, it is also used in inscriptions from non-Jewish associations, particularly those from Macedonia.\(^{136}\) Thus, we find it in associations dedicated to Herakles (IG X/2 288 [25], 289 [26]; CIG 2007f [46]) and Zeus Hypsistos (IPydna 1 [15]) as well as

\(^{133}\) For a quick overview of the evidence consult the catalogue at the beginning of Appendix I.

\(^{134}\) Πατήρ is not to be thought of as the equivalent to patronus (likewise ματήρ and patrona; see Kloppenborg 1996a:25, contra Liebenam 1890:218). Both πατήρ and ματήρ are used as titles of honour for those who are members of the association.

\(^{135}\) Both συναγωγή and ἀρχισυνάγωγος are used in connection with non-Jewish societies (Poland 1909:355-58). However, they are used "most frequently to denote a meeting of the society rather than the society as an entity" (Danker 1992:502).

\(^{136}\) Of six non-Jewish ἀρχισυνάγωγος texts listed by Rajak and Noy (1993:92-93) five are from Macedonia while the other (no. 1) is from Perinthus, Thrace (IGR 1.782). Horsley (1987:219-20, against Brooten 1982:5, 23 with 228 n. 81) suggests that the term ἀρχισυνάγωγος was first used in non-Jewish private associations and came to be used later by Jewish associations once the term συναγωγή had been adopted as the standard word for a Jewish meeting place. Once this had occurred (early 1 CE) there is a considerable drop in the use of συναγωγή in inscriptions of non-Jewish associations.
two memorial inscriptions for members of separate associations (συνηθεῖα; IThessalonica 3 [28] and IBeroea 3 [13]). From elsewhere it is used in an inscription from an association of barbers in Perinthus, Thrace (IGR 1.782).137 This latter inscription also refers to the association as a συναγωγή, although it is clearly not a Jewish association.138 The ἀρχισυνάγωγος was the head of the association and oversaw most of the sacred rites, arranged for banquets and funerals, and enforced the regulations and decrees of association. He was generally rich and was expected to finance personally many of the association's activities in exchange for the honour of being named ἀρχισυνάγωγος (D.M. Robinson 1938:63).

All of this data shows that the Macedonian associations are typical of what has been observed generally from all of the epigraphical data—namely, there is no consistency from one association to another in the titles used for officials (cf. Kloppenborg 1993a:232). Turning to Paul's letters we note that from Paul's comments in 1 Thess 5:12, there is clearly some leadership in the Thessalonian Christian community. Paul makes reference to unnamed leaders by encouraging the Thessalonians εἰδέναι τοὺς κοσμώντας ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ νομοθετοῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ ἥγεσάθαι αὐτούς ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ ἐν ἁγάπῃ διὰ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν (5:12-13).139 Paul uses a general designation for such leaders as one who is

137. See also IG XIV 1890 and 2304 (both from Italy); IAlexandria(K) 91 and IFayum 1.9 (both from Egypt).

138. Unlike CIJ 694 [02], 694b [14], 693a [43], IThessalonica 4 [42] which use συναγωγή in reference to a Jewish group.

139. Paul describes their work using three participles, suggesting that he is not writing about offices in the community but activities (R.F. Collins 1993:92). The activities of "labouring," "being in charge," and "admonishing" are governed by a single article, suggesting that there is only one group of leaders who engage in all three types of activities, rather than three separate groups of leaders (R.F. Collins 1993:95; Bruce 1982:118).
"over" someone else (προϊστημι, "to have charge").\textsuperscript{140} Moulton and Milligan (1914:541) note that, "the position of προϊσταμένους in 1 Thess 5\textsuperscript{12} between κοπίωντας and νουθετοῦντας (cf. Rom 12\textsuperscript{8}), combined with the general usage of the verb in the New Testament, makes it practically certain that the word cannot be a technical term of office, even if the person referred to are officers of the Church."\textsuperscript{141} However, it does seem to indicate a group of persons who have a special function within the congregation (Rigaux 1956:576-78; Best 1968:372; cf. Laub 1976:33; Hainz 1972:38-39).\textsuperscript{142}

Paul refers to one of the responsibilities of these leaders by using the cognate verb of κόποςς. The noun occurs twice elsewhere in the letter, once for Paul's manual labour among the Thessalonians (2:9) and once for his work at the formative stages of the community (3:5). It is likely that the leaders at Thessalonica continued with both kinds of activity, the manual labour alongside community members and the labour of community formation.\textsuperscript{143} If so, the leaders of the Thessalonians are like the leaders of many voluntary associations. They are chosen from within the association itself and carry on with their everyday tasks as workers while having some authority in official

\textsuperscript{140.} \textsuperscript{140.} \textsuperscript{140.} \textsuperscript{140.} Προϊστημι is also used in the Pastoral epistles of those in charge, but only one other time by Paul (Rom 12:8) where it seems to indicate compassionate care. This has been understood as its meaning in 1 Thessalonians as well (Malherbe 1987:90; R.F.Collins 1993:92). Νουθετεω is used more generally for admonishing, once of Paul's activity (1 Cor 4:14) and twice of a communal activity including that which the Thessalonians must do to the ἐτεκτους (1 Thess 5:14; cf. Rom 15:14).

\textsuperscript{141.} The designation ὁ προεστόςς can be used as a title, as is found in an inscription from an association (συμβίωνς) of male worshippers of the Dioscurii: - - - - - καὶ τῇ Διοσκουρίτων συμβίων ἐνδρῶν, ἢ προεστῶτος Τελεσφορίωνς, ἡ γραμματεύοντος Ἀκληπτικῆς [δ]ου (CIG 3540, Pergamum; Ellis 1989:135).

\textsuperscript{142.} Wanamaker's suggestion (1990:193; also Jewett 1986:103) that they are patrons and exercise authority by virtue of their wealth is unlikely as they are not named and thus honoured (unlike the other illustrations he uses). Also, such patronage is discouraged in 1 Thess 4:9-12.

\textsuperscript{143.} Not simply "Christian" κόποςς, as Hainz (1972:43-44) seems to suggest.
meetings of the association. That the leaders in the community are unnamed does not indicate that Paul does not know them so much as that the leadership positions might have rotated on a monthly or yearly basis, as was common in the associations. Paul leaves them unnamed so that the general exhortation will be applicable to any who are in a position of leadership.

In Philippians the leaders of the community are singled out by Paul as ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι (1:1). This is Paul’s only use of the these titles together. The separate designations for the two offices has led most to suggest that the former

144. It reflects a willingness on Paul’s part to allow his Christian communities to develop locally and without a preconceived notion of “church leadership” imposed upon them; Laub 1976:32.

145. Cf. R.F.Collins (1993:94) who suggests that “it is not unlikely that Paul has in mind a kind of leadership in which all of the members of the community share.” However, R.F.Collins (1993:96) further suggests that no specific group of leaders existed but that all of the Thessalonians function as mutual nurturers. In making this case he does not refer to Paul’s general exhortation that those exercising the leadership qualities are to be “respected.” On the next page Collins does take up this aspect and seems to suggest that a distinction is possible between those involved in the leadership activities and those who have received the benefits of such. One would think that if all were to be exercising leadership Paul would not simply call for recognition and appreciation of those who do so but exhort those not exercising the “leadership” qualities to begin doing so.

146. Cf. Laub (1976:32-33) who points out that Paul does not address the leaders directly but addresses the entire community; also Hainz 1972:47.

147. Although there is no text critical justification for it, some scholars see this as a later gloss; so Schenk 1984:78-82. Schenk’s argument and the arguments against it are summarized by Peterlin 1995:20-21. The assumption that the phrase refers to later church offices and thus cannot be present in a letter written by Paul in the mid-fifties is directly countered by the argument below that these offices represent a local manifestation of leadership titles and do not represent ecclesiastical offices within the church universal. Some textual witnesses do read συνεπισκόπος (B2 D E K 33 1241 S 1739 1881 it arm Chrysostom Euthalius Cassiodorus Theophylact) but this makes for an awkward construction and the reading “is to be rejected” as it “arose no doubt from dogmatic or ecclesiastical interests” (Metzger 1971:611, who notes that Theodore of Mopsuestia rejected it). These are clearly titles of certain functionaries and not an address to the entire congregation (Dibelius 1937:60).

indicates a supervisory role while the latter is one of service (Peterlin 1995:22). However, nothing else in the letter indicates what functions these officers might have had (Peterlin 1995:22). Our interest is in the use of titles for officers within the congregation and the use of these titles in particular.

The verb ἐπισκοπεῖν is common in the LXX as a translation of לְפָנִי and לְפָנִי. The noun ἐπισκόπος is used primarily as an official designation for an overseer or inspector of some type. This is a common source appealed to for the use of ἐπισκόπος in Phil 1:1 (e.g., O’Brien 1991:47). Other commentators point to the background in the use of לְפָנִי in the Damascus Document, IQS 6.12-20, and a few other of the Qumran scrolls (see Reicke 1957:143-56; Braun 1966:329-32; Fitzmyer 1966:247-48; Jeremias 1969:260-61; Thiering 1981:74; Hawthorne 1983:8). In the Damascus Document the לְפָנִי is defined as "shepherding the flock and returning the lost (CD 13.7-9)" which has affinities to the ἐπισκόπος in Acts 20:28 (Weinfeld 1986:20). However, these Jewish analogies are not the most obvious place to find the background for the understanding of the non-Jewish Philippians.

149. Some suggest that the phrase reflects a single office and should be designated "episkopoi who are deacons" or "episkopoi who serve" (Collange 1979:39; Hawthorne 1983:9-10; see critique in O’Brien 1991:48-49 n. 21). Moulton and Milligan (1914:245) suggest that the phrase in Phil 1:1 be translated "with them that have oversight, and them that do service [minister]" so as to reflect a description of function not of office as in the New Testament the words have a "distinctive use." The use of the terms for offices in the larger cultural context, however, makes this latter claim less likely.

150. These offices are different than those held in other Pauline Christian communities (cf. Streeter 1929:53-65; Haniz 1976b:103). Reumann (1993a:89-90) is correct in his assessment that "[e]ach congregation seems to develop ad hoc and on its own, with what Collins calls in Philippi 'local idiosyncrasy'" (citing J.N.Collins 1990:236 who himself refers to Campenhausen 1969:69). Dibelius (1937:62; also hinted at by Beare 1959:49; Reumann 1993a:90) attempts to connect these functionaries with the gathering and distribution of funds at Philippi (Phil 4:10-20; see further Hatch 1881:38-46 who describes the distribution of funds as the task of the ἐπισκόπος in the later Christian church).

151. See also Haniz 1976b:98-102 who is skeptical of the connection of לְפָנִי with ἐπισκόπος, although he judges it more likely than the voluntary associations. In my view, the overall similarities of the Qumran sect with the voluntary associations suggest that there is probably no direct influence of the sect on Christianity or visa versa but that both were influenced by the practices and languages of the voluntary associations, not necessarily in terms of direct borrowing but through a shared milieu with the associations in which the pattern for communal organization was already in place.
The term ἐπίσκοπος is used frequently in classical writings (Lightfoot 1881:95). In such usage it indicates an official title of a man designated to oversee a new colony or serve as inspector in a foreign land. It might also "involve oversight of goods and possessions" (Reumann 1993a:88). However, as Reumann (1993a:88) points out, "the data assembled by Hans Lietzmann in 1914 and subsequently expanded by others make a far better case for episkopos as a supervisory office in the state, in various societies, and other groups in the Graeco-Roman world, often with financial responsibilities" (cf. Best 1968:371). A review of the evidence of the associations shows this to be so.

Ἔπισκοπος is used in an inscription from Thera (IG XII/3 329, Π Β ΡΕ) where it indicates financial officers of an association (κοινόν): Δεδόχθαι ά[ποδε]ξομένος τήν ἐπαγγελίαν το μ[έν ἁρ]γύριον ἐγκανείσαν τός ἐπισκό[πος] δίωνα καὶ Μελείππου ("It is resolved that the episkopoi Dion and Meleippus shall accept the offer and invest the money"). In IGL 1990 (Salkhat [Nabataea]) it is used of the financial officers of a temple (noted by Hatch 1881:37 n. 26; Dibelius 1937:60), as it is in other similar inscriptions (IGL 1989; 2298; Dibelius 1937:60). An inscription from Bostra (OGIS II 614) names an ἐπίσκοπος as an official, as does one from Kanata (OGIS 611 8f, time of Trajan; Dibelius 1937:60). From Myconos (Poland Β 186, end II ΒΕ) an ἐπίσκοπος of a σύνοδος is to transfer the care of an honorary deed, under threat of penalty (Poland 1909:375; Dibelius 1937:60). In a Thracian inscription (Poland Β 79 = Cagnat I no. 682) ἐπίσκοπος is used as a title for a cult functionary (Poland 1909:375). An inscription from Delos (IDelos 1522, LL. 8, 10, 13, early II CE) attests to a Dionysiac θίασος, named after its founder Ameinichos, that was headed by

152. First noted by M. Wescher RA (April 1866) 246, also by Renan 1866:351 n. 35; Hatch 1881:37 n. 26 (text and translation); Lightfoot 1881:95 n. 2 (who notes the accusative plural -ος is a dialectic form); Poland 1909:375 (B 221); Dibelius 1937:60.

153. Other inscriptions from associations indicate the existence of the title (Dibelius 1937:60; cf. Deissmann 1901:230-31): IG XII/1 49, 50, 731; CIL V 7914, 7870 (Nizza).
an ἐπίσκοπος "who was responsible for proclaiming the honours bestowed upon benefactors" (McLean 1996b:225 n. 148). Overall, we can conclude with Dibelius (1937:60-61; cf. Harnack 1887:339) that the evidence for the use of ἐπίσκοπος in associations is clear, but a specific function attached to it is ambiguous. These officials seemed to have held different job descriptions in different associations.\(^{154}\)

Turning to διάκονος we note that the word has a wide range of designations in antiquity. It can mean "servant" and often is used to refer to one who waits on tables. It is used in Cynic contexts as an "expression of his world-encompassing missionary consciousness" as God's representative (Georgi 1986:28).\(^{155}\) However, although there have been many attempts to find support for prototypes in Jewish literature, "these pale for Philippian use in the face of references to διακόνοι in Greek guilds and societies" (Reumann 1993b:448; cf. 1993:89). It is used within the contexts of both temples and religious associations for those who assist in the cult (LSJ s.v.; Ziebarth 1896:153; Leitzmann 1913:106-07; Dibelius 1937:61; Georgi 1986:27). Moulton and Milligan (1914:149) note that "[t]here is now abundant evidence that the way had been prepared for the Christian usage of this word by its technical application to the holders of various functions within the churches" (1873:32) suggests that within the association inscriptions the same general functions were carried out by those entitled variously ἐπίσκοποι, ἐπιμεληταί, σύνδεκοι, λογισταί. The negative response to Hatch (1881:26-39) by Salmon (1887:18-20) and Sanday (1887:98-100) is based on Hatch's attempt to designate the ἐπίσκοποι as financial officers rather than his attempt to understand the associations as a general background for the Christian use of the title. This is also true of the discounting of the associations as an adequate background by Loening (1888:47), Rhode (1976:55), and Hainz (1976b:94-96), all of whom point out the difficulty in determining the function of ἐπίσκοποι in Philippians. Especially telling against the hypothesis that the Philippian ἐπίσκοποι were financial officers is the separation of the title (Phil 1:1) from Paul's thanks for the financial gift (4:10-20) within the structure of the letter; Hainz 1976b:93.

\(^{154}\) Foucart (1873:32) suggests that within the association inscriptions the same general functions were carried out by those entitled variously ἐπίσκοποι, ἐπιμεληταί, σύνδεκοι, λογισταί. The negative response to Hatch (1881:26-39) by Salmon (1887:18-20) and Sanday (1887:98-100) is based on Hatch's attempt to designate the ἐπίσκοποι as financial officers rather than his attempt to understand the associations as a general background for the Christian use of the title. This is also true of the discounting of the associations as an adequate background by Loening (1888:47), Rhode (1976:55), and Hainz (1976b:94-96), all of whom point out the difficulty in determining the function of ἐπίσκοποι in Philippians. Especially telling against the hypothesis that the Philippian ἐπίσκοποι were financial officers is the separation of the title (Phil 1:1) from Paul's thanks for the financial gift (4:10-20) within the structure of the letter; Hainz 1976b:93.

\(^{155}\) Georgi (1986:29-30) reads both ἐπίσκοπος and διάκονος this way in Phil 1:1—"Apparently the Philippian community . . . had energetically taken up missionary proclamation in the vicinity" (1986:30). He points out the lack of evidence for their use as technical designations for those involved in the collection within the letter. However, Georgi's own hypothesis suffers from the same lack of any indication in the letter of the particular function of the officers as missionaries (see his reconstruction on page 62 n. 20). J.N.Collins (1990:169-76, 236) calls into question this use of διάκονος in the Cynic-Stoic material.
offices." It is used of sacral officials in a number of inscriptions including IMagnMai 109 (c. 100 BCE), CIG 1793b, IG IV 774 (Trozezen, Argolis, III BCE), 824 (Trozezen, Argolis), IG IX/1 486 (II/I BCE). An inscription from Kyzikos names five διάκονοι among the functionaries at a thank offering to the Great Mother (RIG 1226, I BCE). In IMagnMai 217 (I BCE) διάκονοι are listed among those who set up a statue of Hermes (Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀριστολάου οἱ κομάκτορες καὶ οἱ κήρεκες καὶ οἱ διάκονοι τῶν Ἴμην ἀνέθηκαν). From the private associations we find τὸ κοινὸν τῶν διακόνων of nine men dedicated to the Egyptian gods, one of whom presided as priest (CIG 1800, Ambrakia), and an association which includes two male διάκονοι and a female διάκονος along with a priest and priestess of the twelve gods (CIG 3037, Metropolis, Lydia). Similarly, Μουσεῖον 93 (Kyzikos) lists a female διακόω and five male διάκονοι along with a priest and priestess while another inscription from Kyzikos mentions διακόνοι (Μουσεῖον 100).

Even Poland, who denies the connection between the Christian use of ἐπίσκοπος and the associations (1909:377), is willing to entertain the idea that the Christian use of διάκονος was taken over from the associations; "Die Funktionen des Diakonos können wohl sehr verschiedenartig gewesen sein, immerhin läßt die weite Verbreitung dieser Bezeichnung für den Priestergehilfen im staatlichen und privaten Kult es nicht

156. The following information is presented variously by Moulton and Milligan 1914:149; Dibelius 1937:61; J.N.Collins 1990:166-68.

157. J.N.Collins (1990:167, following Poland 1909:165) suggests that this is not necessarily a formal association and points to another example of συμπορευόμενοι who describe themselves as a κοινὸ. However, in both cases it is probably a formally constituted private association within the public cult, not unlike IG X/2.58 [23] from Thessalonica.

158. All of whom seem to be related; J.N.Collins 1990:168.

159. With no evidence J.N.Collins (1990:168) simply surmises that in CIG 3037, Μουσεῖον 93, and Μουσεῖον 100 the male and female διάκονοι are given "an occasional and privileged role" to serve at religious feasts, presumably to underline his earlier point that "there is no reason to see anything more in the word than the designation of a ceremonial waiter" (1990:166; cf. Hatch 1881:50).
unmöglich erscheinen, dass der christliche Diakonentitel aus dem heidnischen hervorgegangen ist" (1909:391-92). However, he is critical of Hatch’s narrower view (1881:49-50) that their function should be seen as those who distribute food to the others (Poland 1909:392 n. *; cf. 534).

In light of this evidence from associations, it seems unnecessary to go to the lengths of Lightfoot (1881:96-99; cf. 194) to prove that πρεσβύτερος is a synonym of ἐπίσκοπος and that Paul includes both in his address to the Philippians despite only writing ἐπίσκοπος καὶ διάκόνοις (Phil 1:1). While Lightfoot is correct in suggesting that in the Jewish synagogues πρεσβύτερος and ἐπίσκοπος go together, the lack of the former term in Philippians is another indication of the lack of a significant Jewish presence in the church and an indication that the titles have resonances elsewhere.160 In fact, Lightfoot himself (1881:194) suggests that the use of ἐπίσκοπος in the voluntary associations would make it the most obvious choice for the "presiding members of the new society" (Lightfoot 1881:194). He states that although the infant church would appear to the Jew as a synagogue, to the non-Jew it would appear as a "confraternity."

It is more likely that at Philippi the leadership structure of the Christian community has adopted nomenclature that would immediately be understood in light of use among voluntary associations.161 That the titles ἐπίσκοπος and διάκονος themselves

160. Lightfoot suggests that the office of πρεσβύτερος is "essentially Jewish" as distinct from ἐπίσκοπος which is best understood by looking at works "chiefly among heathen nations" (1881:96). However, πρεσβύτερος is also attested as a title in some associations; see CIG 2221; Poland 1909:98-102; Diesmann 1923:156-57, 223-35. Lightfoot’s argument also falters by the fact that nowhere in the authentic Pauline letters is πρεσβύτερος used as a title; it only occurs in 1 Tim 5:1, 2, 17, 19 and Tit 1:5 within the larger Pauline corpus.

161. Cf. Reumann (1993a:90): "The Philippians chose their terms for leaders from a world they know, of government, guilds, societies and the oikos" (also Reumann 1993b:449). Although Reumann points to the background of the titles in the voluntary associations, he does not expand much on it. Others who allow for the associations as background for this use in Philippians include Vincent 1897:45 (with caution; "The process of natural selection, however, would be helped by the familiar employment of the title in the clubs or guilds to designate functions analogous to those of the ecclesiastical administrator."); Fee 1995:68 n. 50 ("This may well be so, especially since it would have been a convenient term to adopt.").

The connection is denied by many; see the summary in Kloppenborg 1993a:217-20. Sanday 1887:98-100; Sohm 1923:1:87 n. 13; Ziebarth 1896:131; Poland 1909:377, who deny the connection re:
are not used in all of the voluntary associations, only a few, is not problematic as there is no consistency in the use of titles for officials within the association inscriptions. Our brief overview revealed the diversity of terms used for officials in the voluntary association inscriptions of Macedonia, a diversity borne out in associations from throughout the Greco-Roman world (see the lists in Liebenam 1890:164-69, 199-220; Poland 1909:337-423; cf. Kloppenborg 1993a:232; Ellis 1989:136). In choosing these particular titles for their leaders, the Philippians are like the associations in a concern for titles; we will look in vain for any "standard" titles among the associations that we could expect in a Christian "association." Nevertheless, the titles chosen for leaders at Philippi reflect those in use within at least some associations. However,
the exact nature of these offices remains obscure.\textsuperscript{164}

In our earlier assessment we suggested that the Philippian Christian community was most similar to a religious association. We noted there that women could be full members of such associations and could function in various leadership roles within the association (cf. Saavedra 1991). One of best examples of this was the mid-second century CE inscription from Torre Nova in which a number of officials of household based religious association are indicated (McLean 1993:240-43). Women are named as holding a number of official positions, including that of torch bearer ($\delta\varsigma\delta\omicron\nu\chi\omicron$) and priestess, the second and third highest positions in the association (McLean 1993:262). An earlier example was found in the regulations of the mysteries of Andania (96 BCE) which opens with an oath to be sworn by both male and female officers of the association and is followed by an outline of their duties. From Macedonia we noted $IG$ X/2 255 \textsuperscript{[22]} in which an association of Sarapis and Isis is founded at Opus and seems to include men and women and has connections with Thessalonica. Women could also function alongside men as priestesses and priests within an association.\textsuperscript{165}

Thus, it is no surprise to find that there is evidence that women played a significant role in the leadership of the Philippian Christian community. Thomas (1972:119), citing the lack of any restrictions being placed on women in the epistle, argues that the women in the church at Philippi played a prominent role. The very fact that Paul's appeal to Euodia and Syntyche (Phil 4:2) is included in the general letter which would be read before the whole church suggests that, "it is unlikely that the mutual antagonism was a private difference of opinion" (Thomas 1972:119). Rather, since it seems that their differences had ramifications for the entire church it is likely

\textsuperscript{164} Cf. Hainz (1976b:107): "So bleibt auch die Bedeutung dieser Ämter unbestimmbar."

\textsuperscript{165} On priests and priestesses serving together in the same association see $IG$ II\textsuperscript{2} 1361 (Piraeus, IV BCE); IMagnMai 98 (197-96 BCE); LSAM 48 (Miletus, 276/75 BCE); LSCG 124 (Eresos, II BCE).
that it concerned a question of belief, worship, or ethics; they may even reflect two rival groups (Dahl 1995:6; Hawthorne 1983:179; Witherington 1994:108). Thus, these two women were probably leaders at Philippi. Paul does not suppress the right of the two women to express themselves, he only asks that their differences be resolved (Thomas 1972:119).

Paul notes the importance of these women to his ministry in Philippi; they have "laboured side by side" (συλλαμβάνου) with him and he numbers them among his "fellow workers" (συνέργοι; Phil 4:3). In using συνήθλησαν Paul draws upon the metaphor of an athlete, suggesting that these women had a similar dedication in their "zeal for the victory of the Gospel at Philippi" (Thomas 1972:119). Malinowski suggests that συναθλεῖω is used here in the sense of striving side by side in the face of the opposition being experienced at Philippi (cf. Phil 1:27, the only other use of this word in the New Testament), and, thus, the two women are singled out among the "company of the bravest" who stood by Paul in his struggle for the Gospel (Malinowski 1985:62). He assumes that they did not exercise any official ministry of preaching or presiding, but were "brave Christians, unafraid of being humiliated, injured, and killed in witnessing to the Gospel" when Paul was exercising his ministry at Philippi (Malinowski 1985:62). Thus, for Malinowski, women did not exercise leadership roles at Philippi. However, Malinowski does not deal with Paul’s note that they were μετὰ

166. Cf. Paul’s use of παρακαλῶ, "a polite yet urgent form of request" (as Dahl himself points out, 1995:5), the same word he uses in his opening comments to the rival factions at Corinth (1 Cor 1:10). However, as Cotter (1994:353) points out, the issue "cannot be so severe as to destroy the community because Paul is clearly refraining from giving advice on the specific matter at issue" yet "the situation is serious enough to warrant a public note in this community."


168. Interestingly, συνέργοι is used as a designator for members of professional associations; see ISmyrna 218, 715, 721; I Eph 444, 454, 2976, 2078, 2079, 2080; IGR 907; SEG XXIX 1184; ZPE 36 (1979) no. 31.
Clearly the phrase is to be connected with the statement "they fought side by side with me."\(^{169}\) Paul seems here to be including both Euodia and Syntyche with those who were involved in an active ministry for the Gospel at Philippi. Paul uses the same term (συνεργών) of Prisca (Rom 16:3),\(^{170}\) indicating that he included women among his "fellow workers."

Many commentators point out that the women of Macedonia had a reputation and tradition of initiative and influence; they "played a large part in affairs, received envoys and obtained concessions for them from their husbands, built temples, founded cities, engaged mercenaries, commanded armies, held fortresses, and acted on occasion as regents or even co-rulers" (Tarn and Griffith 1952:98).\(^{171}\) However, an even better place to look for analogous material is in the specifically religious milieu of Philippi. After discussing the prominence of women leaders in the cults of Diana and Isis at Philippi Abrahamsen (1988:30) suggests that "it is hardly likely that the growing Christian religion could have ignored women accustomed to being in leadership roles unless it eliminated their roles by coercion." Such elimination and coercion of their roles does not seem to have been the case within the Philippian Christian community.

Women played an important leadership role in the larger cultic activity at Philippi. The sanctuary of Diana at Philippi consists of ninety reliefs of Diana, each of

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\(^{169}\) So Hawthorne (1983:180), who also cites how others have [unsuccessfully] attempted to circumvent this connection. Cf. also Gillman 1992:46-47.

\(^{170}\) To be sure, Paul was not adverse to women working with him in his ministry, as is seen in the case of Phoebe (Rom 16:1; see Whelan 1993), Prisca (Rom 16:3; 1 Cor 16:19; cf. 2 Tim 4:19; Acts 18:2, 18, 26). Other women workers of whom Paul has some knowledge include Junia (Rom 16:7), Mary (Rom 16:6), Tryphaena and Tryphosa (Rom 16:12), Persis (Rom 16:12), Chloe (1 Cor 1:11); see Gillman (1992, passim) for descriptions of these women, along with other women associated with Paul in Acts, the deutero-pauline letters, and the Pastorals.

\(^{171}\) This would be particularly so of women at Roman colonies such as Philippi which could take advantage of the ius italicum (Dahl 1995:4). There is evidence for families of great wealth at Thessalonica, Beorea, and Philippi; see McRay 1991:292-93; Papazoglou 1988a:201.
about one square foot cut into the rock of the acropolis (Abrahamsen 1987:21).\textsuperscript{172} On the nearly two hundred reliefs on the hill forty priestesses are depicted. Such evidence suggests not only the popularity of the cult among women during the time of early Christianity, but also the prominent place held by women within the hierarchy of the administration of this cult.\textsuperscript{173} It seems likely that "the Diana cult was ruled primarily, if not solely, by women and women were its primary participants" (Abrahamsen 1988:50). In Philippi Diana was worshipped as the goddess of the underworld (Portefaix 1988:75-95). The rock carvings are thought to indicate that the women were identifying themselves with Diana in order to become sharers in her independent life when they died (Portefaix 1988:96).\textsuperscript{174}

The worship of Sarapis and Isis had taken hold in Philippi before the battle of Philippi (42 BCE; Witt 1971:97, 145).\textsuperscript{175} However, Isis had a special place in the minds of the veterans and supporters of Anthony who populated Philippi as they would remember that in 34 BCE Antony presented the spoils of his triumph over the Armenians to Cleopatra seated on a throne and dressed as Isis, instead of presenting

\textsuperscript{172} For a detailed discussion see Abrahamsen 1988. For photographs and a description of the reliefs found at Philippi see Collart and Ducrey 1975. Diana was the Roman goddess of woodland and wild nature and the protector of women who came to be identified with the Greek Artemis and Thracian Bendis.

\textsuperscript{173} In contrast, a Philippian association of worshipers of Sylvanus, a god associated with Diana, had no female members which suggests that there was a division in the genders between the two cults (Abrahamsen 1988:49; see \textit{CIL} III 633 [57]).

\textsuperscript{174} The rock reliefs also seem to suggest that in Philippi in the first few centuries CE, the Christ-cult took its place among the other cults, particularly that of Diana, and certainly did not dominate the others (Abrahamsen 1987:22; 1988:54).

\textsuperscript{175} According to the myth of Osiris and Isis it was during a banquet given by his brother, Seth, that Osiris entered a chest which was sealed up and cast into the Nile. His wife, Isis, set out in search of it and found it. However, Seth obtained the body and cut it up into fourteen pieces, which he distributed across the land. Isis managed to recover all but the genitals, which she replaced with a gold image by which she gave birth to a son, Horus (Greek: Harpocrates). Osiris, however, remained in the underworld and never experienced resurrection. The details of the myth vary, but they are well presented in Plutarch, \textit{Is. et Os.} and summarized in Heyob 1975:40-42.
them to Capitoline Jupiter. At the time of the presentation Cleopatra sat on a throne in the garb of Isis. In fact, during the first century the cult of Isis seems to have been the most important of the oriental religions in Philippi (Witt 1971:192; cf. Collart 1929:87). The sanctuary to the Egyptian gods at Philippi was built on the side of acropolis hill, sometime during the Imperial period. The presence of the temple at Philippi indicates that the cult of Isis and Sarapis attracted a significant following in Philippi in the Greco-Roman period. There are a few voluntary associations at Philippi dedicated to the Egyptian gods at Philippi, although they give no indication of whether they included women (SIRIS 122 [58], 123 [59], 124 [60]). However, a number of aspects of the cult of Isis would have been attractive to women: Isis’ healing powers, her protection of married women, and her role as ideal mother (see Portefaix 1988:116-27). Elsewhere in the Roman empire women are attested as having leadership roles within the cult (see Heyob 1975:88-110), and they probably held such positions at Philippi.

During the classical period devotees of the cult of Dionysus were mostly women, although in the Hellenistic and Roman periods men began to be incorporated into the


177. The site has been positively identified as a temple of Isis and Sarapis by the discovery of inscriptions (Wild 1984:1746-53). A precise date cannot be fixed, due in part to the unsystematic nature of the excavation work undertaken at the site (Wild 1984:1807 n. 146). At the latest, it would have been built by the second century CE, and perhaps earlier, as first century coins were found on the site (Wild 1984:1807). The most likely time for its construction in the first century would be the latter half, perhaps during the Flavian era and possibly during the reign of Domitian, given the Flavian fondness for the Egyptian gods (pointed out to me by the anonymous reviewer of a manuscript submitted to HTR in 1995). The foundations of the sanctuary are substantially preserved and the precinct has been cleared (Wild 1984:1746-53). Within the east end of the precinct there are five cellae in which the gods were worshipped. Inscriptional evidence suggests that there were priests associated with the cult (Witt 1971:204; Wild 1984:1808).

178. The use of expensive imported marble in the construction of the temple suggests that at least some adherents were wealthy (Hendrix 1992b:315).

179. Note that the centre of Sarapis worship on the nearby island of Thasos had a lively collegium of sarapiastai (noted in Tinh 1982:103, without details).
cult and the Dionysiac associations (θιασου; McLean 1993:260-61). Hendrix (1992b:315) notes that inscriptive evidence from Philippi suggests that a building found under the late Roman baths complex at Philippi was a sanctuary of Dionysus and the gods and goddesses associated with him. This earlier building dates from the early Roman Imperial period. Five inscriptions found at this site list a number of women who donated votive offerings to Liber, Libera, and Hercules. At least one of these inscriptions indicates that the donating body was a woman’s voluntary association, a thiasus Maenadarum regianarum (IPhilippi 10 [70]). Three of the inscriptions record donations by individual women patrons who may have belonged to the association of "distinguished maenads" (cf. IPhilippi 9 [69] and comments; Portefaix 1988:100 n. 130). The fifth inscription records a donation made by a husband and wife together (IPhilippi 11 [71]). These inscriptions indicate that "these women had a remarkable degree of economic independence, which can be explained by the fact that they enjoyed complete control over their money" (Portefaix 1988:101). The nature of the evidence for the participation of women in leadership roles within the cultic activity at Philippi is stronger for the public sphere than for private religious associations. Nevertheless, it is possible to suggest that women undertook leadership roles in the associations at Philippi since it would be consistent with their roles otherwise at Philippi and consistent with the pattern of leadership found in religious associations throughout the Greco-Roman period. As such, these associations

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180. The cult of Dionysus, the god of wine, fertility, and liberated emotions (also called Bacchus), was wide-spread in Hellenistic and Roman times. Its adherents celebrated the springing to life of plants and animals after a period of dormancy while the cult itself promised devotees happiness on earth (bliss and removal of worries) and in the afterlife (which seems to have been depicted as a Dionysian revel). Ceremonies included nocturnal initiations, food and drink, ecstatic dancing, and recitation of hymns (J.Ferguson 1970:205-10; cf. Euripides’ Bacchae).

181. Liber being a Latin name of Dionysos.

182. This control probably came about through the marriage law of ius liberorum (Portefaix 1988:101, cf. 9 n. 4).
provide a fitting backdrop to the role of women in the Philippian church. Women's leadership would not have been seen as radical or countercultural, but would have been an accepted, and expected, part of corporate religious life at Philippi.183

The contention that women were involved in leadership within the Philippian church is confirmed by a brief examination of material from a later period. Another extant letter to the church at Philippi was written by Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, between 98-117 CE.184 Indications within the letter seem to suggest that "Polycarp knew the relative freedom and respect accorded to the women at Philippi" (Thomas 1972: 119). Since Polycarp places so much emphasis on his message to the women to behave themselves, at the expense of addressing any other groups except the Docetics (6.3-7.2), it is likely that women played a active role within the life of the church, a role with which Polycarp is not entirely happy (Abrahamsen 1987: 18). The letter indicates that there were Christian widows who were part of a special group who had a ministry in the church (Thomas 1972: 119-20; cf. 1 Tim 5:3-10) as well as a strong ascetic movement among virgins, married women, and widows (Abrahamsen 1987: 19).

In the final remarks of the letter (14.1) Polycarp commends the sister of Crescens who

183. In discussing the term ἐκκλησία in the Pauline letters Cotter (1994:370) correctly suggests that it indicates "a civic seriousness to the assembly." However, she goes on to suggest that the presence of women in associations represents a countercultural challenge to the ruling authorities (Cotter 1994:370). The claim is made on the basis of (mis-)reading the term ἐκκλησία as a civic term, but not one adopted by the associations; this misses the implications of her earlier note that "it was not at all unusual to create offices similar to those at city hall" (1994:370). Women are involved in the leadership of associations which adopt other civic titles, but such associations were not seen to be directly countering the civic structure of the city (neither generally or in Cotter's outline). I do not see why it should be so in the case of ἐκκλησία. This is not to deny that the roles given to women in associations that used civic nomenclature would have allowed the women a sense of participation in the civic process denied to them outside the group. My disagreement is with Cotter's implication (through the use of the word "countercultural") that these associations are presenting a threat to the civic structure. Although the associations were sometimes perceived as a political threat, it was not due to their leadership structure. In fact, there is probably an attempt on the part of the associations to appeal to the civic leaders by imitation.

184. See Portefaix 1988:155 n. 3, for this dating; on the authenticity and integrity of the letter see Dehandschutter 1989:276-79.
will be visiting Philippi. His singling out of this woman suggests that she was not merely moving to Philippi but that she had a significant role in the ministry of the larger church and was coming to Philippi to exercise that role (cf. Thomas 1972:120).

Inscriptions from the site of the ancient city suggest that during the Byzantine period (until the sixth century) women continued to serve in their churches. Graves associated with the basilicas in Philippi refer to various women as "deacon" (διάκοινος, used even after διακόνισσα came into use in the third and fourth centuries), "canoness" (κανονική), and "servants" (δούλος, servus, used of both men and women; for details see Abrahamsen 1987:23-28).185 The evidence suggests that despite not attaining the position of presbyter (seemingly the highest position in the later church at Philippi), women did play an influential role in the administration of the church (Abrahamsen 1987:28).186

While far from conclusive by itself, this evidence provides secondary support our earlier contention that women had a prominent role to play in the church in Philippi: from its possible beginnings in the house of Lydia, its growth through the work of Euodia and Syntyche, to its continuation through the ministry of the sister of Crescens and those mentioned on the gravestones. These are only a few names and services which we know of today. It is likely that there are many more unnamed women who were actively involved in the church in Philippi.

The Philippian church also has male leaders. Paul thanks the Philippians for sending Epaphroditus to him in his ministry (Phil 2:25-30). Paul describes him as an ἀπόστολος (Phil 2:25). This is usually translated in the non-technical sense of


186. Abrahamsen (1987:29) relates this influential role in the church to the prominent role women took among the cult officials in the worship of Isis and Diana at Philippi.
"messenger" (cf. BAGD s.v.).\(^{187}\) However, it is interesting to note that this is the only use of \(\alpha\pi\omega\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma\) in Philippians, unlike Paul’s practice elsewhere of giving this title to himself.\(^{188}\) Other male leaders would include the unnamed "true yokefellow" and Clement, both mentioned by Paul in 4:3. Thus, we may conclude that the Philippian church had a body of both male and female leaders, at least some of whom carried the titles \(\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma\) and \(\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma\).\(^{189}\) This situation is similar to situations often found among the leadership structure of the voluntary associations where we find male and female leaders serving together.\(^{190}\)

In summary, Paul’s letter to the Philippians indicates that leadership roles were undertaken by both men and women. That women could undertake such roles is consistent with the larger cultural context of first century Philippi and, more interestingly for our study, entirely appropriate in the context of a voluntary association.

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\(^{187}\) This translation reflects Epaphroditus being sent by the Philippians (not God) to Paul.

\(^{188}\) Although clearly Paul is aware that he does not have exclusive rights to the title, as he recognizes it as the primary category of church leadership instituted by God (1 Cor 12:28) and considers himself to be the "least" of the apostles (1 Cor 15:9).

\(^{189}\) That is, both men and women could have these titles and either title might have been carried by Euodia and/or Syntyche; cf. Fee 1995:69. Peterlin (1995:106-08) narrows the leadership titles of the women to \(\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma\) based on the lack of "biblical or extra-biblical evidence for the ascription of the title \(\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma\) to a woman in either the apostolic or early post-apostolic church" (1995:107; cf. Lightfoot 1881:158; Hawthorne 1983:179). However, his assumption about the earlier period based on the latter is surprising given his careful argument about the use of \(\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma\) for both men and women in the church, which attempts not to read back from a later period. The absence of \(\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma\) applied to women at a later period and in other locations should not de facto rule out the possibility that Euodia and Syntyche held these positions at Philippi. On the masculine form of words applied to women see Peterlin 1995:107-08; cf. Fiorenza 1978:155: "we can assume that the NT androcentric language on the whole is inclusive of women until proven otherwise" (also quoted by Peterlin 1995:108).

\(^{190}\) Cf. Cotter (1994:369) on the leadership of men and women at Philippi: "Since Roman sensibilities allowed clubs with membership of both sexes, the fact that a Christian community encouraged the formation of such teams is not at all boldly innovative."
6.2.2.2. The Role of Founders

We will begin this section by looking at Paul and his relationship to the communities as it is portrayed in the letters, his conception of his role in the communities, and his presumed relationship with the audiences. There is no question that Paul founded the Christian community at both Thessalonica and Philippi. However, the text of the letters indicates that he continues to function as the founder figure in a way analogous to the roles such figures undertook in the voluntary associations.

After Paul left Thessalonica to go south he became worried about his church, so he sent Timothy back to remind the Christian community of his teaching and to encourage them (3:2). When Timothy returned to Paul his report was positive. Many of the Thessalonians still had great affection for Paul. Paul’s response to Timothy’s report was 1 Thessalonians. In it he issues assurance, comfort, gentle admonition and conciliation, encouragement, and pastoral care. All of the concerns of the congregation are addressed. Twice in the letter Paul states that he "loves" the Thessalonians (2:8 and 3:12).

In part of the letter’s exordium Paul presents a paraenetic description of his ministry among them, suggesting that he had God’s approval (2:4), did not preach with impure motives (2:5-6), and did not act improperly in asking them for money but instead worked for his living (2:9-10). He is very concerned that the Thessalonians not think that he founded their Christian community for the wrong reasons (out of greed; to gain honour, 2:5-6) or with the wrong methods (words of flattery, 2:5). Instead he held them very dear to himself (2:7, 11-12), being "gentle as a nurse taking care of her children" (2:7) and "like a father with his children" (2:11; see Malherbe 1989b:47-48).

191. As well as those at Corinth and Galatia. It is interesting to note that Paul’s exhortations to imitate him are only given to communities which he has founded; see Stanley 1959:877.
While in the letter opening Paul does not give himself or his colleagues any title, either "apostle" or "slave," later he refers to himself and his colleagues as "apostles of Christ" (2:6). This is probably to bolster the position of Timothy, whom Paul sent as his representative to the Thessalonians (3:2, 6; cf. Laub 1976:31). Unlike in Philippians, where Paul uses the rhetoric of an encomium to defend his paradigmatic position as founder of the community, in 1 Thessalonians Paul is able to observe that the Thessalonians have already become "imitators" of him (1 Thess 1:6). This can be read as Paul’s defense of his "position as founder and pastor of his converts" (Richard 1995:66; cf. Laub 1976:30-31). Overall, Paul’s letter reflects a positive relationship of a founder with his community.

Paul’s use of the verb δοκιμάζω in 1 Thessalonians is interesting in this respect (2:4; 5:21). This "exceptional verb ... was used in political circles to describe the process whereby a potential magistrate or a citizen destined for some other significant political post was scrutinized and then officially approved for his functions" (R.F. Collins 1993:22; Moulton and Milligan 1914:167). However, such a use was also taken over by the associations. The regulations of the orgeones of the fourth century BCE Piraeus uses it for the approval of candidates by the members (δοκιμάζω, δοκιμασθέντων; IG II² 1361). Likewise, the regulations of an ἐρανος (IG II² 1369; Athens, II CE) reads "let the president and the chief eranistes, and the secretary, and

192. Contra Hainz (1972:36) who suggests that in making no distinction between himself and his co-workers Paul is recognizing their equal and independent status and authority; "Diese Autorität erscheint nicht als vermittelt durch den Apostel oder abgeleitet von ihm; sie ist eine Autorität sui generis, die ihren Ursprung in Gott selbst hat, der zu solcher Mitarbeit beruft."

193. Not only have the Thessalonians become imitators of Paul and of the Lord in their acceptance of the gospel, they themselves have also become an example for other congregations to follow (1 Thess 1:6-10).

194. Although in keeping with his use of the word elsewhere; see Rom 1:28; 2:18; 12:2; 14:22; 1 Cor 3:13; 11:28; 16:3; 2 Cor 8:8; 22; 13:5; Gal 6:4; Phil 1:10.

195. Cf. also IG II² 1368 (δοκιμασθή [L. 35], δοκιμασθείς [L. 54]; Athens, 178 BCE).
the treasurers and the *syndics* examine (δοκιμαζ[ις]τω) [the candidate for membership]. A form of the same word is used in describing the current leader of the festival and president of the athletic games at Ephesos (δοκιμωτάτον; *I Eph* 24; 160-64 CE).  

Paul uses δοκιμάζω twice in 1 Thess 2:4 of God, who is said to have "approved" Paul and his missionary associates and who "tests" the hearts of those who preach. For Paul’s view of his own leadership position it is God who has taken over the function of "approving" a worthy candidate. Paul uses δοκιμάζω again in 5:21, where the Thessalonians are exhorted to "test everything" (δοκιμάζετε). For the Thessalonians, it is not the leaders alone who test and approve all things. Each of the Thessalonians is to participate in the process of judging between what is good and what is evil (5:21).

Turning to Philippians, that there is a strong bond of friendship between Paul and the Philippians has often been noted by commentators. In fact, Philippians is frequently referred to as a "letter of friendship," an acknowledgement of the warm relationship evident between Paul and the Philippian Christian community (e.g., 1:8; 2:2-4; 4:1).  

Voluntary associations were often concerned with friendship. *IG II² 1369* (Athens, II CE) suggests that the common bond among members of an association at

196. Cf. the approval of honours for a man who has acted as priest and agonothete in an association of Dionysiac artists on Delos ([δοκιμωθείς; *IG* XI/4 1061; 172-67 BCE), although most of the word is reconstructed. In *IG* V/1 1390 (Andania, 98 BCE) it is used of the approval of animals for sacrifice and the approval of a motion.

197. Donfried (1985:342) suggests that the testing of the Spirit is done so as not to confuse the gift of the Spirit with "the excesses of the Dionysiac mysteries."


199. Cf. *Philliippi* 4 [64], 5 [65], and 6 [66] record votives set up on behalf of the "gladiator friends" (φιλοκυνηγῶν τοῦ στέμματος).
Athens was friendship; "male friends convened a club (δραυνον σύναγον) by common council and established an ordinance of friendship."200 Similarly, IG II² 1275 records a law (νόμος) which, when ratified, will bind the members of the association to act to right wrongs done to fellow members and their "friends," to provide burial for deceased members and to attend the burial, and to notify relatives and "friends" about the death.201

Reumann (1996:106) correctly points out that Paul does not use the terms and rules of friendship in the letter, thus "[a] 'society of friends,' Greco-Roman style, is not Pauline ecclesiology."202 Yet voluntary associations used a spectrum of friendship language from "fellow-workers" (συνεργος), to "sacrificing associates" (ἄργεϊνες), to

200. For "friends" (φίλος) as members of an association see also SEG XXIX 1188, 1195; DŌAW 80 (1962) 17 no. 13; TAM II 1,230; CIL V 4395, 4483; VI 6220; X 6699; Poland 1909:53-54; Kloppenborg 1993a:216 n. 17. Friendship played an important role in Greco-Roman antiquity. Friends were those with whom one could grow and develop physically, mentally, and spiritually. Foundational for friendship was the exchange of services and often friends helped one another in times of financial need. A widely known and oft quoted slogan in Greek literature is τοῖς φίλοσιε πάντα κοινά οί κοινὰ τα φιλαν ("among friends, everything is common"; e.g., Plato, Resp. 4.424a; 5.449c; Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 11.52 1168b; Diogenes Laertius 10.11; Philo, Abr. 235; Vit. Mos. 1.28.156; cf. Cicero, Off. 1.16.51; Barnabas 19.8). For the most part, this "community of goods" was not a legal arrangement, but a knowledge that affection for one's friends would move one to put one's goods at their disposal when the need arose. This relationship was temporary and served a different purpose than the patron-client relationship common in the Roman world (on friendship in antiquity see further Garnsey and Saller 1987:154-56). The voluntary association inscriptions cited above reflect this strong bond of friendship in a more formal fashion by suggesting that friendship is the basis for establishing an association.

It is interesting to note that Luke's presentation of the foundational stage of the early Christian community at Jerusalem is couched in the language of friendship. The believers are said to hold "all things in common" (εἰχον ἵπαντα κοινα, Acts 2:44) which would bring to mind for the Greco-Roman reader the Hellenistic topos of friendship (see J.Dupont 1979:91-95; Johnson 1977:187). This is also true for Luke's comment that the believers "were of one heart and soul" (τοι δὲ πλήθους τῶν πιστευόντων ἵν καρδία καὶ ψυξῆ μία, Acts 4:32). See further J.Dupont 1979:96-100.

201. It is possible that this inscription began with an enactment formula like that found in IG II² 1369. This then becomes the "law of the subscribers" and thus the foundational document for the association (cf. W.S.Ferguson 1911:218-19).

"friends" (φίλοι), to "brothers" (αδελφοί). It is clear that the Philippian community (and that of the Thessalonians) fits well within this spectrum.

Indications of a strong communal bond among the Philippians is manifested through Paul’s use of κοινωνία and its cognates.203 There are two ways in which these words are used in the letter. First, they are used to underline a relationship with the divine realm. Paul writes of his own κοινωνίαν παθημάτων of Christ (3:10). Yet there is also a communal aspect to this relationship with the divine realm, which Paul expresses as κοινωνία πνεύματος (2:1) and συγκοινωνούς μου τῆς χάριτος (1:7). In both cases the Philippians are indicated together in their experience of the divine realm.

The second sense in which κοινωνία is presented in Philippians is the human relationship the Philippians share with Paul. In Phil 4:14 Paul notes that πλὴν καλῶς ἐποιήσατε συγκοινωνήσαντές μου τῇ θλίψει. He also states that they have had a κοινωνία in the gospel with him from the beginning (1:5) and that from that time οὐδεμιά μοι ἐκκλησία ἐκοινώνησεν εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς μόνοι (4:15).

These latter two verses are used by Sampley (1980, esp. 51-72) to suggest that Paul is here referring to the creation of a legally recognized contractual partnership (a societas Christi) with the Philippians.205 Within this relationship, the Philippians were expected to reimburse Paul for expenses incurred during his evangelistic efforts. However, Sampley’s explanation does not detail actual community structure so much as

203. The nature of Paul’s concept of κοινωνία has generated much literature, although one of the most comprehensive studies is that of Hainz 1982. On the various uses of κοινωνία and cognates in classical literature see Campbell 1932:352-60.

204. Vincent (1897:105) suggests that this is a “mystical union with Christ,” which Beare (1959:123) broadens to include both the mystical experience and experiences in this world. This is an interpretation with which Hainz (1982:98-99) is sympathetic.

205. He argues a similar case for Paul’s relationship with Philemon, but suggests that these are the only two letters which reflect this type of relationship between Paul and his converts.
Paul's possible relationship with the communities. Recently, Berry (1996:118) has pointed out that, "the language which Sampley sees as the technical terminology of legal partnerships is used with reference to the broader range of social relations encompassed by φιλία and amicitia." Thus, while some sort of arrangement has been established by Paul and the Philippians, it is not understood simply or solely as a financial one (cf. Campbell 1932:371; L.M. White 1990b:210-12).

Turning to the voluntary association inscriptions may help to shed some light on Paul's choice to use κοινωνία and its cognates. One common title used for associations is that of τὸ κοινόν. It can also stand as the title given for the collective membership of an association. For example, an inscription from Athens (237/36 BCE) records the honours given to the founder and benefactor of a θίασος by the members, referred to as τὸ κοινόν. The earlier part of the inscription can be translated,

Whereas Sophron has generously and enthusiastically organized the thiasos and provided it with a stele to be set up in the temple, wishing to enhance the koinon at his own expense; and in order that there might be a rivalry among those who wish to be benefactors to the koinon and that they might know that they shall receive thanks; for good fortune, it has been resolved by the members of the thiasos. . . .

We find a similar use of θίασος for the association and τὸ κοινόν for the membership in the regulations of an association from second century CE Physcos (IG IX/1 670). Paul's use of κοινωνία and its cognates would underline the Philippian Christian community's self-understanding as an association.207

Once formed, many associations remained under the control of their founder (San Nicolò 1915:2:7-8). In a II/III CE inscription from Sounion (Attica; IG II² 1366) the

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206. See Poland 1909:163-68; see esp. IG II² 1291 (Piraeus); 1327 (Piraeus, 177/76 BCE); 1368 (Athens, 178 CE); IG XII/3 330 (Thera, 210-195 BCE).

207. For a more complete discussion of Paul's conception of κοινωνία throughout his letters see Hainz 1982 and Campbell 1932.
founder, Xanthos, dedicated a ἰερόν.208 Xanthos does not restrict membership in his association; anyone may enter, so long as they have been purified (cf. SIG³ 985). It seems, however, that Xanthos was concerned to maintain control of the association, since no sacrifice is to be made if he is not present (LL. 7-8). To prevent this a curse formula is invoked which renders the sacrifice ineffective. Xanthos’ concern for control is again evidenced only a few lines later where provision is made for a time when he might be incapacitated or absent. In such cases only his designated representative is to have any authority in the association. This regulation has been strengthened since the first draft of the inscription. There it reads: "But if he (the founder) dies or is sick or is travelling, let the one to whom he hands over (authority) serve the god" (see IG II² 1365). In the later inscription the phrase "serve the god" (Θεραμενέω τὸν θεόν) has been replaced by "let no one have authority except the one to whom he hands it over" (μηθένα ἀνθρώπων ἐξουσίαν ἐχειν, ἐὰν μὴ, L. 14). However, this concern is seemingly belied by the later comment that "those who wish may form an association for Men" (L. 21). It seems that Xanthos is not concerned to control the worship of Men generally, but only his own association.209

In a similar manner Paul seems concerned to protect his role as the founder of the Philippian community. In the face of external opposition from the Jewish-Christian agitators and other groups at Philippi (Phil 3:18-21; see below) Paul uses the rhetoric of an encomium to recommend himself as worthy of imitation (3:2-21; see details

208. Note, this is not an ὀξος; compare with SIG³ 985 (Philadelphia) where Dionysos opens up his οξος to the cult association.

209. On Xanthos’ control of his own club, but his allowance for the formation of clubs dedicated to Men by others compare 2 Cor 10:16 where Paul speaks of not wanting to boast of work done in another’s field—there is a sense that certain people have claims on particular areas/congregations, although all are Christians. Sokolowski (1969:108) suggests of this inscription that "il s’agit de la fondation d’une association d’aide mutuelle pour faciliter l’affranchissement" (from slavery).
§3.3.2, above). This also serves his larger concern in the letter to address the issue of how the Philippians are to stand firm and united as they wait for God to complete the good work in them. According to our initial analysis of the rhetoric of the letter, 3:2-21 serves as the probatio, or argument, to support Paul’s affirmation of the life of endurance and unity within the Philippian congregation. One of the overall effects of this encomium is to remind the Philippians of Paul’s status within the group as founder and of his expectation for their continued recognition of that position.

To further protect his own role as founder Paul includes a recommendation for Timothy whom he will soon send to Philippi to oversee things there on his behalf (2:19; cf. Hainz 1976a:115-18). Timothy’s role is contrasted with other people who are at work at Philippi, all of whom "look after their own interests, not those of Jesus Christ" (2:21). These self-serving founders/leaders and are not to be given any prominence in the community. So close is Paul to Timothy, that he considered their relationship one of father and son. As further support for Timothy as Paul’s representative, Timothy is given the co-authorship of the letter (1:1). Until Timothy’s arrival, Epaphroditus is returned to Philippi, again with a strong

210. Since Paul is writing a letter rather than inscribing a stone he can present a more nuanced defense of his own authority in the community. On the structure of an encomium see §3.3.2, above.

211. Although it is not a formal letter of introduction/recommendation, since Timothy is already known to the community. On letters of introduction/recommendation see J.L. White 1986:193-94.

212. On Paul’s reaction to other opponents see below.

213. This father-son relationship does not indicate that Timothy is not subordinate to Paul, as Hainz (1976a:115) claims—quite the contrary is implied; see Garnsey and Saller 1987:136-39 for a description of the authority and power a paterfamilias had over his sons. For an example of a single association being benefacted by a father and then a son, see SIRIS 123 [59] and 124 [60], both from Philippi.

214. Timothy was one of Paul’s closest co-workers and frequently travelled and worked on Paul’s behalf (O’Brien 1991:317). So close was the relationship that two pseudonymous letters of Paul are presented as having been written to Timothy (1 & 2 Timothy).
recommendation by Paul (2:25-30) and presumably the same purpose, to protect the interests of Christ against those who are self-serving.

When Paul himself arrives at Philippi it will be a "parousia" (1:26). By using παρουσία Paul conjures the image of "the ceremonious entry of a king or governor into a city, with all the manifestations of joy which attend it" (Beare 1959:63).215 Clearly Paul imagines that such a welcome awaits him at Philippi, given his relationship to his community there. Until that time the Philippians are to work out their salvation "not only as in my presence (παρουσία) but much more in my absence" (2:12), again indicating Paul’s dominant (and dominating) role in the community.216

215. Paul uses the word παρουσία eleven times. Five times it is used of the return of Christ (1 Cor 15:23; 1 Thess 2:19; 3:13; 4:15; 5:23), three times of Paul (2 Cor 10:10; Phil 1:26; 2:12), twice of Titus (2 Cor 7:6, 7), and once of Stephanus (1 Cor 16:17). In the case of Titus and Stephanus, Paul is expressing his joy at their arrival in his presence, not the presence of the community. In the case of 2 Cor 10:10 any sense of the glorious manifestation is immediately undermined with the attachment of "is weak" (where Paul is citing the accusation of his opponents in Corinth).

216. On the communal aspect of this phrase see Michael (1924:450) who states that the phrase τὴν ἐκατορτίαν σωτηρίαν κατασκεύασθε has "not to do with the personal salvation of the individual member of the church at Philippi, but with the welfare of the Christian community as a whole."
6.2.3. Community Interaction

6.2.3.1. Internal Relationships

Locating the Thessalonian Christian community in the context of the voluntary associations helps explain Paul’s injunction that the Thessalonians νουθετεύετε τούς ἀτάκτους (5:14).217 Ἀτάκτος and its cognates can have various meanings including "moral wrong-doing," "idleness from work," and "disorderliness" (see LSJ s.v.; Moulton and Milligan 1914:89; cf. Spicq 1956:1-8). Some commentators understand ἀτάκτος in 1 Thess 5:14 to mean "lazy" or "idle" (that is, those who will not work) based on Paul’s injunction in 4:11 and references to the idle in 2 Thess 3:6-11 (Milligan 1908:152-54; Frame 1912:196-97; Neil 1950:124; Best 1972:230 [who seems uncertain]; Bruce 1982:122-23; Wanamaker 1990:196-97; D.J. Williams 1992:96-97).218 If this is the case, then it is clear that Paul is writing to those whom others in the group could reasonably expect to be working, namely, other workers. As such, it fits well within the context of a workers’ association, particularly those of the

217. Paul also singles out the “fainthearted” and the “weak” as being in need of special attention.

218. The only New Testament occurrence of ἀτάκτος is 1 Thess 5:14. In the New Testament, 2 Thess 3:7 is the only occurrence of ἀτακτῶν and 2 Thess 3:6 and 11 the only occurrences of ἀτάκτως. Those who understand ἄτακτως/ἀτακτῶν in 2 Thess 3:6-12 as "disorderly" include Plummer 1918b:96; Rigaux 1956:704-05; Bruce 1982:205; Jewett 1986:104-05; R.F.Collins 1993:94; Menken 1994:130-33; D.J. Williams (1992:144) uses "idle" and "disorderly" interchangeably. Donfried (1993:141-42) suggests that it is best rendered "ill-ordered" or "not well-ordered," and indicates a problem within the congregation of some claiming a charismatic authority which places them in leadership over others (cf. Holmberg 1978:158-60; Russell 1988:107-08). However, since there are obvious contextual references to manual labour (3:7-8, 10, 12), and since ἀτάκτως/ἀτακτῶν is used in contexts of manual labour for "idle" or "non-workers" (Moulton and Milligan 1914:89) this would seem to be the most obvious reference point in this passage (so Frame 1912:299; Neil 1950:192-93; Mason 1957:112; Best 1972:333-34; Wanamaker 1990:282). The writer is addressing those who refuse to work, and exhorts them to work for their living (3:12). Delling (1972:48) notes that it is not just a reference to laziness but to an avoidance of work obligations through other tasks (what we might term procrastination); "outside Christianity the verb, when applied to work, does not in the first instance lay emphasis on sloth but rather on an irresponsible attitude to the obligation to work." This seems to be the way Richard (1995:379) understands it. For speculations on why some of the Thessalonian Christians might have given up working (based on the assumption that 2 Thess is authentic) see Malherbe 1987:101 (they have become cynic preachers), Russell 1988:108 (due to unemployment at Thessalonica), I.H. Marshall 1983:223 (disdain for manual labour), Winter 1989:312 (their reliance upon benefaction), Barclay 1993:522-24 (undertaking aggressive evangelism).
same trade (and perhaps even the same workshop) for whom the lack of a number of fellow-workers would required increased output on their behalf and would certainly strain community relations.219

However, a number of scholars understand ἀτάκτος to indicate undisciplined or disorderly actions or persons (Plummer 1918a:94; Rigaux 1956:582-83; I.H.Marshall 1983:150; Jewett 1986:104-05; R.F.Collins 1993:94; Richard 1995:270).220 The word was used for "standing against the order or nature of God" and in military contexts of those who would not follow commands or who broke rank (Plummer 1918a:94; Jewett 1986:104). The use in 1 Thessalonians suggests to some commentators that some Christians have given up working and are trespassing social boundaries because they perceive the parousia to be near (Marxsen 1979:71; Jewett 1986:104-05). Jewett (1986:105) suggests that they are "obstinate resisters of authority" and turns to 2 Thess 3:6-15 to suggest that they have also given up their occupations and are relying on other members of the congregation for support. Jewett (1986:105) is correct that "[t]here is no evidence in this passage that the motivation of their behaviour was laziness," a false inference, he suggests, from Paul's own example of his self-sufficiency. However, neither does Jewett make a strong case that the ἀτάκτος are

219. This is how we understood the use of the cognates in 2 Thess 3:6-12 (see previous note) but it need not carry the same meaning here. "There is nothing in the immediate context of our verse [1 Thess 5:14] to suggest which meaning Paul has in mind; that he uses the root in one sense on a later occasion does not imply that he must have so used it earlier when on a priori grounds there is an equally probable meaning" (Best 1972:230; cf. Richard 1995:270). These comments are even more apropos if we are considering the works of two different writers.

220. A close connection was often made between laziness and disorderliness so the term might indicate both. R.F.Collins suggest that this group of "disorderly" were the "only distinct group of Thessalonians identified by Paul" (1993:95, citing also Holtz 1986:230-15; Schnelle 1990:299), but this assumes a technical designation for ἀτάκτος and overlooks Paul's reference to the leaders in 5:12, as well as the "faint-hearted" and "weak" in 5:14.
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directly challenging the leadership of the Christian community, an inference based on military contexts.221

Jewett surveys a number of models which have been used to understand the community situation at Thessalonica. We will summarize each and note how they understand the ἀτακτοι in their schema.222 Frame (1912:5-7, 197) advocates the model of a "revivalistic congregation" in which some of the enthusiastic congregation have given up their daily work responsibilities. Dobschütz (1909:182-83) suggests that the Thessalonians had an overly literal understanding of eschatology and that the ἀτακτοι had left their jobs to become involved in an aggressive propaganda campaign in the public forum, resulting in their impoverishment. Best (1972:229-30, 334-35) imagines a fairly stable, "average," trouble free congregation, within whom the ἀτακτοι are small group of troublemakers. Lütgert (1909) proffers a model of a group of ἀτακτοι who advocated a level of charismatic freedom and power superior to that of Paul. A number of scholars understand the ἀτακτοι at Thessalonica to be enthusiasts whose realized eschatology makes them sure that they are presently living in the Kingdom of God (Reese 1979:141; Mearns 1980; Bruce 1978:333; Jewett 1972223), while other simply emphasize the enthusiasm of the ἀτακτοι (Saunders 1981:2-3, 41; Friedrich 1976:205; Marxsen 1979:21).

221. The best evidence comes from the reference in 5:12 to leaders who admonish the Thessalonians (μυθεστηρας ἡμᾶς) and the injunction that the Thessalonians admonish (μυθεστηθεῖτε) the ἀτακτοι in 5:14 (not mentioned by Jewett). However, this is tenuous at best and Paul’s words in both verses need to be seen as directed to the congregation as whole. The first reference need not indicate that the function of the leaders is to admonish the idle.

222. The following is a brief summary of Jewett’s lengthy analysis (1986:135-47). Less relevant for our purpose is his critique of the Gnostic model and his summary of the seminal work of the Divine Man model as it is related to his own theory (1986:47-57).

223. Although Jewett himself held this position in an earlier publication (1972), he backs away from it in a later work (1986:146-47).
Jewett himself suggests that the sociological designation of a millenarian movement best describes the Thessalonian Christians (1986:161-71). A small group of persons had acted out the implications of the coming parousia by giving up working. They were not only opposing the community leaders but were advocating sexual licentiousness (1986:176-78). When grounded in the cultural context of Thessalonica, these ἀτακτοὶ were perceived by some to be "more appropriate embodiments of the apostolic role" as they "conformed more closely to the culturally favored model of the traditional priests and devotees of the Cabiric cult whose orgies gave proof of their divinization" (1986:170). The most telling point against Jewett’s hypothesis is his admission that "the Thessalonian situation is rather atypical of other millenarian movements" in that opposition and the death of some members led to a "crisis of morale" (1986:176). One would expect, as Jewett points out, that this would intensify the movement, as it does in millenarian movements generally. Moreover, although Jewett suggests much of the letter is addressed to issues raised by the presence of the ἀτακτοὶ, they are only singled out as a problematic group near the end of the letter, very briefly and among the "faint-hearted" and "weak," all of whom the Thessalonians are told to be patient with. This is hardly what one would expect for such a group of troublemakers as Jewett constructs.

In almost all of the cases reviewed above the eschatological context determines for the interpreter who Paul addresses as the ἀτακτοὶ in 1 Thess 5:14, although almost universally 2 Thessalonians is immediately introduced into the picture (cf. Richard 1995:270).224 However, the context of 1 Thess 5:12-22, and the shift at 5:11 from the

224. Jewett himself assumes that apocalypticism is the dominant theme not only of the letter but within the congregation. However, this is based more on his reading of 2 Thess, which he understands to be authentic. Thus, he describes the Thessalonians as, for example, "a charismatic, apocalyptic congregation in the Greco-Roman culture that had experienced a world-shaking conversion from paganism" (1986:141). This mixed description assumes both that charism and apocalypticism was unknown outside of Christian/Jewish circles (untrue) and that "world-shaking conversion" has to do with such beliefs rather than a reconfiguring of previous social relationships. He chides some scholars for assuming that the Thessalonian Christians were an amorphous, low-intensity community (1986:141), but his own assumptions indicate that they must have been fairly dull lot as pagans! Jewett points out the modern
probatio to the peroratio, means that the preceding discussion of eschatology need not frame the discussion of the ἀτακτοί in 1 Thessalonians.\(^{225}\) In fact, the pericope 5:12-22 seems to be concerned with internal community relationships and one cannot simply bracket out the ἀτακτοί as a separate problem. They are part of Paul’s concern that the members of the community coexist well together, encouraging one another (5:11, 14) including the leaders (5:12), being considerate of others ("faint-hearted," "weak"), and worship God properly, not in a context of personal piety (as the following is most often read) but of communal piety:

Rejoice always, pray constantly, give thanks in all circumstances; for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus for you. Do not quench the Spirit, do not despise prophesying, but test everything; hold fast to what is good, abstain from every form of evil. (5:16-22)

With this communal context in mind, we turn again to the voluntary associations. A number of inscriptions show that the voluntary associations often struggled with the problem of disorderly behaviour, so much so that legislation was introduced to limit it, and fines and/or corporal punishment were used to enforce the legislation.\(^{226}\) For church models read back in to the Thessalonians’ situation by other scholars but does not seem to have escaped it himself; his model seems to be that of modern North American evangelicals converted from nominal Christian backgrounds and now focused on the soon coming return of Jesus.

225. The same is true of 2 Thess 3:6-13.

226. Problems with the disorderly also occurred within the public cults. A fourth century BCE regulation for the festival of the Artemisia requires that the presidents of the games conduct the games in a just manner and fine those who are disorderly (τοὺς ἀτακτῷντας; IG XII/9 189; Eretria). In a public procession from the temple of Athena (CIG 3599, Ilion, II BCE) the regulations stipulate that "there are to be appointed two men who are to take care that there is good order [in the procession] and those who have been appointed are to have power to beat with a rod (ῥάβδίον) those who are disorderly (τοὺς ἀτακτῷντας)" (LL. 27-29). One frequently meets the ῥάβδοντας in the inscriptions from public cults and private associations, and even, according to Acts 16:35, 38, at Philippi where the magistrates use them as a go-between with the jailer.
example, the second century CE rule of the Iobacchi (IG II² 1368; Athens) uses the verb ἀκοσμέω, a synonym of ἀτακτέω,227 of those who disrupt a meeting:

If anyone begins a fight or if someone is found disorderly (ἐφέσω ὧς ἀκοσμῶν), or if someone comes and sits in someone else’s seat or is insulting or abuses someone else . . . and the one who committed the insult or the abuse shall pay to the association 25 drachmae and the one who was the cause of the fight shall pay the same 25 drachmae or not come to any more meetings of the Iobacchi until he pays." (LL. 72-83)

In lines 136-146 ἀκοσμέω is used again in a similar context. Anyone who causes a disturbance at a meeting is indicated by an official through the touch of a θύρσος228 and is signaled to leave the feast. Should one so designated refuse to leave, a special category of "bouncers" (ἵπποι) was in place to remove physically such persons, who then also became liable to the same punishment stipulated earlier for those who fight.

In the regulations of the mysteries of Andania (IG V/1 1390; 96 BCE) there is a section entitled "Concerning the Disorderly" (ἀκοσμομούντων) which reads

And whenever the sacrifices and mysteries are celebrated, let everyone keep silent and listen to the things announced. And let the officers flog the disobedient and those who live indecently and prevent them from (participating) in the mysteries" (LL. 39-41).

Such inscriptions give some indication of the type of disturbances that could occur at a meeting (fighting, disruptions of order and ceremony, abuse of others),

227. That ἀτακτέω and ἀκοσμέω can be used synonymously can be seen in Suidas' Lexicon entry for ἀκοσμος which lists simply "ἀτρικτή, ἀτακτή." Plutarch uses the cognates synonymously in describing the universe, noting that there is nothing ἄτακτον ὁμοὶ ἀκατακτόμενου ("unplaced or unorganized") left over to crash into the existing worlds (Def. Orac. 424 A, LCL). In describing one who must evidence repentance Philo notes that a person must avoid "great gatherings" (τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν διάσωσι) since "a crowd (δύλος) is another name for everything that is disorderly (ἀτακτόν), indecorous (ἀκοσμοῦν), discordant (πλημμυράς), culpable (ὑπαίτων)" (Praem. Poen. 20, LCL). When writing of matter and its relationship to God, Origen refers at one point to matter being in a state of confusion and disorder (ἡ ἡ δὲ ἄτακτον ἡ ὀλη καὶ ἀκόσμητος, Philocal. 24.1), using the words as synonyms.

228. It is unclear whether this is a simple touch or a significant blow.
along with guidance on how to deal with such (fines and floggings).\(^{229}\) I agree with Jewett and others that \(\acute{\alpha}t\acute{a}k\dot{t}\alpha\) indicates that some in the Thessalonian Christian community are disorderly but suggest that this is not a challenge to the leadership from a "break-away" group but involves disruptions and disturbances in the context of worship (cf. Spicq 1956:11-12; Reicke 1962).\(^{230}\) Paul's injunction "see that none of you repays evil for evil, but always seek to do good to one another and to all," following his "be patient with them all" (including the \(\acute{\alpha}t\acute{a}k\dot{t}\alpha\)) indicates that verbal admonishing should suffice to stem disorderliness rather than fines and flogging.

In 1 Thess 4:11 Paul encourages the Thessalonians \(\varphi\iota\lambda\omicron\omicron\omicron\tau\iota\mu\acute{e}i\sigma\theta\iota\upsilon\upsilon\varsigma\epsilon\upsilon\nu.\(^{231}\) In doing so he uses a term frequent in voluntary association inscriptions but he gives it a different nuance. The verb \(\varphi\iota\lambda\omicron\omicron\omicron\tau\iota\mu\acute{e}i\sigma\theta\iota\upsilon\upsilon\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\), and the cognate noun, \(\varphi\iota\lambda\omicron\omicron\omicron\tau\iota\mu\iota\alpha\), are often used in the voluntary association inscriptions in contexts not of "living quietly" but of competition between members. It is most often used for the competition and rivalry for

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229. Cf. also CIL XIV 2112; P.Mich.Teb 243; P.Lond. 2710. In Macedonia a gymnasialchal law from Beroea (published by Cormack 1977) legislates against disobedient, unruly behaviour using the word \(\acute{\alpha}t\acute{a}k\dot{t}\epsilon\omega\) (cf. Horsley 1987:104). From Amphipolis the fragment of a military code from \textit{ca.} 200 BCE seems to refer to the need to control soldiers who are intent on looting (SEG 40 [1990] no. 524 fr. A, col. 2, LL. 1-3; cf. Spicq 1956:6 and nn. 2 & 3).

230. Reicke (1951:242-43, 247) also connects the \(\acute{\alpha}t\acute{a}k\dot{t}\alpha\) to the associations, but does so in the context of their eschatological enthusiasm ("Schwärmerei"), and particularly Paul's reference to "drinking" in 1 Thess 5:7. He moves quickly to emphasize that the \(\acute{\alpha}t\acute{a}k\dot{t}\alpha\) were also lazy and living the "parasitic" life, drawing almost immediately upon 2 Thess 3:6-16 (1951:243-44). He concludes, "dass die soziale Unordnung in Thessalonien ein Ausdruck der eschatologischen Überspannheit war, oder der Schwärmerei" (Reicke 1951:245). Later in the same work Reicke (1951:321-38) details the community problems encountered in the associations, but does not tie it in explicitly to his earlier discussion of Paul's Christian communities ("Zum Teil fällt das Licht rückwärts auf die oben behandelten paulinischen Briefe," 1951:338).

231. Paul uses \(\varphi\iota\lambda\omicron\omicron\omicron\tau\iota\mu\acute{e}i\sigma\theta\iota\upsilon\upsilon\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\) in two other places, in Rom 15:20 of preaching the gospel and 2 Cor 5:9, of pleasing God.
honour within the group itself.232 The quest for honours was promoted as a means to encourage members to contribute more and more lavishly to the social practices of the association. For example, in IG Π² 1263 (Piraeus, 300 BCE) the secretary of an association is honoured with the erection of a statue, "so that also the others shall be zealous for honour (φιλοτιμώντας) among the members, knowing that they will receive thanks from the members deserving of benefaction."233 In the second century CE at Athens an association of male friends (ἕρανον σύναγον φίλοι ἄνδρες) proclaimed "let the association increase by zeal for honour" (αὐξανέτω δ'[ε] ὁ ἕρανος ἐπὶ φιλοτεμίας, IG Π² 1369). For Paul, in contrast, the "quest for honour" is found in a community of mutual co-existence, not a life of competition with one another for honour.234

Philippians also reflects a concern with internal community relationships, since Paul’s emphasis on the communal dimension of the Philippians’ life can be found throughout the letter. For example, Paul notes that "God is at work among you" (2:13), in reference to working out one’s salvation; this is not individualism but an emphasis on a corporate sense of identity. Paul is "concerned with the Philippian church in its corporate life and its corporate activity" (Beare 1959:91). We noted earlier that at a

232. Cf. Kloppenborg 1996b:258. Φιλοτιμία can also be used to describe the benefaction itself; see IG Π² 1292 (Attica, III BCE) where crowns are awarded to the treasurer and secretary of the association of Sarapistai "so that there will be a rivalry among everyone to strive for honour" ([ἐ]φιλομελλον ἦ το [εἰς οἱ] ἵντοις φιλο[πεσθαι]); cf. IG Π² 1314 (Piraeus, 213/12 BCE); 1315 (Piraeus, 211/10 BCE); IG XII/5 606 (Ceos, III BCE); IDelos 1519 (153/52 BCE).

233. "Ὅπως ἐν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι φιλοτιμῶνται εἰς τοὺς θειασώτας, εἰδότας ὅτι χάριτας ἀπολήσονται παρὰ τῶν θειαστῶν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐνεργητικῶν, LL. 27-31. Cf. IG Π² 1271 (a thiasos of Piraeus 298/97 BCE); 1273.A (a θίασος in Piraeus 222/21 BCE); 1277 (a κοινόν in Athens, 278/77 BCE); 1292 (a κοινόν in Athens, c. 250 BCE).

234. Contra the usual understanding of 1 Thess 4:11 as referring to individuals who should not rely on the support of others in the church: Milligan 1908:55; Frame 1912:163; Plummer 1918a:66; Neil 1950:87-88; Best 1970:177-78; Bruce 1982:91-93; Wanamaker 1990:164; D.J. Williams 1992:78.
number of points Paul makes reference to their κοινωνία. In each case, his use of the word or its cognates involves the community's relationships, either with one another or with Paul. "In 2:1 Paul appeals for unity and harmony on the basis of their experience of κοινωνία πνεύματος, i.e., either their 'joint-participation' in the Spirit or their 'fellowship' created by the Spirit" (Berry 1996:118). In 3:10 κοινωνία is used of Paul's sharing in Christ's sufferings, linked to the communal aspect of the Philippians though 4:14 and 1:7 where συγκοινωνέω and συγκοινωνός are used respectively of the Philippians sharing in Paul's troubles and God's grace to him in such troubles.

One of the most interesting places in which unity is emphasized, along with humility, in the letter is in the hymn (Phil 2:6-11). The introductory verse (2:5) suggests that the hymn is setting up the basis upon which the community is to relate to one another. As Beare (1959:73) translates it, "Let this be the disposition that governs in your common life, as is fitting in Christ Jesus." The hymn that follows emphasizes humility and service within the community; "The model of selflessness, the willingness to give up one's own status and share another's troubles, is the ultimate sign of true friendship" (L.M. White 1990b:212, cf. 212-15).

Paul's exhortation to "do all things without grumbling or questioning" (2:14) attempts to legislate (in a mild way) how the members of the Christian community should interact with one another. We find similar attempts in the internal regulations of voluntary associations. A fourth century BCE inscription from an Athenian association stipulates that anyone who attempts to introduce legislation which goes against that already agreed upon by the membership is to be fined (IG II² 1361; see also IG II² 1275). In the rule of the Iobacchi at Athens anyone who should "sing or cause

235. This emphasis on κοινωνία can be contrasted to the divisive elements at work against the Philippians.

236. Pace Berry (1996:118) who excludes 3:10 from contexts of social relations—"all but one case involve social relations."
disturbances or applaud" and not "speak or do their part with all decorum and quietness" is subject to expulsion and/or fines (IG II 1368; cf. IG V/1 1390 LL. 39-44; see also LSAM 9).

In contrast to the imposition of such steep penalties, indicating that the conflict within a group was a serious concern for the membership, that Paul only mildly exhorts the Philippians not to "grumble or question" and likewise is rather mild in his attempt to unite Euodia and Syntyche, speaks well of the Philippians ability to get along. Unlike the Corinthians, the Philippians have no need to be told to take turns in prophesying (1 Cor 14:26-33) or even be silenced during worship (1 Cor 14:34-35), and certainly have not sunk so low as to be taking one another to court (1 Cor 6:1-8).

Along with the emphasis on unity and cooperation, the voluntary associations also emphasized interpersonal rivalry and competition, with particular attention to φιλοστοιχία. Such "love of honour" was the motivating factor for many benefactors of the associations. In contrast to this striving for honour in the associations, Paul's injunction that the Philippians "do nothing from selfishness or conceit" indicates that they are not to compete with one another but "in humility count others better" than themselves (2:3).

Nevertheless, Paul's hope not to be put to "shame" (1:20) and his

237. Cf. P.Lond. 2710 in which members are forbidden "to make factions . . . to enter into one another's pedigrees at the banquet, or to abuse one another at the banquet or chatter or to indict or charge one another or to resign during the course of the year or to bring the drinking to naught."

238. Although I think the latter verses are best omitted on text critical grounds; see Fee 1987:699-708, but see Jervis 1995 for an alternative view.

239. On the disruptions experienced in the voluntary associations as a suitable background for understanding 1 Cor 6:1-8 see the independent studies published by Kloppenborg 1996b:247-63 and Schmoller 1995:86-87; both are described in §5.2, above.

240. For example, see IG II 1263; 1271; 1291; 1292; 1317; 1327; 1369.

241. This may apply directly to Euodia and Syntyche (so Beare 1959:143; Peterlin 1995:101-02; Murphy-O'Connor 1996:219, 224), but does not also preclude application to others in the community.
reference to a "crown" (4:1) do recall the language of honour/shame as expressed within the associations.

We have seen that although there are some similarities between the Macedonian Christian communities and the voluntary associations, in both Philippians and 1 Thessalonians Paul reflects a desire for a community *ethos* different from that found in the associations. Yet it is significant that Paul uses voluntary association language to produce this different community *ethos*. Paul uses association language self-consciously to encourage a different type of social control (without fines or floggings). This again suggests that the Macedonian Christian communities share the same discursive field as the associations and are best placed within that field. That is, despite these differences in community relationships, they are still most analogous to the voluntary associations.

6.2.3.2. Concern with Outsiders

When we turn to Paul’s letters to the Macedonian Christian communities to see how they view outsiders we find a number of terms and concepts used which again bring to mind the voluntary associations. However, in this case, Paul’s rhetoric clearly is contrasting the Christian groups to whom he speaks with the usual practices and expectations of associations. For example, Paul’s warnings against drinking/drunkenness which occurs at night in 1 Thess 5:7 may refer to the heavy drinking which took place during the meetings of many associations. In fact, some associations may have met in taverns. Claudius closed taverns in Rome and Ostia as

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part of his suppression of the associations (Dio Cassius 60.6.6-7; Cotter 1993:99, cf. 1996:80). Paul's concern with this issue, albeit in passing, may be that the Thessalonians not be involved in the same type of activity as that prevailed in many associations.

A second connection with the associations is Paul's concern that the Thessalonians "command the respect of outsiders" (4:12). Voluntary associations certainly did not always command the respect of those outside the group. Least impressed most often were the civic magistrates and the imperial governors from Rome, and during the Roman period voluntary associations experienced sporadic official resistance (for details of the following summary see Cotter 1996). There is some evidence of disruptions being caused by certain associations in Rome during the Late Republic; in 186 BCE the Roman Senate suppressed the association of Dionysos worshipers (Bacchanales). In 64 BCE collegia became involved in political action and were dissolved by the senate, a policy reinforced by two further decrees in 56 and 55 BCE (Duff 1938:107-08). In 49 BCE a Lex Julia instituted by Julius Caesar banned all associations except those which had been established for a long time.

By the time of Augustus (28 BCE—14 CE) the associations had proliferated once again and Augustus passed a law that every association must be sanctioned by the

244. Most commentators understand this in terms of individuals; for example, Frame (1912:163) suggests "behave themselves becomingly." Similarly Milligan (1908:54-55) who ties it in to the Rabbinical concern with what Gentiles think of Jews. Some connect it to apocalyptic enthusiasm at Thessalonica, while other focus on retirement from political involvement in favour of the quite life of philosophical reflection (see Richard 1995:219-20). Wanamaker (1990:164) understands it in light of a need to avoid further persecution of the church.

245. Jewish groups were granted this status and exempted from the ban (Cotter 1996:76-78; Richardson 1996:93), although it did not prevent them from occasionally being disbanded in later times (i.e., temporarily under Claudius; Cotter 1996:78).
senate or Emperor (see CIL VI 2193 = ILS 4966). Despite this, many illicit collegia continued to flourish (Hardy 1906:136). Associations seeking official permission to form were often already de facto in existence (Waltzing 1895:337). Official sanction only made them a legal association. In Egypt there are less literary and inscriptionsal references to associations obtaining official permission, but it is probable that the requirement to and procedure for obtaining permission was not significantly different from elsewhere (San Nicolò 1915:2:10-16). Under Hadrian, an association of Dionysiac artists reaffirms the permissions and privileges first granted to it by Claudius (see BGU 1074; cf. Cotter 1996:79, 86). "It is fair to say, even with such little evidence as this, that scrutiny of voluntary associations extended well beyond Rome's gates during Augustus' administration" (Cotter 1996:79). Under Tiberius (14-37 CE) associations fared no better, although they continued to exist. Gaius (36-41 CE) seems to have not acted against the associations, but Claudius (41-54 CE) "disbanded the clubs (εταυρείας), which had been reintroduced by Gaius" (Dio Cassius 60.6.6, LCL). Nero (54-68 CE) also acted against the "illegal" associations, showing that for a time they had continued to exist unabated.

The following second century CE exchange between Pliny, governor of Bithynia, and the Emperor Trajan over the formation of a firemen's guild illustrates that official wariness over such groups continued into the second century. Pliny is concerned because a recent fire in Nicomedia brought the lack of fire-fighting equipment and personnel to his attention. In writing to Trajan he asks,

Will you, Sir, consider whether you think a company of firemen might be formed, limited to 150 members? I will see that no one shall be admitted who is

246. Suetonius reports that Augustus "disbanded all guilds (collegia), except such as were of long standing and formed for legitimate purposes" (Vitae, "Augustus" 32.1, LCL). However, CIL VI 2193 (= Waltzing 3:227 no. 852; Rome, early I CE) suggests that they could exist with senate approval and an undertaking of public service (Cotter 1996:78). The inscription reads, "Dis manibus. Collegio symphoniacorum qui sacris publicis praestu sunt, quibus senatus c(oire) c(ogi) c(onvocari) permisit e lege Iulia ex auctoritate Aug(usti) ludorum causa."
not genuinely a fireman, and that the privileges granted shall not be abused: it will not be difficult to keep such small numbers under observation. (Epistulae 10.33.3; LCL)

Trajan's response expresses reluctance about such a plan:

You may very well have had the idea that it should be possible to form a company of firemen at Nicomedia on the model of those existing elsewhere, but we must remember that it is societies like these which have been responsible for the political disturbances in your province, particularly in its towns. If people assemble for a common purpose, whatever name we give them and for whatever reason, they soon turn into a political association. (Epistulae 10.34.1; LCL)

Trajan ends by suggesting that the fire-fighting equipment be made available and that property owners be made responsible for putting out the fires.248

In a separate exchange between Pliny and Trajan we find another illustration of official suspicion of associations. During his tenure as governor, Pliny was concerned about the formation of a "benefit society" (eranus)249 in Amisus (Epistulae 10.92). Since Amisus was a "free and confederate city," the people could govern all of their own affairs, with the exception of foreign policy (Wilken 1984:14; cf. Sherwin-White 1966:687). In giving his reply, Trajan allows that the city could found such an association, "especially if the contributions are not used for riotous and unlawful assemblies, but to relieve cases of hardship among the poor" (10.93). However, Trajan goes on to make it clear that this city has special status and such associations are forbidden in cities governed by Roman law. Clearly we see that a common purpose "for the good of society" justifies the existence of this association for the Emperor and

247. Sherwin-White (1966:610) points out that there had been much strife in the provinces, particularly between the rich and the poor. The rich were seen to have some advantage by being organized in their clubs.


249. Pliny employs the Greek word ἐρανος (latinized as eranus). This is different from his use of heraeria for the fire-fighter's club (Epistulae 10.33) and for Christian groups (Epistulae 10.96).
the Governor. However, it is likely that the actual purpose of the association may be quite different, either cultic or, in this case, social.250

It is often thought that the general imperial ban on associations caused a number of associations to take on the guise of a burial association in order to obtain senate approval for their existence (Stevenson 1970:256; Wilken 1971:280-81; Stambaugh and Balch 1986:125; Danker 1992:503).251 Christianity itself is thought to have taken advantage of this by portraying itself as a funerary association. Evidence for the allowance of such collegia tenuiorum (or collegia funeraticia) comes from a senatusconsultum quoted within the regulations of the collegium salutare Dianae et Antinoi, dated to 136 CE (CIL XIV 2112):

Clause from the Senatusconsultum of the Roman People:
These are permitted to assemble, convene, and maintain a society: those who desire to make monthly contributions for funerals may assemble in such a society, but they may not assemble in the name of such a society except once a month for the sake of making contributions to provide burial for the dead.

This probably reflects a general regulation rather than a special dispensation granted to this association by the Senate, for in the latter case that fact would have been specified (Kloppenborg 1996a:20). Kloppenborg (1996a:20-22) has cogently shown that the evidence for the existence of collegia tenuiorum associations before the time Hadrian is lacking and in fact, the senatusconsultum probably only came into existence after 133 CE. The association of CIL XIV 2112 itself illustrates the founding of a social association under the guise of a funerary association. Calling themselves a "benevolent society" (collegium salutare), an association was formed which purported to provide insurance for proper burial. In fact, a close reading reveals that their primary concern

250. Hence Pliny's use of eranus, since ἐρανος was often used for a banquet/social club.

251. The evidence summarized above for the most part indicates the suppression of associations in Rome and its environs (e.g., Pompeii). However, the evidence for such in Egypt during the time of Augustus and for Bithynia during the time of Trajan suggest that the restrictions were in effect across the empire (so Cotter 1996:84).
is with banqueting at their meetings. The regulation limiting the association meetings to once a month is circumvented by proclaiming certain festivals throughout the year and announcing a feast for each. They attempted to overcome disapproval of the senate by associating themselves with the worship of Antinous, the beautiful, young, male lover of the Emperor Hadrian who had died in 130 CE (cf. Kloppenborg 1996a:22; Dill 1905:259). The same is true of the Roman collegium of Aesculapius and Hygia (CIL VI 10234, 153 BCE) which only refers to burial once and uses most of the inscription to discuss banquets and the distribution of funds (Kloppenborg 1996a:22).

All of this suggests that during the first century, particularly the time of the formation of Pauline churches, care had to be taken by those who gathered regularly for social or cultic purposes. Despite the prohibition against such associations,

these measures do not seem to have been uniformly enforced. If Claudius, Nero, and Trajan are seen to suppress the collegia, it is because these clubs continued to spring up and grow whenever the political climate allowed them to do so. (Cotter 1996:88)

In this general context of official suspicion of associations, alongside their continued existence, Paul’s exhortation to the Thessalonians to live so as the gain the respect of those outside the group (1 Thess 4:12) can be seen not as a means to change the fundamental constitution of the group but to insure that the group continues to exist unhindered. The concern is not so much that they gain legal permission to exist as that they are not singled out in such a way that they must disband.

Respect from outsiders would also come to the Thessalonians from their continued work through another avenue. Paul’s injunction "to work with your own hands" should not be understood as upholding what has come to be known as the "Protestant work ethic" but a means by which an association of Christian workers live up to the basic requirements determined for them by the larger social context. Not to
work would have a social impact on both the immediate association (i.e., loss of revenue; increased labour for others) and on the larger society (i.e., shortage of particular goods). Such non-activity would certainly draw unwanted attention, and censure, toward the Thessalonian Christian community.

The concern with outsiders in Philippians is also well-served through a comparison with the voluntary associations. In Phil 1:15-18 Paul describes a group which is preaching the gospel of Christ, not out of love, but out of envy and rivalry. Their aim is to make things worse for Paul in his imprisonment. Clearly there is some sort of inter-group rivalry among the Christians at Ephesus. However, Paul goes on to speak of the opponents (ἀντικειμένων) of the Philippians (1:28) with whom they are engaged in the same conflict (τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγώνα ἔχουσες) which they saw Paul to be engaged (ὁδὲ εἴδετε ἐν ἐμοί) in and "now hear" (νῦν ἀκούσετε) that he is still engaged in (1:30). This conflict is not his imprisonment, but the competitive groups which "preach Christ from envy and rivalry" (1:15) which the Philippians have just heard about in the reading of the letter. Members of these groups "look after their own interests, not those of Jesus Christ," as Paul comments on the opposing groups at Ephesus (2:21). Such groups need not be large or even well established, but under

252. Cf. a possible interpretation of 1 Thess 5:14, discussed above.

253. Assuming that this is Paul's place of imprisonment; see §3.3.1, above.


255. That there is a connection between 1:15-18 and 2:21 is shown by Jewett 1970a:369-70.
the banner of "Christ" they create problems for the groups established by Paul. Such inter-group rivalry seems to have been active at Philippi.

Inter-group competition among those claiming allegiance to the same deity is a known phenomenon, particularly among voluntary associations. A number of inscriptions honour benefactors who have enhanced the reputation of the group, presumably with the aim of proclaiming like the Iobacchi of Athens, "now we are the best of all" (IG II 2 1368). In fact, it is noteworthy that the Iobacchi do not proclaim that they are the best of all possible groups, but that they are the best of all the Bacchic groups (the text reads, νῦν πάντων πρώτοι τῶν Βακχείων). Euphronsyne, a priestess of Dionysos at Thessalonica, uses such rivalry to her advantage in insuring the rosalia is performed at her grave. Her testamentary inscription stipulates that if the designated θιάσος of Dionysos does not properly fulfill her wishes, then the bequest is to be transferred to a different θιάσος of Dionysos (IG X/2 260 [41]). The second group is sure to be watching the first carefully in order to find some flaw in their execution of the ceremonies. Likewise, the association of the god Souregethes at Philippi would be sure to carry out the request of Valeria Mantana, lest they be fined, with the monies going to the association at the shrine of the Hero (Philippi 1 [61]).

Already we have seen that in this letter to the Philippians Paul addresses the perceived but still distant threat of Jewish-Christian agitators (3:1-17) and the very real

256. This is not meant to imply that the alternative groups at Ephesus and at Philippi are somehow connected or that there is some sort of conspiracy. Paul is simply drawing attention to the fact that the phenomenon at Philippi is like that which he is experiencing at Ephesus. Rival Christian factions are clearly present at Corinth, although there, as with Philippi, Paul holds out hope that reconciliation is possible.

257. Perhaps this is what Paul fears will result from the conflict between Euodia and Syntyche if it is not addressed. Pace Dahl (1995:10) who suggests that "there is no evidence that there existed opposing factions within the congregation. The only conflict about which we get any information is the disagreement of Euodia and Syntyche"; we hear also of conflict at Ephesus (1:15-18), "opponents" at Philippi (1:28), and potential conflict with the Judaizers (3:1-17). Paul's "incomplete joy" (Phil 2:2) over the conflict between the two women (Dahl 1995:10, 14) has connections with the wider context of the letter.
opposition of rival groups claiming the patronage of the same deity (1:27-30).

However, there is another challenge to the Philippian Christians which Paul also addresses in 3:18-21.258 This refers to a group or groups resident in Philippi and seems to represent the most immediate challenge.259 Paul describes them and their practices variously. They are "enemies of the cross of Christ" who "glory in their shame." For Paul, the cross on which Christ died represented the humble, servile position which Christians must take toward one another. Using the oxymoronic "glory in their shame" (δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν, 3:19) Paul draws attention to this group of opponents' focus on "glory" (δόξα) or "honour" (τιμή).260 They are proud of doing what others would be afraid of admitting to and their minds are set on "earthly things" with no thought for God. As we saw above, one of the principal concerns of the voluntary associations was the attainment and ascription of honour to members and patrons. By suggesting that the Philippians' πολίτευμα is in heaven (see below), Paul contrasts immediate honour promised in this life by this set of opponents with a promise of much greater honour in the future, the transformation of the Philippians "body of humiliation" to a "body of his [Christ's] glory" (3:21).261

In Phil 3:19 Paul also notes of these opponents that "their god is their belly" (ὁ θεός ἡ κολία), indicating that there is a particular focus on food and banqueting. Again the associations are illuminating because, as we have seen, they were often

258. A separate group from the Judaizing Christians; see chapter 3, footnote 116.

259. Against Doughty (1995:102-22) who not only argues that there are no particular opponents being addressed in this passage but suggests that Paul himself did not write 3:2-21; it is deuto-pauline.

260. Words which can be used synonymously; see Louw and Nida 1988:734-35.

repudiated for their indulgence in food and drink and would clearly fit Paul's description in 3:19 (Cotter 1993:98-100). For example, although a burial association at Lanuvium was formed in 136 CE, their overriding concern seems to have been their feasts and banquets (CIL XIV 2112). Of the fifteen by-laws of the collegium only four concern burial while six concern banquets and festivals, with two others legislating when members have to donate an amphora of good wine (cf. Kloppenborg 1996a:22). Philo states of the associations that "you could find no sound elements but only liquor, tippling, drunkenness and the outrageous conduct they lead to" (Flacc. 136).

Paul contrasts the Philippians life with that of these opponents by suggesting that ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς (3:20). The pronoun ἡμῶν used in the initial position suggests that Paul is using the terminology of his opponents. It is also clear that the Paul is "using language that reflects the particular interest of the Philippians themselves" since he uses the verbal form πολιτεύσομαι in Phil 1:27 (Cotter 1993:102).

262. Against the more common interpretation which understands the opponents in this passage as Christian. See the summary and critique of such positions in Cotter 1993:92-96. Koester (1961:331) suggests that they are Jewish-Christian perfectionists who emphasize the observance of dietary laws. Lambrecht (1984:201) suggests Christian libertines. Schmithals (1972:106-07) suggests that the opponents must be the same as the libertines (Gnostics) at Corinth as both are destined for destruction (ἀπώλεια in Phil 3:19, τοῖς ἐπικαλυμένοις in 1 Cor 1:18); Doughty (1995:105 n. 9) rightly doubts this latter connection. Lincoln 1981:94-95 suggests that they are Christian Judaizers. For a critique of Schmithals see Jewett 1970b:44-47.

263. Other associations whose attention is given to banqueting include CIL VI 10234; IG II2 1368; SIG3 1024; P.Mich.Tebt. 243; 244; P.Lond. 2710, in which participants are forbidden to "bring the drinking to naught"; IG XI/4 1299, in which a dining hall was constructed within a temple "for the feast to which the god invites us" (L. 65). Further on banquets in associations see D.E.Smith 1981:323-24.

264. See also Philo, Legat. 10.311-12; Flacc. 4; Seland 1996. Cotter (1993:99) incorrectly attributes Philo, Flacc. 136 to Varro, R.R. 3.2.16.

Since this is the only use of these words by Paul, it must be connected to the specific situation of the Philippians themselves.266

The word πολίτευμα could be variously used as "political government," "commonwealth," "state," "citizenship," "colony of foreigners," "colony."267 Paul clearly uses it metaphorically here. Many commentators understand it to be used as "citizenship" or "colony" and relate it to the situation of Philippi itself which was constituted as a Roman colony, whose freepersons would have the rights of Roman citizenship, and whose laws were enacted as if the citizens were living in Rome itself (Dahl 1995:8). A more nuanced view is put forth by Lincoln (1981:99-100) who suggests that it is better rendered "state" or "commonwealth" as a "constitutive force regulating its citizens" (followed by O'Brien 1991:460; Witherington 1994:98; also Fee 1995:378 n. 17; cf. Lightfoot 1881:156). This is confirmed by the definition of πολίτευμα given by Lüderitz (1994:187-88): "Politeuma as a technical term for an institution within a πόλις stands for the ruling class as a sovereign body with specific rights, voting procedures, etc." Lincoln (1981:100) proposes that Phil 3:20 is best translated, "[f]or our state and constitutive government is in heaven."268

This harmonizes well with Cotter's attempt (1993:103-04) to tie Paul's use of πολίτευμα to the voluntary associations generally by pointing out that in modeling themselves on the civic structure the associations were presenting themselves as a "civic entity" which implied with it "citizenship," by which she seems to mean that it became


268. Cf. the common Macedonian designation τολιτέρχης for civic administrators; see Horsley 1994.
the locus of how one truly defines oneself. That is, by joining an association, one takes on an identity with respect to the others in the association (fellow-members), has rights and responsibilities within the association, is governed by officials with civic titles, and sometimes takes on such roles for oneself. Thus, in Phil 3:20 Paul contrasts the Christian πολῖτευμα, which is in heaven, with both the Roman πολῖτευμα, which is in Rome, and, more immediately, the voluntary association's "πολῖτευμα," which is in "this world" (that is, it resides within the local group).

Cotter's connection of πολῖτευμα with the replication of the civic structure in associations seems sound, although she provides little direct evidence that πολῖτευμα was a term used within associations. However, her case for the connection between πολῖτευμα and the voluntary associations can be strengthened, as there is evidence not

269. It was used in a similar way by the Stoics, who saw themselves as holding "citizenship" in a separate "state" from that of the ordinary Greek or Roman citizens; see Lightfoot 1890:156; Engberg-Pedersen 1995:264–69. Some also suggest that Paul is making reference to the specific privileges enjoyed by Jewish groups in the Roman empire under the banner of πολῖτευμα, which were not shared by other groups (e.g., Lightfoot 1881:156; Miller 1982). Although some Jewish groups did carry this title, the prevailing view that they are distinct from all other types of groups has been challenged. Most notably, Zuckerman "attacks this 'historiographic legend' and argues that there is no reason to think that politeuma differed from other clubs. According to him these were in fact private, voluntary associations" (Lüderitz 1994:185, citing Zuckerman 1988:180, 184; I was unable to obtain this work). Lüderitz suggests that the Jewish πολῖτευμα in Berenice, represents a special form of political institution and is a "local peculiarity of the Jewish diaspora in Cyrenaica" (1994:222; cf. SEG XVI 931 [1 BCE]; CIG 5136 [43 BCE]; see Lüderitz 1994:210–21), which should not be assumed for Jewish groups elsewhere in the diaspora (which are Jewish associations; 1994:214). He suggests that a misinterpretation of the evidence by Perdrizet (1899:42–48) led to a perpetual misunderstanding of the implications of πολῖτευμα: "The irony then is, that whereas scholars dealing with the history of the Jews usually point to the non-Jewish politeuma in order to substantiate the cause of a special legal position of these institutions, this very idea—that politeuma were sort of public institutions with special rights—was originally deduced from a misconception of the legal position of the Jews" (Lüderitz 1994:203–04).

270. Cf. our earlier comments concerning the focus of the Philippian Christians on Jesus as "Saviour" (3:20b) as a reflection of the devotional practices of the associations.

271. Cf. Witherington (1994:101, following Horsley 1987:49–50) notes that "Philippians 3:20 should be read in light of the fact that members of such clubs had what virtually amounted to a separate citizenship, with special rights, privileges, honors, prizes, and benefits that did not apply to those not members of the group. One might add that these groups, being microcosms of society, were often socially diverse, as was early Christianity, and even slaves had status and rights in the club that were not theirs in the outside world."
only that the term was used, but that it was used as a group designator within some associations. From Egypt there is evidence that part of the temple of the goddess Sachypsis was reserved for a private association named for both its founder (Harthotes) and for the goddess: τόπος πολιτεύματος Ἀρθώτου μεγάλου μακαρίτου θεᾶς μεγίστης Σαχυψῆς ("the area of the politeuma of the blessed Harthotes the Great of the supreme goddess Sachypsis"; IFayum 2.121, 93 CE). In three inscriptions from the temple complex of Zeus Panamaros near Stratonicaea, Caria, there is mention of τὸ πολιτεύμα τῶν γυναικῶν, probably indicating "a temporary association lasting only for the time of the feast" (see Lüderitz 1994:190; for texts 1994:189).

An inscription from the second or first century BCE indicates that there was a πολιτεύμα of soldiers in Alexandria which was constituted like a association:

Δὺ Σωτῆρι καὶ Ἡραὶ Τέλειαι τὸ πολιτεύμα τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φερομένων στρατιωτῶν, ὅν προστάτης Διονύσιος Κάλλωνος γραμματεὺς δὲ Φίλιππος Φίλιππος κύριοι, εὐχήν. L ζ'.

To Zeus Soter and Hera Teleia, the politeuma of the soldiers brought to Alexandria, their chairman Dionysios of Callon and secretary Philippos of Philippos, the founders, ex voto, year 6 (text and translation in Lüderitz 1994:192)

Four grave inscriptions from Sidon (II BCE) use πολιτεύμα to indicate citizens of one city who have formed an association while living in another city (see Lüderitz 1994:193-94). Lüderitz (1994:195) suggests that these groups were most likely formed of soldiers, but may also have included civilian members.

272. The following is a summary of the evidence presented by Lüderitz 1994:189-204.

273. Text and translation in Lüderitz 1994:191, who notes that the understanding of πολιτεύμα as "a club of the type often called σύνοδος or κοινόν . . . is also the opinion of all scholars commenting on this inscription" (1994:192).
Four inscriptions from Egypt attest to various ethnic associations each of which are designated as a πολίτευμα:274 Cilicians (IFayum 1.15, III-II BCE);275 Boeotians (Xois, 165 to 145 BCE; SEG II 871);276 Phrygians (Pompeii; 2 BCE; CIG 5866c);277 Lycians (Alexandria, 120 CE; SEG II 848).278 Further evidence comes from a papyrus fragment from the Fayum (145 BCE; P.Mich. Tebt. 1.32) which mentions a πολίτευμα of Cretans.279 In two of the inscriptions there is mention of a priest of the πολίτευμα (SEG II 871 and CIG 5866c), a position often found in associations (Lüderitz 1994:200). In SEG II 871 there is also the designation of the members as οἱ συμπολιτευόμενοι, a designation found elsewhere for members of a κοινόν (OGIS 143

274. Lüderitz (1994:201) argues against the assumption of Smallwood (1976:225; cf. Strathmann 1967:520) and others that these politeumata enjoyed a special, legally recognized position by the local rulers and thus were found as public institutions rather than private associations; "This is not evident from the texts cited."

275. 'Ἀρρενίδης Καθρέφον Συρβενδέως τῶν (πρῶτων) φίλων καὶ χ(λι)έ(ρχων) καὶ περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς μακαροφόρων τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῶ πάντα τῆς Διᾶς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῶν πολιτεύματος τῶν Κιλικῶν' Λε., Μεσσωρίτης.


277. Γαύνος Ἰουλίας Ἡφαιστίωνος ὦ Ἡφαιστίων ἱερατέες τοῦ πολιτεύματος τῶν Φυγῶν ἀνέθηκε Δίᾳ Θρώγγων, Λετός Καίσαρας(ς), φίλοποι(ς) Σεβαστής. The inscription was found in Pompeii but is of Egyptian origin. Hicks (1887:7) suggests that this association of Phrygians "resided in some Egyptian town or district in the enjoyment of their own laws, religion, and administration of justice." This is unlikely in light of the evidence Lüderitz collects.

278. 'Ἀγάθη Τύχη. [Ἀρ']τέγραφον ἕπομενων θαυμαστησίων Μαρκίου Μουσακοῦ τοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἠδῶ λόγῳ. Λε. Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος(ς) τοῦ κυρίου, Ἐθὼ κρίτ.' Οὐλίππου Πατάμωνος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῶ ὁ πολιτεύματος ἰδιών ἐπὶ παράνοια Διονυσίῳ γραμματεῖ κυρωγραμματείας τοῦ Μ[ε]σσωρίτης εἰσόδων ἐκατόν μματοφορῶν προσαρκουσάνατο αὐτοῖς .... καὶ οἱ δεοῦντις, ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ παρόντος γραμματέως τῶν [Λ. Φ. Α. οί] τοῖς .... καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῆς τε....

279. LL. 8-9 read: [......] τῆς παρὰ Σώσου καὶ Αἰγύπτου τῶν δ' [...]. [......]φιλότευμαν ὑπὸ τῆς πολιτεύματος τῶν Κητῶν [γεγραμμένης] ἠμὶ ἐπιστολῆς....

and 145, both from Cyprus; see Lüderitz 1994:202). Overall, this cumulative evidence shows that πολίτευμα is applied as a designation for a variety of voluntary associations (cf. Lüderitz 1994:202-03).

In making these numerous references to the voluntary associations in Phil 3:18-21 Paul has picked up on the practices and the vocabulary of this set of opponents and used it to reaffirm the Philippians' calling to a greater honor in the future.280 Paul writes to them as he does in order to warn them that despite being similar to the associations as a community model they are not to adopt "the attending ambitious and worldly behavior typical of political and civic organizations" (Cotter 1993:104).281

6.2.4. Finances

6.2.4.1. Dues

Voluntary associations concerned themselves with the collection of money through various means. The most obvious means was the collection of dues for membership in the association, either upon initiation (IG II 1298; 1368; IG V/1 1390) or upon attendance at each meeting (IG XII/1 155; CIL XIV 2112; IDElos 1519; 1521; P.Mich.Tebt. 243; P.Cairo.Dem. 30605, 30606), even if a member was absent from the meeting (IG II 1339, absent members paying a reduced rate). These membership dues would be used towards the social activities of the association (the most common being banquets and festivals), towards the burial of members (IG II 1278), or towards

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280. Cotter (1993:104) suggests that the community model used by the Philopian church was that of the voluntary associations. This is based on her analysis of the references to the practices of the associations, the use of the word πολίτευμα, and its verbal form πολιτεύω in (Phil 1:27), and references to leaders using titles taken from the offices of both the city and the associations (ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις, Phil 1:1). We have tried to expand both the general evidence and the details of this specific data.

281. I do not find convincing the arguments of Tellbe (1994:97-121) that the Philippians were faced with an "impending clash with the Roman authorities" (116) and were attempting to pass themselves off as "Jewish" in order to take advantage of the recognition of Judaism as a religio licita. Two unsubstantiated assumptions are being made; 1) that there was a significant group of Jews at Philippi that were already making this claim, thus paving the way for the Christians to do so at Philippi, and 2) that the authorities would not actually see through such a ruse (nor does Tellbe suggest how the local Jews [if there were any] might have reacted to such a claim by the Gentile Christians).
general expenses (IG II² 1292). Many associations included the office of treasurer (ταμιάζ), indicating a concern for finances within the associations.282 Money might also be generated through the sale of offices and the honours that go with them, particularly that of the priesthood, although this would be more common for civic associations.283

Money was collected more generally in order to assist the association. For example, an association from Knidos (IKnidos 23, II BCE) lists a number of people who have "freely chosen to assist the association," including the amount of their donation.284 The monies collected are not designated for any specific reason and presumably are to be used to support the general operation of the association, particularly in their social gatherings.285 Money might also be collected for special projects. This is the case in the large inscription of an association of Sylvanus from Philippi (CIL III 633/1 [57], II CE) found engraved on the rock of the acropolis. This inscription provides the names of those who have donated to the building and ornamentation of the temple of Sylvanus. It appears to the right of another inscription from the same association which gives a more complete membership list (CIL III 633/2

282. There is evidence for this office in a number of diverse associations from various times throughout the Greco-Roman empire: for example, IIion 10 (77 BCE); IMylasa 861 (II BCE); 942; ISmyrna 653 (I-II CE); IDelos 1519 (153/52 BCE); IG II² (Attica) 1263 (300 BCE); 1265 (300/299 BCE); 1271 (298/97 BCE); 1284 (III BCE); 1291 (III BCE); 1292 (III BCE); 1317 (III BCE); 1323 (II BCE); 1325 (ca. 185/84 BCE); 1327 (II BCE); 1329 (175/74 BCE); 1333 (II BCE); 1335 (II BCE); 1339 (57 BCE); 1368 (II CE); 1369 (II CE); 1390 (I BCE); 2950/51 (II BCE); IG XII/1 677 (Rhodes, 300 BCE).

283. On the purchasing of the office of the priesthood in a private association of θυσιαστατας see I Kalkhedon 13 = LSAM 2 (III BCE). Examples from the civic cults include LSAM 1, 7, 23; SIG³ 1009, 1012, 1014; IPriene 174, 201; IMylasa 942, although many more could be cited.

284. The list of thirteen names is interesting as they are given along with their place of origin, probably an indication of servile status. Only one is from Knidos itself. There are no Macedonians mentioned, although one person is from Thrace.

285. See also IG II² 1327 (Piraeus, 178/77 BCE) wherein a treasurer is honoured because, among other things, he "organized the original collection of the common fund." Other associations had "common funds"; see IG 1263 (Piraeus, 300 BCE); IDelos 1520 (II BCE).
The framework of the inscription listing donors was subsequently enlarged to the left (CIL III 633/3 [57]) and now takes up some of the space between it and the membership inscription further to the left (see diagram in Appendix 1). Presumably the space was originally left for the enlargement of the membership list.286

We saw earlier that metaphors taken from business language figures prominently in Philippians.287 However, commercial terms are also found in the voluntary associations inscriptions from Philippi and the surrounding area. A sarcophagus inscription from Reussilova records that money was given to the θεωσως of Liber Pater Tasibastenus, the interest from which (ex quorum reeditu) is to go towards holding a banquet at their funerary monument on the day of the rosalia (CIL III 703 [51]; also CIL III 707 [53]; cf. CIL III 704 [52]). A similar situation is established in Selian, where the income from bequeathed lands (ex reeditu eorum) is to be used for the parentalia (CIL III/1 656 [75]). Mention of interest being used for the rosalia also occurs in a Greek testamentary foundation from Philippi itself (ἐκ τῶν τῶκων, IPhilippi 1 [61]). In each of these cases the interest accrued is used for the benefit of those who originally gave the money, as is the case with Paul's mention to the Philippians of "the interest that accrues to your account" (Phil 4:17, trans. O'Brien 1991:538).

From Paul's comments to the Corinthians we learn that the Macedonian

286. Other connections with finances can be found among the association inscriptions. From the village of Kalambaki, near Philippi, we even have a tomb epigram for a treasurer of an association of "silversmiths" (argentarii), probably those involved in minting money (IKalambaki 1 [56]). See Collart 1937:271 n. 2; Salač 1923:78. The word argentarii can mean either "silversmith" or "banker/money changer." Collart leans towards the former meaning in this inscription. Salač suggests that the members of the association were involved in the manufacture or trade of silverware. Clearly both this particular member and the association to which he belonged had as a primary focus finances.

287. Unlike Philippians, there is no indication in 1 Thessalonians about finances or money.
Christians contributed generously to Paul’s collection for the church in Jerusalem.\(^\text{288}\) Paul views the collection as a religious duty and his rhetoric suggests that this duty must be carried out in the same manner as one would carry out a religious duty within the voluntary associations (for details see Ascough 1996). In the context of his argument in 2 Cor 8 Paul invokes the Macedonians as an example in order to encourage a rivalry concerning the giving. Such rivalries were common among associations; many inscriptions include a formula to the effect that things are to be done "so that there may be a rivalry among those who wish to benefact the association, knowing that each will receive thanks in proportion to their benefaction" (IDelos 1519).\(^\text{289}\)

In his attempt to shame the Corinthians, Paul’s rhetoric hyperbolically emphasizes the generosity of the Macedonians by suggesting that they have gone beyond what would normally be required for contributions; they have given not only "according to their means" (κατὰ δύναμιν) but "beyond their means" (παρὰ δύναμιν, 2 Cor 8:1-5; cf. Rom 15:26-27). A second century BCE inscription from Magnesia ad Maeander concerning the ceremonies celebrated on the occasion of the installation of the statue of Artemis Leucophryene reads

"And it is good for the owners of houses or for those who have built workshops to provide (κατασκέυασαν) according to [their] means (κατὰ δύναμιν) for the decoration of the altars before the [temple] entrance, and for those who make..."

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288. The following two paragraphs are adapted from Ascough 1996. Paul’s collection for the Jerusalem church was one of the major activities of his ministry during the 50s (Barrett 1973:217). Buck (1950:28) places the collection earlier, in the late 40s. On Paul’s theological understanding of the collection see Nickle 1966, esp. 100-43; Brändle (1985:270). For a reconstruction of the history of Paul’s collection see Georgi 1992. The collection is mentioned in a number of Paul’s letters: Rom 15:25-32; 1 Cor 16:1-4; 1 Cor 8-9; Gal 2:10. That it is only briefly mentioned in Acts (24:17; cf. 11:27-30) does not indicate that Paul’s efforts were unknown among the churches (see Morgan-Wynne 1979:172-73). The collection seems to have had great symbolic significance for Paul. It was an obligation which he had assumed at the Jerusalem council (Gal 2:10). "The fulfillment of this promise symbolized for Paul a ratification of the unity between Jewish and Gentile Christians" (Dahl 1977:31; cf. Leuba 1953:117-20; Nickle 1966:111-29).

289. See also IG Π² 1263; 1273A; 1292; 1297; 1329 1337; 1369; 1375; IG XII/5 606.
inscription[s] for Artemis Leukophryene Nikephoros. And if someone should fail to accomplish (ἐπιτελέσαν) [these things], it will not be good for him."
(IMagnMai 100 LL. 86-90\textsuperscript{290})

By using ταρὰ δώραμεν in 2 Cor 8:3 Paul shows that the Macedonians were considerably generous with their funds.

Where the Macedonians’ contributions differ from the collection of monies within associations is in the sending of money outside of the community. Although such a practice is attested, it is rare. The association of Tyrian merchants at Ostia were able to secure the contributions of another association of Tyrian merchants at Rome in order to maintain their business and social headquarters (CIG 5853, II CE, discussed above §5.3.2). However, in this particular case the Roman Tyrian association was constrained to contribute to the Ostian association by a decree of the Tyrian senate. Paul gives no indication of any constraints put on the Philippians, but suggests that their gift was given willingly.

Paul was also given personal monetary support by the Philippians (see Phil 4:16; 2 Cor 11:9). In Phil 4:10-20 he acknowledges the Philippians’ most recent contribution. The nature of Paul’s "thanks" is somewhat obscure and has created a number of exegetical problems. Paul seems less than enthusiastic about the gift, so much so that this passage has been deemed a "thankless thanks" ("danklose Dank," Dibelius 1937:73-74; cf. Fee 1995:422 nn. 2 and 3, who disputes this; but see Peterman 1991).\textsuperscript{291} Paul does not use the term "thanks" (εἰχαριστία; εἰχαριστέω, εἰχάριστος) but opens with "I rejoice (εὐχαρίην) in the Lord greatly that now at length you have revived your concern for me" (4:10). Some see his expression of joy as

\textsuperscript{290} Kατὰ δώραμεν also occurs earlier at L. 44.

\textsuperscript{291} Paul makes the claim that with or without the money he can be "content." In fact, he has learned self-sufficiency (αὐτάρκεια) in both wealth and poverty. This notion resonates with the Stoic and Cynic notion of αὐτάρκεια, although Paul’s notion differs in that his is not truly "self"-sufficiency but an independence of external thing because of a dependence on God (O’Brien 1991:521).
communicating his thankfulness (O’Brien 1991:517) while others see the phrase "now at length" (ἡ δὲ ποτὲ) indicating frustration on Paul’s part that their gift was so long in coming. This second expression, however, is nuanced by the following recognition that the Philippians "had no opportunity" (ἡκαύρείσθε) to help Paul.

A number of conjectures have been proffered for this lack of opportunity including the poverty of the Philippians (cf. 2 Cor 8:1-2), the lack of someone to carry the gift to Paul, Paul’s lack of need (O’Brien 1991:519), or Paul’s restrictions on their giving in order both to deflect criticism that he was simply preaching for gain and to channel funds towards the Jerusalem collection (summarized in Bruce 1983:148-49; see further possibilities in Hawthorne 1983:197). Whatever the reason, clearly the monetary support of Paul has now been resumed by the Philippians. Paul’s continued good relationship with the Philippians is confirmed in the expression ἄνεθάλετε τὸ ἠπέρ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖν ("you have revived your concern for me," 4:10).292 Furthermore, in thanking the Philippians Paul uses a Latinized form in the vocative plural to address the Philippians—Philippenses (4:15, from the Latin Philippenses).293 This echo of the Philippians status as citizens of a Roman colony would emphasize Paul’s affection for the Philippians (Collange 1979:151)294 as well as his gratitude for the gift (O’Brien 1991:531).

The amount of the support given to Paul remains unknown. However, Paul indicates that the support began shortly after his initial visit to the Philippians.295 Since

292. The verb ἄνεθάλετε "is a botanical metaphor, meaning to ‘blossom again’—like perennials or the Spring shoots of deciduous trees and bushes" (Fee 1995:429), perhaps another subtle reference to the rosalia performed at Philippi.

293. The more regular form would be Φιλιππησιοι or Φιλιππησιοί (O’Brien 1991:531 n. 115).

294. Cf. similar usage in 2 Cor 6:11 and Gal 3:1 in addressing the recipients there.

295. This is the most likely meaning of the difficult phrase ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὄς ἔζηλθεν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας (4:15). See O’Brien 1991:532-32 (cf. Hawthorne 1983:204) for other possible interpretations. This view is supported by Phil 1:5 where we find a similar reference to the Philippians’ κοινωνία, "ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν."
it has continued until the time of this letter, it lasted at least five years. All of this financial support given to Paul and to the Jerusalem collection indicates that the Philippians had money that they could sent to Paul, or at least felt that they needed to do all that they could to send money to him. However, it is also clear that they were not a wealthy congregation and that at times it might have been difficult to raise the necessary funds (cf. 2 Cor 8:1-2 and perhaps Phil 4:10).

The voluntary associations did often contribute monies for their founders. However for the most part it is honorary; money is spent on crowns and inscriptions honouring the founder/patron. Paul’s use of the financial support to found other communities was not a usual practice among associations. However, the Philippians do seem to have defined themselves from their formative stage as being involved in supporting their founder in his efforts to found other communities (4:15). They have willingly entered into some kind of relationship (κοινόνω) with him (4:15, cf. 1:5 κοινωνία; 4:14 συγκοινωνέω). While it might have been more typical to use the money to honour Paul within the community, this is not the case at Philippi. However,

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296. If not longer, depending on how one solves the question of dating, provenance, and unity. We take Paul to have first been in Philippi in 50 CE and to have written Philippians around 55 while imprisoned in Ephesus.

297. Some commentators have understood this giving of money as a contractual obligation wherein Paul is required to preach the gospel and others pay in exchange. This conjecture is based on Paul’s use of the language of exchange in 4:15 (so Sampley 1980:51-77; Capper 1993). Others take this metaphor within the context of friendship discourse, showing that it is common to use the language of marketplace exchange within such contexts (e.g., O’Brien 1991:534-35; Fee 1995:440-47; see further below on benefaction).

298. Crowning was a frequent honour bestowed not just for athletic victories but also for significant benefactions within voluntary associations. Such an honour was noted on their inscriptions; IDelos 1061; 1519; 1520; 1521; 1522; 1523; 2081; Foucart 48; 56; 59; 64; 65; IG II2 1256; 1263; 1271; 1273; 1277; 1278; 1291; 1292; 1297; 1314; 1315; 1317; 1327; 1329; 1334; 1343; 2347; IG IV 840; IG V/1 1390; LSAM 1; 8; 11; 13; 15; 38; IPriene 174; SIG3 1009. The benefactor of an association at Thessalonica requires that the members wear a crown of roses during the ceremony at her tomb (IG X/2 260 [41]).

299. The "partnership" is not simply monetary or contractual; see §6.2.2.2., above.
for Paul it is the Philippians themselves who are his crown (4:1), not a material crown, a clear contrast between Paul’s attitude towards what constitutes honour and that so deemed by the associations. That Paul mentions this may indicate the need to keep his relationship with the Philippians in proper perspective, an issue which will become more important in the latter part of Phil 4 (see below).

The sending of money outside of the group, either to a founder or to another group, is somewhat different from the usual practice of associations. Paul himself recognizes that what the Philippians have undertaken is not normative for the groups with which he is involved. In discussing this issue with the Corinthians he claims to have "robbed other churches by accepting support from them in order to serve you," shortly thereafter naming the Macedonian churches as those "robbed" (2 Cor 11:8-9). In fact, the atypical nature of such support is noted by Paul, who states emphatically that none but the Philippians gave him monetary support (ἐι μὴ ἵματις μόνοι, Phil 4:15). This was not a practice that other communities founded by Paul were involved in and in the Philippian context is understood as somewhat irregular.

As members of a voluntary association the Philippian Christians would not have balked at contributing money as an aspect of membership within the group. What might have seemed more odd is the sending of that money outside of the community’s common fund, either in support of their founder, Paul, or in support of another association. Paul’s justification for this practice seems to indicate that it was a

300. Paul also notes his "crown of boasting" in 1 Thess 2:19, reflecting the practice within associations of granting crowns to those who have benefacted an association as a means to promote φιλοστοίχια.

301. Against Reumann 1993b:440. This is not to deny that individuals from other communities patronized Paul: Phoebe in Cenchrea; Gaius in Corinth; Philemon (in Colossae?).

302. Cf. Kloppenborg (1993a:237): "the question of the Corinthians, which concerned a charitable collection for some other group, and, evidently, the mechanics of its administration and delivery, was of a quite different order from the usual collections administered by associations. The unusual character of the collection for the poor of Jerusalem would be warrant enough for an inquiry; it does not necessarily imply that the Corinthians were unfamiliar with donations to a common chest."
delicately worked out agreement which was clearly atypical for the Philippians and for Paul.

6.2.4.2. Benefaction

Another important financial consideration within associations is that of benefaction, particularly that of the patron-client relationship. The sharp distinction between the rich and the poor and the concentration of wealth in the hands of a very small proportion of the population of the Empire contributed to the proliferation of a system of benefaction. In most cases beneficence went from a person of higher social status and wealth to a person or persons of lower status. No repayment of monies given was expected. However, the client was expected to "acknowledge and advertise his benefactor's generosity and power" (Garnsey and Saller 1987:149). 303

In voluntary associations the role of the benefactor or patron was particularly important. Although many associations collected membership dues, most were dependent upon patrons for a large part of their funds. 304 Associations publicly honoured their benefactors, particularly with inscriptions or memorial services, in exchange for having received lavish gifts which allowed them to exist and to hold banquets and festivals. 305 Understanding the financial contribution of the Philippians to Paul in light of patron-client relationships helps us better understand Paul's reticence in

303. On a personal level this might be done by standing at a patron's door for the morning salutatio, accompanying him on his public rounds, and applauding his speeches in court (Garnsey and Saller 1987:151). A group which receives benefaction (e.g., a voluntary association, a synagogue, even an entire city) might honour their patron by erecting inscriptions or statues or publicly proclaiming the benefaction. The secondary literature on benefaction and patron-client relationships in antiquity has grown tremendously in the past decade. For a brief but thorough introduction to the practice see Wallace-Hadrill 1990.


305. See IMakedD 1104 [54]; SIRIS 122 [58]; 123 [59]; IPhilippi 8 (68)); IG II2 1271; 1273; 1278; 1292; 1329; 1327; 1343; IG XI/4 1061; IG XII/I 155; 937; IG XII/5 606; Foucart 59; OGIS 50; 51; IDelos 1519; 1520; 1521. Similar honorifics can be found among Jewish inscriptions; see IKyme 45; MAMA VI 264.
acknowledging the Philippians’ gift (4:10-20; cf. above). Since he is in prison he is not in a position to refuse the gift. His means of self-support, his trade, would no longer be available to him and, like most prisoners, he would be reliant upon friends and family for decent food and clothing, which would require disposable finances (see Rapske 1994:210). Under these circumstances in antiquity, the financial contribution of the Philippians would have placed Paul in a position of client with the Philippians acting collectively as patron.

Lukas Bormann (1995:171-205) suggests that the principle of reciprocity operative at Philippi is based on the Roman idea of amicitia or beneficia as described by Seneca in De beneficiis and Epistulae morales. This led to the expectation on the part of the Philippians that Paul would repay them. Paul’s thanksgiving letter (4:10-20) is his attempt to show that he has not entered into such a relationship with them; in fact, it is God who will repay his debt. While it is clear that Paul’s language in Phil 4:10-20 suggests this, Bormann overlooks the significant part played by honour in Greco-Roman patronage relationships, an aspect which would strengthen his case. In Philippians 4:10-20 Paul does seem to recognize that the result of the Philippian’s gift places him in the role of client, but his debt would be one of having to honour the Philippians, an awkward social position for the founder of a community. Paul’s language in Phil 4:14-19 is aimed at not allowing the Philippians to think that a patron-client relationship has been established with him in their debt.306 First of all, he makes it clear that he did not complain of his current condition (4:11)307 nor did he ask them

306. The concealment of such benefaction is common in antiquity; “Some Romans tried to conceal the favours done for them precisely to avoid the implication of social inferiority arising from the fact that they had to turn to someone else for help” (Garnsey and Saller 1987:149). Patronage is also concealed with the language of friendship, a common theme in Philippians.

307. Paul makes it clear that through Christ he has learned to contend with any situation of want or plenty (4:11-13).
for help (4:16). This is an important clarification, as most benefactions in antiquity came about as a result of the client requesting funds from the patron. Paul makes it clear that he is self-sufficient (αὐτάρκης, Phil 4:11).

In Phil 4:19 Paul notes that God is acting on Paul's behalf (θεὸς μου) in meeting the needs of the Philippians (cf. Fee 1995:452). In doing so, the Philippians have access to the "riches" (τὸ πλοῦτος) of God which will fulfill (πληρῶσει) all of their needs (πᾶσαν χρείαν ὕμων). The most obvious sense is that Paul wanted to convey to the Philippians that their immediate physical needs would be met by God. Thus, while the Philippians have sent money which can help with some of Paul's needs, Paul is able to reciprocate with a much greater gift through God—meeting all their material needs. To do this Paul has access to God's "riches in glory in Christ Jesus" (κοσμὸς τὸ πλοῦτος αὐτοῦ ἐν δόξῃ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ). Πλοῦτος is often used by Paul, both for the riches of the Christian life (1 Cor 4:8; 2 Cor 4:7; 6:10; 8:2, 7, 9) and for God's riches

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308. Nor is he hinting at future help; see Schenk 1984:44-46.

309. O'Brien (1991:545; also Vincent 1897:151) notes that Phil 4:19 follows the previous verse with δὲ functioning as a connective not an adversative particle. Thus it does not mean "but," suggesting that God's benefaction is compensation for the Philippians' gift to Paul. Rather, it means "and," indicating that their offering has met with God's approval. However, the remainder of the sentence indicates that compensation is what Paul has in mind.

310. On external grounds alone πληρῶσει (future indicative) is to be preferred over πληρῶσαι (aorist optative). Despite this, O'Brien (1991:545) chooses to interpret this verse as a "wish-prayer" or petition; "may my God fill your every need . . . ." However, the future indicative is better translated as a promise or declaration; "my God will fulfill your every need." Some commentators have been reluctant to accept this as a promise and see it rather as a petition, fearing that such a concrete promise would surely lead to disappointment and questioning when not met (Hawthorne 1983:208). Yet "possible" theological and social difficulties are no reason to reinterpret what seems to be clear in the text itself.

311. The phrase πᾶσαν χρείαν ὕμων to indicate material needs (see Hawthorne 1983:207-08; Fee 1995:452 n. 12). O'Brien (1991:547; cf. Plummer 1909:105; Beare 1959:156) attempts to broaden this to include the Philippians' "spiritual concerns" (i.e., standing firm in the faith, not being frightened, shining as lights, pressing on to the heavenly goal). Yet the examples of "spiritual" needs that O'Brien provides from Philippians and from New Testament use of χρεία elsewhere all can be realized in the physical realm: baptism, repentance, witnesses, teaching, patience, encouragement (see 1991:547 n. 223). There is no eschatological dimension to "all these needs"—Paul is promising benefits in the here and now.
(Rom 2:4; 9:23; 10:12; 11:33; see O'Brien 1991:548). However, it is also the commonly used word for "wealth," and a term whose implications would be obvious to the community members who had just given money to their founder.

As founder of the community, Paul should also function as one of the patrons. However, he is not in a social or financial position to take up this aspect of the role. The Philippians' monetary contribution should reverse these roles, making Paul the client of the Philippians. Paul avoids this by referring to the Philippians financial contribution as a "gift" (δόμα, 4:17), not once making explicit mention of money (ἀργυρίον, χρυσίον). This use of δόμα in 4:17 is often understood in a "friendship context" of gifts of reciprocity (O'Brien 1991:537; Fee 1995:447 n. 34). Others suggest that the δόμα is a "payment" or "salary" rather than "gift." However, another context is possible. Δόμα is a synonym of other words which also indicate a "gift"—δώρον, δωρεά. These words are used in the context of honours for benefactors of an association in voluntary association inscriptions. For example, an inscription

312. This fulfillment of their needs comes "through" Christ (O'Brien 1991:549). The designation ἐν δόξῃ should not be taken as indicating a future age but adjectively, qualifying πλοῦτος ("glorious wealth," Bruce 1983:156) or perhaps adverbially, qualifying πληρωσία ("will fill you needs gloriously," Beare 1959:156; Hawthorne 1983:207); see also O'Brien 1991:548. This is not to deny a future aspect to this fulfillment, but is not simply the promise of an eschatological fulfillment; see Fee 1995:452 n. 12.

313. On salvation as benefaction see Danker and Jewett 1990:490. Paul might be bolstering his position as founder/patron with his references to his own "righteousness" which comes "from God" in 3:9. Δικαιοσύνη was one of the virtues aspired to by the "truly public-spirited citizen or benefactor" (Danker 1992:669).


315. The opposite situation is also possible. In a testamentary inscription from Thessalonica (IG X/2 260 [41]) a female benefactor stipulates that should a person not wear a crown in the ceremony of the rosalia at her graveside, then they forfeit their share of her "gift" (μὴ μετεχέω μου τῆς δωρεᾶς, left side, LL. 6-8). in IG XII/1 736 (Embona, Rhodes, III BCE) δωρεά is used three times to describe a burial plot, a parcel of land, and a sanctuary, all given to an association. The adjectival form is used six times in IG XII/3 330 (Thera, 210-195 BCE) to describe those who must officiate in the association "without charge" (LL. 27, 31 [2x], 47, 50, 91).
from Alistrati, near Philippi, records that a benefactor of an association was honoured with a gift (δῶρον) from the members of the association (IMakedD 1104 [54]). It can also be used of the monies paid out for the expense of crowns made to honour members who have served as officials in the association (e.g., IG II² 1317; Piraeus, III BCE). In using δόμα in reference to the Philippians' financial contribution Paul might be underlining the fact that as founder of the community such is his due. He is careful to maintain the "gift" in its proper perspective (as an honourific) and not to lose his standing in the community. By promising greater "riches" to come to the Philippians from God Paul upholds his side of the reciprocal relationship, the κοινωνία, which he has established with the Philippians.  

6.3. Religious Vocabulary and Metaphors

Paul's letter to the Philippians is full of religious language taken from the social world of the Philippian Christians. Not surprisingly, much of this language is

316. This interpretation finds some support in the argument of Peterman (1991) who suggests that social conventions of the "thankless thanks" are at work in Philippians. Other ancient letters show that verbal gratitude is not expected among those who are intimate and, if offered, carries with it an expression of debt or expectation of repayment. By accepting the Philippians' unsolicited gift in the way he does, Paul is indicating that he has not become socially obligated to them. However, Paul still finds it necessary to indicate that benefits will arise from their gift, albeit from God. Although Peterman recognizes this (1991:270), he still maintains that the Philippians would not have expected reciprocation. I would argue that they would and did, so Paul counters their expectation on two fronts: by using a "thankless thanks" and by placing the reciprocating obligation on God. Cf. Hainz (1982:114): "Gemeinschaft ist für Paulus eine Beziehung, die durch gemeinsame Teilhabe an etwas vermittelt wird und in konkretem Anteilgeben und Anteilnehmen Ausdruck findet. Dieser Konkretisierungen und Aktualisierungen kann Gemeinschaft nicht entraten; sie lebt vom Wechsel des Gebens und Nehmens." See further Hainz 1982:91–92.

317. A number of the religious indicators present in Philippians are absent in 1 Thessalonians. With the exception of εὐχαριστεῖ (1 Thess 1:2; 2:13; 5:18) and εὐχαριστία (1 Thess 3:9) none of the language of rites and worship is present. There is no explicit mention of a "Saviour"; Jesus is identified as the one "who delivers us from the wrath to come" (ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ἐρχόμενης, 1:10), probably reflecting Paul's apocalyptic view of the future, a view which the Thessalonians themselves had subsequently adopted (see the summary in Wanamaker 1990:88-89). Likewise, there is no indication of festivals; Paul's references to the "day of the Lord" in 1 Thessalonians (5:2, 4) have clear apocalyptic overtones. This difference in the language Paul uses in addressing the two communities underlines the difference in the way that they have constituted themselves.
similar to that used within the voluntary association inscriptions. Below we will highlight some of the significant religious features of Paul's letter, and point to analogous material in the inscriptions. We want to recognize at the outset that much of the language we will be looking at below is general religious vocabulary, not specifically "voluntary association" language. As such, the more general "religious" context is often highlighted by commentators. Nevertheless, it is important to note that this language is also used in the religious discourse of the voluntary associations. As such it provides yet another indicator that the religious associations are the best analogue for the Philippian Christian community.

In a number of passages in Philippians Paul uses language which is common in describing Hellenistic religious rites common in both the civic and the private religious associations. However, Paul nowhere in the letter indicates that such practices actually do or should take place. Instead, the language is used metaphorically. For example, in Phil 2:17 Paul describes his satisfaction with the Philippians: ἄλλα εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ἕμων, χαίρω καὶ συγχαίρω πᾶσιν ἵμιν. Paul is clearly making reference back to his possible death while in prison and assuring the Philippians that it would not be in vain.318 A number of common religious terms are used by Paul, all of which are found in association inscriptions: σπένδομαι,319 θυσία,320 and λειτουργία.321

318. Bruce 1983:88; O'Brien 1991:305-06. Others (Collange 1979:113; Hawthorne 1983:106) have suggested that the non-use of σπένδομαι for blood libations and the use of the present tense in this context all suggest that Paul is not here indicating his death but his present labors as an apostle (cf. Fee 1991:252-55).

319. E.g., P.Lond. 2710; IG V/1 1390; Cf. σπονδή in IG Π2 1365 and 1366; IMagnMai 100 B.13; IPriene 362.

320. E.g., IG XII/3 330; IG Π2 1365; 1366; IG IV 840; 841; IG XII/3 436; IG XII/9 194; LSAM 2; 4; 73; LSS 83; SIG3 1035; 1106; IMagnMai 98.

321. IG XII/3 330; IG VI 1390; IG Π2 1368; LSAM 53.
The final part of the clause in Phil 2:17, τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, refers comprehensively to the Philippians’ communal Christian life generally—their profession of faith, their prayers, their financial assistance, their worship, etc. (O’Brien 1991:310). These are all elements of the θυσία καὶ λειτουργίας encompassed by their πίστεως.322 This is confirmed by Paul’s description of Epaphroditus, who acted towards Paul on behalf of the Philippians. Paul describes Epaphroditus as "your . . . minister to my need" (ὑμῶν . . . λειτουργόν τῆς χρείας μου, 2:25). Shortly thereafter, he suggests that Epaphroditus fulfilled the deficiency in the service (λειτουργίας) of the Philippians to Paul (2:30). In elaborating on Epaphroditus’ work of "ministry and service" it is clear that he was the bearer of the financial gift to Paul from the Philippians (4:18). Paul’s description in this latter passage of the gift as "fragrant offering" (ὁσμῆν εὐώδιας) and "acceptable sacrifice (θυσίαν δεκτήν) pleasing to God (εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ)" confirms that the Philippians’ λειτουργία is one of priestly service. The terms are all used euphemistically by Paul for "monetary gift," and are clearly taken from the context of cultic duty. Paul uses these terms for the Philippians’ monetary gift to underscore the religious nature of their actions (cf. Ascough 1996:592-94). Other terms used by Paul also recall the language of religious duty used in inscriptions from the voluntary associations. In Phil 1:6 Paul assures that Philippians that "he who began a good work in you will bring it to completion." Later, he will exhort the Philippians to "complete" his joy (2:2).323 The word "completion" (ἐπιτελέσω) is commonly used in contexts of religious duty within the voluntary associations, including the performance

322. Thus τῆς πίστεως is a genitive of origin (cf. Beare 1959:94), not epexegetical indicating that the converts themselves are the sacrifice, as O’Brien (1991:310) argues.

323. Cf. τετελείωμαι in 3:12 and τέλειος in 3:15. For the various nuances of these words see Fee 1995:343 n. 23.
of religious rites, the fulfillment of religious oaths, and religious benefaction.  

Throughout Philippians, and especially in Phil 2:17, Paul uses cultic language metaphorically to reaffirm the Philippian Christians that their various expressions of faith conform to what one would expect to find within a religious association.

Paul’s language in Philippians also has affinities with initiation rites. In Phil 4:12 Paul claims to have "learned the secret" of living within the means at his disposal, whether they are meager or abundant. The idea of such self-sufficiency (αὐτάρκης; cf. Phil 4:11) is common in the literature of the popular moral philosophers such as the Stoics or the Cynics (cf. U.B. Müller 1993:202-03; Fee 1995:431-32). However, the "learning the secret" uses a technical term from the mysteries, μεμόημα, which might better be translated "I have been initiated" (Lightfoot 1881:164; Michael 1928:215; Beare 1959:152-53; Hawthorne 1983:200).

Membership in a number of the voluntary associations included initiation rites. For example, IG Π2 1369 (Attica, II CE) describes a process whereby a candidate must be examined by a number of officials to see whether he is "holy, pious, and good"  

324. For illustrations of this usage see Ascough 1996:590-99. In this article I argue that Paul’s use of ἐπετελέω in his exhortation to the Corinthians concerning their collection for the Jerusalem church (2 Cor 8:1-15) is understood best in a context of religious duty rather than simply being an administrative and financial issue for Paul.


326. O’Brien (1991:525; cf. Bonnard 1950:79; Collange 1979:151; Fee 1995:433) discounts the mysteries as background because the perfect tense of the verb "shows that this learning was not instantaneous" and is followed by indications that Paul has been ‘initiated’ in various spheres. However, this is to misunderstand the nature of the initiation rites in mystery religions. In Apuleius’ account of Lucius’ initiation into the rites of Isis, it is clearly an extended process. In fact, when he reaches Rome, he must undergo the rites again, as his first experience was incomplete (Met. 19; Nock 1933:147-49). It is also clear that while some of those involved in the nocturnal rites at Eleusis were first time initiates, many were participating in the rites subsequent to their initial initiation. Therefore, "initiation" into the mysteries indicates neither "instantaneous" transformation nor "one time only" events. Paul’s use on μεμόημα is in keeping with such practice. Cf. Paul’s language of κοινωνία in the Spirit (Phil 2:1), in Christ’s sufferings (Phil 3:10), and of grace (Phil 1:7), all of which seem to indicate some mystical relationship with the divine; cf. Vincent 1897:105; Beare 1959:123; Hainz 1982:98-99.
before gaining entry into the association. Membership into an association in II CE Lanuvium was gained through the payment of an initiation fee of 100 sesterces and an amphora of good wine (CIL XIV 2112). The regulations of an association at Andania in I BCE clearly distinguishes between, initiates, initiated, and officials (IG V/1 1390). Finally, the fragmented ending of IG X/2 255 [22] from Thessalonica seems to indicate that one of the priestesses involved non-initiates in the sacred rites of the association, an indication that initiation was assumed for those already involved.327

The language and activities of worship are also shared between the Philippians and the voluntary associations. Again, we want to emphasize that these features are not unique to the associations but can also be found in the religious language of other groups and/or individuals and in the LXX. However, their presence in Philippians indicates a consistency of language and concepts between the Philippian congregation and the voluntary associations. Paul uses a technical term for religious worship, λατρεύω, in Phil 3:3 (Plummer 1909:70). This term is common both in the LXX, which is the usual point of reference for commentators (Lightfoot 1881:145; Hawthorne 1983:126; O’Brien 1991:360; Fee 1995:255 n. 59), although it is also used of worship in non-Jewish contexts (Moulton and Milligan 1914:371). The same is true for the religious language of "prayer," an activity in which both Paul and the Philippians participate (Phil 1:4; 1:19; 4:6). The activity of prayer is strongly encouraged by Paul in 4:6 where he uses προσευχή, δέησις, αἰτίμα, and εὐχαριστίας; these words and their cognates are all used regularly in contexts of praying.328 That prayer was a part of the worship within voluntary associations is attested in a number

327. Until this point the association seems to have been limited to a small group. Sokolowski (1974:445) suggests that "the familial cult had been opened to people not closely related." However, since the inscription soon breaks off it is unclear whether such a move was approved, especially since the priestess involved seems to have fallen "violently ill."

328. On προσευχή and εὐχαριστίας see Moulton and Milligan 1914:547 and 267-68 respectively. On δέησις see BAGD s.v. On αἰτίμα see Stählin 1964:193, although all the examples are from the LXX.
of inscriptions. For example, the κοινόν of Soteriastai at Athens honoured its founder and patron Diodoros who, among his many benefactions, had prayed for the common good (εὐχησεν τὰ κοινά) of the members (IG II² 1343; 37/36 BCE).³²⁹ Civic regulations on an inscription from Pergamum stipulate that at the installation of plaques describing a treaty with Rome the priests, priestesses, civic leaders, and the people are to pray (προσευχόμεθα) "for the good fortune and salvation (σωτηρία) of our people and of the Romans and of the brotherhood of the artisans associated with Kathogemones Dionysus" (SIG³ 694; 129 BCE). The statues of a second century BCE association of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia ad Maeander stipulates prayer (κατευχή; IMagnMai 98), while a separate second century BCE association at Maeonie required that prayers be made to a number of deities (LSAM 19).³³⁰

Along with prayers and thanksgiving, singing and music played a part in the cultic life of the associations.³³¹ Not surprisingly, then, hymns were also part of worship in some voluntary associations. According to a decree concerning the ceremonies celebrated on the occasion of the installation of the statue of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia ad Maeander (200-150 BCE) the temple warden of this association was given the duty of presiding "over the bands of dancers and singers while the virgins listen to the hymns to Artemis Leukophryene" (IMagnMai 100 A.23-24). A first century CE inscription from Pergamum lists the names of two "teachers of the hymns" (ὑμνοδίδασκαλοι) in an association of worshipers of Dionysos (IPerg 485). Regulations from an association of Dionysos included hymns in their daily procession

³²⁹. Cf. IG II² 1338.30, ἐπευκημένων.

³³⁰. Cf. dedications made in fulfillment of vows; e.g., IG II² 4636; 4637.

³³¹. Legislation against singing in the rule of the Iobacchi (Athens, II CE) suggest that the membership could easily be spurred into spontaneous song (IG II² 1368), although this has more to do with the effects of their consumption of alcohol. There is, however, reference to parts taken in the sacred drama, which would involve song.
from the city to the temple (LSAM 28; I CE). Most interesting is an inscription from an
association of therapeutes who worshipped Sarapis on Delos, dating to before 166
BCE, which not only mentions the daily singing of the praises of Sarapis’ miracles by
the priest (L. 49) but includes a lengthy hymn in hexameter verse recounting the
founding and development of the cult of Sarapis on Delos (IG XI/4 1299).³³²
Professional musicians even formed themselves into professional associations, including
those who took the name μολυτροί.³³³ Such would have been those employed each year
for the celebration of the Andanian mysteries and were commissioned to play during
the sacrifices (IG V/1 1390 LL. 73-74; cf. ISmyrna 728; II CE). Singing was also
included in the repertoire of the world-wide association of Dionysiac Artists (Pickard-

Returning to Philippians, we note that the poetic nature of Phil 2:6-11 has come
to be accepted by the majority of commentators (Minear 1990:202). It is also generally
accepted that the hymn pre-dates its use in Philippians and was probably not authored
by Paul.³³⁴ Paul’s use of the hymn suggests that singing was part of the worship at
Philippi.³³⁵ In fact, for the early Christians, "singing not only created Christology; it
Minear 1990:203). The musical aspect of the voluntary associations could be said to
have the same effect.

³³². Lines 5, 13, 43, 69, 93. Similarly, an inscription commemorating the founding of an
association dedicated to Poseidon celebrates the saving of the city with a hymn (ITralleis 1; II-III CE).

³³³. See LSS 91 (III CE); LSAM 50; 53 (I CE); IEph 899; 900; 901; 903; 906.

³³⁴. But see Minear (1990:203 and 219 n. 6) who supports the first thesis but not the second. Minear
(1990:204) suggests that Paul wrote the hymn while living and worshipping at Philippi.

³³⁵. See also Acts 16:25; cf. reference to singing in other Christian congregations in 1 Cor 14:26; Col
3:16; Eph 5:18-20.
Within the Philippian hymn reference is made to the "name above all names."

This phrase has as its most obvious referent its use in the Old Testament.\(^{336}\) However, for those not familiar with the Old Testament there may be another referent. For the Philippians that is probably Isis, one of the most important of the oriental religions at Philippi during the first century CE (Witt 1971:192; cf. Collart 1929:87). Witt even claims that

The Christian community to whom *Philippians* was ostensibly addressed could hardly have been unaware of the Roman colony's 'Queen Victoria'—Isis *Regina, Victrix*. For non-Christians there the countless names of the goddess must have been among her main attractions. She could indeed herself be 'the First Name' [Oxyrhynchus Litany 143]. The writer of the Epistle therefore may well have had her much in mind when he proclaimed that God had given Jesus a name above all others [Phil 2:9], at which every knee must bow, in heaven, in earth and under the earth. We must genuflect to Jesus not Isis. (Witt 1971:267-68; cf. Witt 1970:328-29)

At Philippi she is the recipient of the worship of at least one association\(^{337}\) and is more widely known in the city itself (Portefaix 1988:114-27) and Macedonia more generally (Witt 1970:324-33). This background is all the more significant if Reumann (1993b:442-46) is correct in positing that the Philippians composed the hymn themselves.\(^{338}\)

Thanksgiving (*εἰχαριστίας; εἰχαριστεῖω*) was also a frequent aspect of the life of association members in the form of votives, items dedicated to the god in recognition of the god's intervention in the life of the person, group, or city.\(^{339}\) From Macedonia

\(^{336}\) That is, recognition of Jesus as *κύριος* (cf. 2:10) is tantamount to recognition of "Jesus" or "Lord" as the same as "YHWH" (cf. Is 42:8); see O'Brien 1991:238.

\(^{337}\) *SIRIS* 122 [58], perhaps also *SIRIS* 123 [59]; 124 [60].


\(^{339}\) See IG II\(^2\) 1177 (278/77 BCE); 1298 (277/76 BCE); 4636 (IV BCE); 4637 (IV BCE); 4703 (ca. 100 BCE); 4714 (Augustan era); 4759 (II CE); 4760; and especially IG XI/4 1226 (Delos, before 166 BCE), a votive with three engraved wreaths set up by τὸ θεοὺς τῶν ὑπερσευσα[τον], τὸ κοινὺ τῶν μελ[α]τηφόρων, and a private θέσσας ὧ τῶν Ἐκατακαστῶν.
itself, we have a dedication to Zeus Hypsistos set up at Kalliani by a slave on behalf of
his master as a "token of thanksgiving" (IMaked 22 [01]; III CE). Likewise at
Thessalonica a "token of thanksgiving" was set up to Theos Hypsistos after the
dedicator had received a dream which prevented him from undertaking a dangerous
(and presumably for those who did make the trip, deadly) sea voyage (IG X/2 67 [16];
74/75 CE). While we have no idea whether physical votives were set up in the meeting
place of the Philippian Christians, Paul does recommend to them that their prayers and
supplications to God be accompanied by thanksgiving (4:6).

In the foregoing analysis of the religious vocabulary and metaphors in Philippians
we have attempted to draw particular attention to the resonances with the associations
to show how Paul’s language reflects a concern with similar things in the associations.
Paul and the Philippians did not necessarily take over such language, concepts, and
practices from the associations. Many will suggest alternative venues in which such
things are used, particularly civic cults, the mysteries, and the LXX. However, our
concern in this dissertation has been to use the voluntary associations as an analogy for
understanding Paul’s Macedonian Christian communities. We suggested earlier that the
Philippian Christian community were most like a religious association. Such a claim
could be called into question had we not found the analogous material discussed above.
So while it does not prove that the Philippians were a religious association, it does
support our earlier claim that the religious associations are a helpful analogous
backdrop for understanding their community.
6.4. Conclusion

Throughout this chapter we have been concerned to examine the details of 1 Thessalonians and Philippians in the light of the voluntary associations as they are known to us through inscriptions and papyri. As an analogous type of community formation it was thought that such a project would prove helpful in gaining insight into Paul’s letters. At the beginning of our analysis we showed how the Thessalonian Christian community was most like a professional association, and as such was composed primarily of males. In contrast, the Philippian Christian community was clearly a gender inclusive group in which women exercised some leadership capacity. As such, it was most like a religious association. An investigation of the internal organization of both Christian communities in light of the voluntary associations revealed a number of similarities in group designators and leadership structure.

The community interaction reflected in both letters suggested that in a number of ways the Macedonian Christian communities faced some of the same types of disharmony found among members of the associations. However, at a number of points we also highlighted how Paul, in both letters, is concerned that the Macedonian Christian groups clearly distinguish themselves from the voluntary associations around them. Nevertheless, this concern for distinctiveness is suggestive that the Macedonian Christian communities were similar enough to the associations to have been considered to be such. Finances was another area in which we found both similarities with the associations and possible direct contrasts. The collection and distribution of money by the Philippians figures prominently in the last chapter of the letter. The collecting of money itself coheres with the widespread practice in the associations, although we suggested that the dispersement of that money outside of the group was a significant difference, one which Paul highlights. Another financial consideration was benefaction, an issue which underlies Paul’s careful negotiation of his gratitude for the Philippians’
monetary gift. Finally, we looked at the religious language in Philippians. Although much of it is very general cultic language, we showed how it could be heard within the context of an association. The lack of religious language in 1 Thessalonians in comparison to Philippians is best explained by differences in the fundamental nature of the two Christian groups.
CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

In this dissertation we have attempted to determine how one can best understand the social matrix of the early Christian communities at Thessalonica and Philippi. To do so we have examined both the internal rhetoric of each letter and the external context of each city, both the Macedonian context and, more broadly, the Greco-Roman milieu. We have been most concerned to show how each of these two Christian communities would have been constituted within the larger framework of group formation in antiquity. Our focus has been upon the social environment of these communities, rather than the theological rationale by which they were formed.

The first chapter set out the purpose and method of the study. The rationale was the need for more locally based studies of early Christian communities, particularly those communities outside of Corinth. The method outlined involves studies of rhetoric and social context, but was driven by a desire to find analogous community formations which, when held up to the Macedonian groups, shed light on the structure of the latter and the nature of Paul's language in the letters he sent to them.

Chapter two provided a brief overview of the geographical and political context of Macedonia generally and of Thessalonica and Philippi in particular. We also included an examination of the socio-cultural conventions of Greco-Roman society, conventions which would have pervaded the province of Macedonia in the first century CE.

Chapter three surveyed the introductory issues surrounding 1 Thessalonians and Philippians (authorship, date, unity) and then outlined the rhetorical genus and structure of each letter. We suggested that 1 Thessalonians was a paraenetic letter which evidenced the rhetoric of an epideictic speech. Philippians was understood as a letter of
friendship, although it also was epideictic in structure. For each letter an analysis of the pervasive elements and Paul's *ethos, pathos, and logos* revealed the social location of the recipients. The Thessalonian Christians were determined to be poor handworkers. As such they would be ranked by others as fairly low on the social scale. The Philippians were also shown to be of the lower ranks, being mostly slaves and freedpersons, and, although they contributed more than the Thessalonians to Paul's ministry, they were still not particularly well-off financially.

In chapter 4 a number of models of community formation were evaluated as analogues for the Macedonian Christian communities. Households are often seen as the basis of Pauline communities, a supposition which we affirmed, but suggested was too broad, as the household was also the basis of other types of groups. Thus, a more particular type of analogue is called for. The most frequently assumed analogous model is that of the synagogue. However, a number of problems were encountered with this model, not least of which was the lack of evidence both in 1 Thessalonians and Philippians and in first century CE Macedonia generally for any significant presence of Jews. The model of the philosophical schools was acknowledged as helpful insofar as study of the various philosophical schools of antiquity often sheds light on the background of Paul's language, but little solid evidence has been offered to suggest that Paul's communities were constituted as philosophical schools. The mysteries have undergone a resurgence of late as a means to understand parts of Paul's letters, and in some cases they help shed light on the context in which Paul's Macedonian letters were received. However, again we encountered no substantial evidence to suggest that Paul's Macedonian Christian communities were constituted along the lines of the mysteries. Our one caveat was that the Macedonian Christian communities may in fact resemble private religious associations formed within the larger context of initiates into the mysteries.
This brought us to chapter 5, in which we surveyed in detail the use of voluntary associations as a model for understanding early Christian community formation. A number of objections raised against this model were addressed, opening the way for the use of this model as an analogue for understanding the Macedonian Christian communities. As a final preparatory step we surveyed the Macedonian voluntary association inscriptions collected in Appendix I.

Finally, in chapter six we undertook a comparative analysis of Paul's letters to the Macedonian Christians and the community practices and language of the voluntary associations. Rather than search for genealogical connections which would suggest that Paul "borrowed" his language and concepts from the associations, we held up the associations analogously in order to better understand features of the Macedonian Christian communities as they are reflected in Paul's letters to them. We proceeded with the conviction that to set $x$ beside $y$, especially when there are strong reasons that the two belong to the same class, will allow one to see typicalities and particularities in a new way.

Setting the language and structure of the Macedonian Christian communities beside that of the associations brought about a number of new understandings and nuances to the letters written to those communities. We were able to see that both of the Macedonian Christian communities reflect features and language typical of voluntary associations. We began by arguing that the Thessalonians were most analogous to an all male, professional association while the Philippians were most analogous to a gender-inclusive religious association. However, simply to claim that Paul's churches were voluntary associations (as opposed to synagogues or philosophical schools) is not a particularly interesting or helpful conclusion. Rather, we illustrated Paul's language in 1 Thessalonians and Philippians by reference to the typicalities of association language. We saw that many of the community features of both the
Thessalonian and the Philippian Christian communities find ready analogies in the voluntary associations.

Overall, this helped us to understand better, and often in new ways, both Paul and his practices, and the practices and structure of the groups to which he writes. Although there is no one association inscription that has all the features of 1 Thessalonians or Philippians (and thus no one association that is exactly the same as either of them), the analogous comparative process reveals that on the social map of antiquity the type of group structure which the Philippians and Thessalonians would have assumed, and the type of group that outsiders would have assumed that they were, was that of a voluntary association. That is, both would appear to outsiders as a voluntary association and both would function internally as one. Paul’s letters show that he is aware of associations and writes within this discursive field. Although he does not disapprove of the way the Macedonian Christian communities are formed he attempts to make strategic adjustments to how they have configured themselves. However, in so doing it is clear that his starting point is voluntary association language.

Our study also confirms the local character of Christian community formation throughout Paul’s ministry. It suggests that, in fact, Paul did not carry with him a "blueprint" for community formation but allowed each community to develop independently. To suggest that Paul alone is responsible for the structure and ethos of the two Macedonian Christian communities assumes that they did not know how to organize themselves as an ἐκκλησία. This is unlikely given the number and variety of groups in their immediate context. It is more probable that while Paul was the founder of each group he allowed them to organize themselves as they saw best. This is not to suggest that they did so without guidance; obviously Paul wrote letters to make suggestions, recommendations, corrections, and commands. However, it does not mean that he alone was responsible for all of its features and language.
In the opening chapter we pointed out that the Corinthian Christian community cannot be seen as paradigmatic for understanding the formation and structure of all of Paul's communities. This has been confirmed by analyzing those at Thessalonica and Philippi, both situated within the Roman province of Macedonia. These two Christian communities have proved to be quite dissimilar from one another in a number of ways. This should further caution us to undertake a nuanced understanding of Pauline Christian communities. Information from one congregation cannot be imported into the understanding of another unless there is prior justification in the texts themselves.

In the course of this dissertation a number of exegetical issues have been raised and not all of these have been explored fully; in particular a number of other interpretive options have been glossed over. This is a regrettable, although necessary, part of a broad dissertation such as this. Any number of passages we have treated are deserving of, and often have been subjected to, a dissertation treatment of their own. In this dissertation we have attempted to open up a new avenue of exploration and now turn over the task of a much fuller, more nuanced and detailed investigation of the texts to future interpreters.
Appendix I

Macedonian Voluntary Association Inscriptions
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Inscription</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Function of Inscr.</th>
<th>Deity Named</th>
<th>Association Name</th>
<th>Name of Associates</th>
<th>Officials</th>
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<td>Kaliani</td>
<td>III CE</td>
<td>votive</td>
<td>Zeus Hypsistos</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>bequest</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>epigraph</td>
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<td>Sarapis and Isis</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>IG X/2 65</td>
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<td>Dionysos or Attis (?)</td>
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<td>Thessalonica</td>
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<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Function of Inscr.</td>
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<td>Association Name</td>
<td>Name of Associates</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Thessalonica 4</td>
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<td>II-III CE</td>
<td>epitaph</td>
<td>One God (Jewish)</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>CIG 693a</td>
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<td>donation</td>
<td>Zeus Hypsistos</td>
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<td>Hagios Mamas</td>
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<td>Hero God</td>
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<td>1Acanthus 1</td>
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<td>Roman per</td>
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<td>Gods of Samothrace</td>
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<td>III BCE</td>
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<td>Dionysos</td>
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<td>51</td>
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<td>Reussilova</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Liber Pater Tasibastenus</td>
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<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Prousotchani</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<td>Kalamaki</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>epitaph</td>
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<td>SIRIS 122</td>
<td>Philippi</td>
<td>II-III CE</td>
<td>honourary</td>
<td>Sarapis and Isis</td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>SIRIS 123</td>
<td>Philippi</td>
<td>III CE</td>
<td>epitaph</td>
<td>Sarapis</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>SIRIS 124</td>
<td>Philippi</td>
<td>III CE</td>
<td>honourary</td>
<td>(Sarapis)</td>
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<td>61</td>
<td>Philippi 1</td>
<td>Philippi</td>
<td>II-III CE</td>
<td>rosalia</td>
<td>Soregethes, Hero</td>
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<td>62</td>
<td>Philippi 2</td>
<td>Philippi</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>honourary</td>
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<td>63</td>
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<td>Philippi</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>rosalia</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>Philippi 4</td>
<td>Philippi</td>
<td>II-III CE</td>
<td>dedication</td>
<td>Nemesis, Nike</td>
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<td>65</td>
<td>Philippi 5</td>
<td>Philippi</td>
<td>II-III CE</td>
<td>dedication</td>
<td>Nemesis</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>Philippi 6</td>
<td>Philippi</td>
<td>II-III CE</td>
<td>dedication</td>
<td>Nemesis, Mars</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>Philippi 7</td>
<td>Philippi</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>honourary</td>
<td>Cupid</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>Philippi 8</td>
<td>Philippi</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>honourary</td>
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<td>69</td>
<td>Philippi 9</td>
<td>Philippi</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>warning</td>
<td>Liber/Libera/Hercules</td>
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<td>70</td>
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<td>Philippi</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>dedication</td>
<td>Liber/Libera/Hercules</td>
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<td>71</td>
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<td>n.d.</td>
<td>dedication</td>
<td>Liber/Libera/Hercules</td>
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<td>72</td>
<td>Raktcha 1</td>
<td>Raktcha</td>
<td>II-III CE</td>
<td>membership</td>
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<td>73</td>
<td>Raktcha 2</td>
<td>Raktcha</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>honourary</td>
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<td>74</td>
<td>Raktcha 3</td>
<td>Raktcha</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>dedication</td>
<td>Liber and Libera</td>
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<td>75</td>
<td>CIL III 656</td>
<td>Selian</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>parentalia</td>
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Notes:
- **Inscription**: Thessalonica 4, CIG 693a, etc.
- **Provenance**: Thessalonica, Hagios Mamas, Acanthus, etc.
- **Date**: II-III CE, IV-VI CE, II BCE, etc.
- **Function of Inscr.**: epitaph, donation, dedication, etc.
- **Deity Named**: One God (Jewish), Zeus Hypsistos, etc.
- **Association Name**: collegium, epigrammaton, etc.
- **Name of Associates**: οἱ συνταγματεύμενοι Ρώμαιοι, ἀρχισυγγέγονος, etc.
- **Officials**: ὁ χαλκεὺς (coppersmith), ἄρχων (treasurer), etc.
Provenance: Kalliani

Date: III CE


Published: Ch. I. Makaronas, “Χρονικά ἀρχαιολογικά” Μακεδονικά 2 (1941-52) 638 no. 2 (drawing p. 639); Tačeva-Hitova 1978:73 no. 17.

Publication Used: Makaronas.

Current Location: Kozani 1941:638 no. 2.


Related Inscriptions: → IEdessa 1 [04] 2 [05], 3 [06]; IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08], 38 [09]; IAnydron 1 [10]; IHeroea 1 [11]; IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]; IAnthemone 1 [44]; P.Lond. 2710. cf. IG X/2 67 [16], 71 [17], 72 [18], 68 [20].

The inscription accompanies a relief of Zeus holding a shepherd’s crook.

Χρύσερος Φιλέππου

ὁμπελουργός Διὸ Τύμων ἑλεοσύνη ὑπὲρ

κυρίου ἐπονομάζεις

5 δὲ αὐτὸ ἀμπέλια

λων δύο δρόχους

ἐκ τῶν ἑκ

κοιλαρίων.

Chryseros, slave of Philipp

the vinedresser, to Zeus Hypsistos,

a token of thanksgiving for

his master. And he named

for him

two rows of vines

from his private

property (pecullarius).

---

Modern Kozani.
IMaked 22
Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos

Provenance: Kalliani

Date: III CE


Published: Ch. I. Makaronas, "Χροικά δρχοιολογικά" Μακεδονικά 2 (1941-52) 638 no. 2 (drawing p. 639); Tacheva-Hitova 1978:73 no. 17.

Publication Used: Makaronas.

Current Location: Kozani 1941:638 no. 2.


Related Inscriptions: → IEdessa 1 [04] 2 [05], 3 [06]; IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08], 38 [09]; IAnnydon 1 [10]; IBERoea 1 [11]; IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]; IAnthemone 1 [44]; P.Lond. 2710. cf. IG X/2 67 [16], 71 [17], 72 [18], 68 [20].

The inscription accompanies a relief of Zeus holding a shepherd’s crook.

Χρύσερος Φιλίππου
ἀντέλουργός Διί Τυσω-
το εὐχαριστήριον ἐπὶ[ρ]
κυρίου ἀτομομάζει
5
δὲ αὐτῷ ἀμπέ-
λων δὼν ἄρχου-
ζ ἐκ τῶν πε-
κουλαρίων.

Chryseros, slave of Philipp
the vinedresser, to Zeus Hypsistos,
a token of thanksgiving for
his master. And he named
for him
two rows of vines
from his private
property (pecoularius).

---

Modern Kozani.
Provenance: Stobi

Date: late II to early III CE

Edict Princeps: Jozo Petrovic, Starinar (Revue de la Société archéologique de Belgrade) 7 (1932) 81-86.


Related Inscriptions: → CIJ I 693:354-55. 1

Inscribed on the lower part of a marble column. The upper part of the column was cut off in the past and has not been found. The height of the piece is 2.48 m and the diameter is 0.98 m. The opening line is unclear (Vulić suggests ἔρως TIA) but the remainder is fairly certain.

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a So L.M. White (1997:354-55 n. 122), who also surveys other proposals for dating the inscription.
Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos, also called Achyrios, father of the synagogue in Stobi, who has conducted himself in accordance with all the prescriptions of Judaism, has, in fulfilment of a vow, (donated) the houses for the holy place and the triclinium along with the tetrastoon, from his own resources, taking none of the holy revenues. However, complete ownership and rights are retained over all of the upper floor by me, Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos and by my heirs, as long as they are alive. Whoever wishes to alter what I have said, he will pay to the patriarch two hundred and fifty thousand denarii. For it seems fair to me that the care of the rooftiles on the second floor is my responsibility and that of my heirs.

Comments [by John S. Kloppenborg]

This inscription was found inside a large fifth-century building measuring 42.2 x 16.55m in which was found with remains of another smaller building, 19.2 x 14.2m. The large structure is a Christian basilica. The smaller structure has been identified as a synagogue (Synagogue II). The original synagogue seems to have originated as a private house (Synagogue I), donated by Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos, renovated and expanded as Synagogue II about the end of the fourth century CE.

A number of columns and column bases were found. Since they are not uniform in length, diameter or style, it is assumed that they represent secondary usage, in part from the theatre of the city. Since the city was plundered and partially destroyed in 479 by the Goths, it is probable that the basilica was constructed from the debris of the destruction (Kitzinger 1946:132-33).

The original excavation report describes the synagogue (II) as having a basilical form, with two rows of columns dividing a nave (7.40m) and two aisles (2.60m each), and an apse at the eastern end. There is one smaller room to the south and a colonnaded atrium on the southwest side. Now it appears that most of these structures belong to the Christian basilica rather than Synagogue II, which is a simple assembly hall with a side room. None of the features described in the inscription has been identified.2

2 Vulić (1932:298) suggests that there are analogous plans in some Palestinian synagogues. He cites Juster 1914:1:456, and S. Krauss, REJ (1930).
The early synagogue is the result of the renovation of a private villa. The triclinium and tetrastoon are noted as separate rooms of the synagogue complex. This indicates the location of the synagogue in a private house (Hengel 1966:161). The Triclinium is the dining room and the Tetrastoon is the guest room or study. That they are mentioned separately from the synagogue indicates that we see here beginnings of the separation of the synagogue proper which is reserved for worship and other rooms in which eating, study, and other non-ritual events would take place (Hengel 1966:165, 172).

Overall the inscription gives the impression of both the pious generosity of the donor along with his personal interests (Hengel 1966:183). Not only does the inscription honour his deed, it also serves to protect his family’s claim to the upper floor of the villa. The steep (250,000 drachmae) fine charged for subsequent alterations would be a severe deterrent to any changes being made to the villa. The fine is to be paid to the Jewish ‘‘patriarch,’’ probably a provincial representative of the Palestinian patriarch who was resident in Stobi (Vulič 1932:297).

3 A dining room with three couches.
4 A hall with four rows of columns, most likely used as a guest house or a study room. See A. Thomas Kraabel, “The Diaspora Synagogue: Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence since Sukenik,” ANRW II.19.1 (1979) 477-510, esp. 495.
5 The title ‘‘patriarch’’ is first attested of R. Judah (‘‘ha-Nasi’’) from about 170 CE on. Origen (who knew Judah’s brother, Hillel) treats the title ‘‘patriarch’’ as if it is something new (In Psalms on Ps 89:1; PG 12.1056). See further Hengel 1966:153-56; Vulič.
Provenance: Resava

Date: mid II CE

Edition Princeps: Heuzey and Daumet 1876 no. 133.

Published: Foucart 1873:243 no. 68; IMakedD 284; N. Vulić, "Antički spomenici naše zemlje."

Spomenik 71 (1931) 75 no. 176; R. Marić, Antički kultovi u našoj zemlji (Diss. Belgrad 1933)

32, 43, 51; N. Vulić, Archäologische Karte von Jugoslavien, Kavadarci (Belgrad, 1938) 18;

Düll 1977:340 no. 131.

Publication Used: Foucart 1873:243 no. 68.

Current Location: Skopje Archaeological Museum.


Related Inscriptions: →

Rectangular stele measuring 0.98 x 0.46 x 0.07 m; the stele is broken at the bottom. The characters are very rough and the stele is weathered.

"Ἡρακλῆ θεῷ
μογίστῳ
Μελέαγρος Μενᾶ(ν)δρου
τοῖς συνθιασταῖς
5 Μακεδῶν Μακεδόνος
Ἑρμογένης Μακεδόνος
Γάιος Μελέαγρου νίδας
Γάιος Λίβιος κ(αί) Μαμέρ(κ)ος
Ἀκόλαξ κ(αί) Μαμέρ(κ)ος Ἀκόλαξ
10 κ(αί) Μαμέρ(κ)ος Μάρκος ΜΟ

To the great god
Heracles
Melagros son of Menadros
with the fellow thiasitai
Makedon son of Makedon
Hermogenes son of Makedon
Gaius son of Meleagros
Gaius Libus and Mamerkius
Akulas and Mamerkius Akulas
and Mamerkius Markus

---

a So Düll; Ziebarth has Ressova; Foucart has Pressova; Poland has Ressowa.
Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos

Provenance: Edessa

Date: eII BCE

Editio Princeps: S. Pelekides, "Ἀνασκαφή Ἐδέσσης," Archaiologikon Deltion 8 (1923) 268-69, no. 2 (ph. 7a).


Publication Used: Pelekides 1923:268.


Related Inscriptions: → IMaked 22 [01]; IEdessa 2 [05], 3 [06]; IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08], 38 [09]; IAnydron 1 [10]; IBeroe 1 [11]; IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]; IAnthemonte 1 [44]; P.Lond. 2710; cf. IG X/2 67 [16], 71 [17], 72 [18], 68 [20].

Stele measuring 1.46 x 0.42 x 0.12 m. The bottom corner has been broken away. Under the inscription there is a relief of an eagle standing on a half-wreath. At the top is a relief of leaves. This inscription is found in identical form in IEdessa 2 [05].

Zoílos son of Alexander (dedicated this)

υπὲρ τῶν παιδίων

Διὶ Τυψίστῳ.

Zoilos son of Alexander (dedicated this)
on behalf of his children

to Zeus Hypsistos.

---

a On the basis of the lettering; see Roberts, Skeat, Nock 1936:60.

1 Or slaves, but less likely.
Provenance: Edessa

Date: eII BCE

Editio Princeps: S. Pelekides, "'Ανασκαφή 'Εδέσσας," *Archaiologikon Deltion* 8 (1923) 268-69, no. 3.


Publication Used: Pelekides 1923:268.


Related Inscriptions: → IMaked 22 [01]; IEdessa 1 [04], 3 [06]; IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08], 38 [09]; IAnydron 1 [10]; IBeroea 1 [11]; IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]; [Anthemonte 1 [44]; P.Lond. 2710; cf. IG X/2 67 [16], 71 [17], 72 [18], 68 [20].

Stele measuring 1.40 x 0.42 x 0.15 m. Under the inscription there is a relief of a bull standing between two roses. This inscription is found in identical form in IEdessa 1 [04].

Ζωίλος Ἀλεξάνδρου
ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδίων
Διὶ Τύπιστω.

Zoilos son of Alexander (dedicated this) on behalf of his children to Zeus Hypsistos.

---

a On the basis of the lettering; see Roberts, Skeat, Nock 1936:60.

1 Or slaves, but less likely.
IEdessa 3
Association of Zeus Hypsistos

Provenance: Edessa

Date: 51 CE


Published: Tačeava-Hitova 1978:71-72 no. 9 (ph. 1b).

Publication Used: Pelekides 1923:268.


Related Inscriptions: → IMaked 22 [01]; IEdessa 1 [04] 2 [05]; IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08], 38 [09]; |Anydron 1 [10]; IBeroea 1 [11]; IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]; IAnthemonte 1 [44]; P.Lond. 2710; cf. IG X/2 67 [16], 71 [17], 72 [18], 68 [20].

Stele measuring 1.30 x 0.41 x 0.12 m. A relief of an eagle (the traditional attribute of Zeus) with its head turned to the left and encircled by a wreath of oak leaves appears above the inscription. Two ribbons are inscribed at the bottom of the wreath. At the top of the stele a pediment is inscribed, with a half circle below the peak inside the tympanum. A six-petaled rose appears above the sima on each side of the pediment. On the base of the pediment the dedication ΔΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ("to Zeus Hypsistos") appears.

Δι' Τύπτησις
relief
Τέχνη τής σωτηρίας
Μ. Οὐζίςιον Ἀμβούα
Οἱ συνήθεις ἐπιμελη-
tοι Σ. Πατωμίου
τοῦ Ταρουλίου καὶ
Γ. Παντίου Τορκουάτου
Π. Οὐζέττιος Νάρκισσος
Δ. Διδύμους Χρύσιττος
Φ. Φλάουνος Ἀλυτοῦ
Σεκούνδος Ἀδύμου
Μαλέττη Απωλλοδώρου
Ἀπολλωνίας Θεοῦ
Μ. Οὐζίςιον Ἐρμέρως
Ἐπαφράξις Δαμοθάρους
Μ. Ἀρτωνίου Μούσιτος
Κρίστος
Ἐστοις ΘΡΗ Περίτου, Ἰερημεύ-
οντος Μ. Ἀπτίου Δόγγου
ΡΥΣ ἐποίει.

To Zeus Hypsistos.

For the salvation
of Marcus Vibius Amboua
The association of managers (epimeletai):
Secundus son of Posidonius
the Taroulian and
Gaius Pontius Torcouatus
Publius Vettius Narcissus
Lucius Liburnius Crusippus
Gaius Flavius Alupus
Secundus son of Adumus
Melete son of Apollodorus
Apollonidus Thudus
Marcus Vibius Hermerus
Epaphras son of Damotharis
Marcus Antonius Mustius
Crispus
Year 199,¹ in the month of Peritios
Marcus Attius Longus being priest,
[somebody]² made this.

---

¹ Of the Macedonian era, which begins counting from the beginning of Roman rule in 148 BCE.
² The name represented by these letters has not be deciphered (Pelekides 1923:269).

---

² Although she does not identify it as such, she has reproduced it from Pelekides 1923 (ph. 7b).
Provenance: Edessa
Editio Princeps: Duchesne and Bayet 1876 no. 136.
Published: *AEM* 12 (1888) 194 n. 17; IMakedD 6; Baege 1913:8; Cook 1925:878 no. 9; Tacheva-Hitova 1978:71 no. 7.
Publication Used: IMakedD 6.
Current Location:
Literature: Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936:57 n.27; Cormack 1974:54;
Related Inscriptions: → IMaked 22 [01]; IEdessa 1 [04] 2 [05], 3 [06]; IMakedD 7 [08], 38 [09];
IAnydron 1 [10]; IBeroea 1 [11]; IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]; IAnthemonte 1 [44];
P.Lond. 2710. cf. IG X/2 67 [16], 71 [17], 72 [18], 68 [20].

Δι Ἄτυπτων εὐχῆν
Μάρκος Λυβοῦριος
Οὐάλης.

Dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos,
in fulfillment of a vow.
Marcus Libournius Vales
IMakedD 7
Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos

Provenance: Edessa
Date: III CE

Editio Princeps: Duchesne and Bayet 1876 no. 137.
Published: IMakedD 7; Baege 1913:8; Cook 1925:878 no. 9; J.M.R. Cormack, _ABSA_ 58 (1963) 24 n. 7; Tačeva-Hitova 1978:71 no. 6; _AEM_ 12 (1988) 188 no. 4.
Publication Used: IMakedD 7

Current Location:


Related Inscriptions: → IMaked 22 [01]; IEdessa 1 [04] 2 [05], 3 [06]; IMakedD 6 [07], 38 [09]; IAnydron 1 [10]; Iberoea 1 [11]; IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]; IAnthemonte 1 [44]; _P. Lond._ 2710; cf. IG X/2 67 [16], 71 [17], 72 [18], 68 [20].

\[\Pi\delta(\pi\lambda\iota\varsigma)\ \dot{\alpha}l\dot{\iota}\varsigma\phi\delta\iota\varsigma\phi\dot{\alpha}e\phi\nu\nu
d\dot{i}[i] \ 'T\psi\iota\sigma\phi\dot{\alpha} \ T\rho\dot{e}\nu\nu-
ti\kappa\iota\varsigma\varsigma \ 'A\tau\tau\kappa\iota\varsigma\varsigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau \ \delta\nu\sigma\rho.\]

Publius Aelius Terence of Attica¹ (dedicated this) to Zeus Hypsistos in accordance with a dream.²

¹ According to Demistas (IMakedD 7) if 'Αττικός is not a topographical indicator, its meaning is unknown.
² Or "vision."
Provenance: Edessa

Date: n.d.


Published: IMakedD 38; Bage 1913:8; Tačeva-Hitova 1978:71 no. 8.

Publication Used: IMakedD 38.


Literature: Paul Perdrizet, "Voyage dans la Macédoine première," *BCH* 22 (1898) 347 n. 2; Cook 1925:878 no. 9; Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936:57 n. 27; Cormack 1970:201 no. 14 (pl. 39a); Cormack 1974:54.

Related Inscriptions: → IMaked 22 [01]; IEdessa 1 [04] 2 [05], 3 [06]; IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08]; IAnydron 1 [10]; IBeroea 1 [11]; IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]; IAnthemone 1 [44]; P.Lond. 2710; cf. IG X/2 67 [16], 71 [17], 72 [18], 68 [20].

A marble altar in the shape of a column.

Χάρης Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Δημήτριος Χάρητος
Διὶ Ζήστων.

Chares son of Alexander
and Demetrios
son of Chares
(dedicated this) to Zeus Hypsistos.
Anydron 1
Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos

Provenance: Anydron
Date: ca. 132 CE

Edition princeps: P. Chrysostomou, “Topographie du Nord de la Béotie—le territoire de Pella,” in

Published: BE 103 (1990) no. 461 (French trans. only); Panayotou and Chrysostomou 1993:370-72 no. 6. (ph.).


Current Location: Reused in a house (see below).

Literature:

Related Inscriptions: → IMaked 22 [01]; IEdessa 1 [04] 2 [05], 3 [06]; IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08], 38 [09]; IBeroea 1 [11]; IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]; IAnthemonte 1 [44]; P. Lond. 2710; cf. IG X12 67 [16], 71 [17], 72 [18], 68 [20].

A small rectangular stele. It is now encased in the wall of the house of Ms. Th. Koukounia. In 1991 it was covered over and could not be seen by Panayotou and Chrysostomou. The only extant photograph was taken by an amateur at least thirty years ago.

Ἐτούς
δέιον
Δείον Χ’
Εὐλαίος
5
Δαφίτα
τολειτα—
ῥήγας

νας. Δυ-
i Ἐψίστρ-

In the 164 year
on the 30th (day) of
(the month of) Dios.

Eulaios,
son of Laoitas,
former politarch,
(dedicated this monument) to Zeus
Hypsistos.

So Panayotou and Chrysostomou 1993:370. See the same for a discussion of other possible dates, ranging from 148 BCE to 139 CE.

A πολειτάρχης was a civic magistrate. The word is used of the civic magistrates of Thessalonica in Acts 17:6; see Burton 1898; Horsley 1994.
**I Beroea 1**

**Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos**

Provenance: Beroea

Date: 119 CE

Editio Princeps: Cormack 1941:19-21 (drawing).

Published: Tačeva-Hitova 1978:72 no. 13.

Current Location:

Literature:

Related Inscriptions: → IMaked 22 [01]; I Edessa 1 [04] 2 [05], 3 [06]; IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08], 38 [09]; I Anydron 1 [10]; I Pydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]; I Anthemonte 1 [44]; P. Lond. 2710; cf. IG X/2 67 [16], 71 [17], 72 [18], 68 [20].

Grey stone column broken at the bottom, 0.67 m high with a diameter of 0.225 m. The inscription begins 0.19 m from the top of the stone.

Διει Ἄνειετον
ἈΓΑΙΣισ <θ> ἀγκε
ἀνεθ <ε> ἔτους τεύχος
χως ἐν ηυτους τεύχος

AGAIS set this up for Zeus Hypsistos in accordance with a vow. Prosper! Year 266.2

18th (day) of Daisios.

---

*The crossbars of the fourth and last letters of ἀνεθηκε were omitted by the engraver.*

---

1 Cormack (1941:20) suggests that this is haplography for Ἄγκος, the name of a female slave. Otherwise, it may be Ἄγκος, an otherwise unknown name, or perhaps an alternative form of Ἄγκος.

2 Of the Macedonian Era, which began in 148 BCE.
Provenance: Beroea
Published: Woodward 1911:155 no. 22.
Current Location:
Related Inscriptions: →

Gable-topped stele, 0.52 x 0.77 m. The letters are 0.05 and “large and clumsy” (Woodward 1911:155).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>leaf</th>
<th>Αἰλίῳ leaf</th>
<th>For Aelius</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>Ὄρεστη</td>
<td>Oretes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>ἡ συμβολὴ</td>
<td>The association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>τῶν δικῶν</td>
<td>of donkey-drivers.¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>μνίας χάριν</td>
<td>In memory.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Suggested by Woodward (1911-12:155) who thinks that it might be an abbreviation for ὅψαλτας (“donkey-drivers”).
**IBeroea 3**

**Memorial for the Archisynagogos of an Association**

**Provenience:** Beroea  
**Date:** Imperial Period


**Publication Used:** Horsley 1987:215 no. 19.

**Current Location:** Beroea Museum, inv. no. 497.

**Literature:**

**Related Inscriptions:** →

Stele measuring 1.09 x 0.44 m. A relief represents a man with himation standing and a veiled woman seated. A second relief represents a man and a woman standing. The first two lines are above the first relief, line 3 is between the reliefs, and lines 4-6 are below the second relief.

1. Ἀμμία ἡ γυνὴ καὶ Κουναρτίων  
   ὁ γὰς.  

   **relief**

2. Γεμέλλως μνήμης χάριν  

   **relief**

5. καὶ οἱ συνήθεις οἱ περὶ  
   Ποσιδώνι ὁν ἄρ-  
   χισυνάγωγον.  

   Also the associates with Poseidonios the archisynagogos.
Provenance: Beroea
Date: IV-V CE

Published: IMakedD 89; L. Robert, Hellenica III, 105-07 (pl. 5); CLJ 694b; Feissel 1983:295.
Publication Used: CLJ 694b (text and translation).
Current Location: In the pavement of a small church (Lifshitz).
Related Inscriptions: → CLJ 693a [43], 694 [02], 694a; Thessalonica 4 [42].

Tής ὀσ[ίας]a
Μορέας τάφ[ος]
Τερπίας δὲ καὶ
Δεοντίου θυγάτηρ[α].

5 'Επέγραψα b ἐγὼ
'Αλεξανδρός
ὁ γαμβρὸς μ <ν> ἡσι-
κόμενος c τῆς ε[δ]-
εργοσίας σάτης.

10 'Εδ <ν> d τις ἀνυξῆ
τοῦ τάφου,
δῶσει τῇ ἄγιωτη[τῇ]
sυναγω[γῇ ἀρ(γύρῳ) λ(ήμα] (μίαν).e

Tomb of the
pious Maria,
daughter of Tertia
and Leontius.
I, Alexander her
son-in-law,
have inscribed,
remembering
her kindness.
If anybody opens
the tomb,
he will pay to the most holy
synagogue one silver pound.

a According to Lifshitz the epithet ὀσίας, ὀσία is very frequent in Jewish epigraphy, especially at Rome and Beth-
Shearim.
b Robert notes that the formula ἐπέγραψα is frequent in Macedonia.
c The stone has μησικόμενος.
d The stone has EAH.
e The letters on the stone appear to be ΑΡΙΑ which Demistas reads as (ὅς)ίρως. This reading is provided by
Lifshitz and is used to date the inscription as "fixing of penalties in pounds is characteristic for the IVth and
Vth centuries."
Pydna 1
Association of Zeus Hypsistos

Provenance: Pydna
Date: 250 CE

Editio Princeps: Ch. I. Makaronas, “Χρονικά ἀρχαιολογικά” Μακεδονικά 2 (1941-52) 625 no. 55.

Current Location: Salonica Museum.

Related Inscriptions: → IMaked 22 [01]; IEdessa 1 [04] 2 [05], 3 [06]; IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08], 38 [09]; IAnydrion 1 [10]; IBaroea 1 [11]; IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]; IAnthemonte 1 [44]; P.Lond. 2710; cf. IG X/2 67 [16], 71 [17], 72 [18], 68 [20].

No description is given. The stele is inscribed on the face and on the left side. The photograph shows it to be approximately 1.30 m high, 0.30 m wide, and 0.06 m thick, with a notch left of center. On LL. 30, 39, and 42 the stone-cutter has omitted the final sigma.

On the problem of determining the exact location of Pydna see Cormack 1974:54-55. It is thought to lie along the coast of the Thermatic Gulf, perhaps 8 km north of Cape Atheridha.


The scribe and the archisynagogos of the association are named both in the text itself and on the side. The inscription on the side testifies to their part in supervising the erection of the stele.
IG X/2 67
Votive Offering to Theos Hypsistos

Provenance: Thessalonica
Date: 74/5 CE

Editio Princps: IG X/2 67.
Published: Taeva-Hitova 1978:71 no. 5.
Publication Used: IG X/2 67.
Current Location: Salonica Museum, inv. no. 988
Related Inscriptions: → IG X/2 71 [17], 72 [18], 68 [20]; cf. IMaked 22 [01]; IEdessa 1 [04] 2 [05], 3 [06]; IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08], 38 [09]; IAnydron 1 [10]; IBeroea 1 [11]; IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]; IAnthemonte 1 [44]; P.Lond. 2710.

Marble column, 2.43 m high, with a diameter of 0.33 m at the top and 0.36 m at the bottom. Five leaves are inscribed on the text.

Θεων leaf 'Τύπτων leaf
μεγιστων leaf σωτηρι
Γ leaf Ἰούλιος leaf Ὄμιος
κατ' ὅραμαν · χρη-
ματισθείς · καὶ · σω-
θείς · ἐκ μεγάλου · και-
δύναμι τοῦ · κατὰ · θά-
λασσαν · εἰςχαριστήριον.
ἐπὶ · ἱερέως
5

To Theos Hypsistos
Great Saviour.
Gaius Julius Orios (dedicated this)
having been warned
by a dream and having been
saved from the great
danger of the
sea. A token of thanksgiving.
During the priesthood
of Marcus Vetius Proclus
In the year 222.
IG X/2 71

Dedication to Theos Hypsistos

Provenance: Thessalonica


Published:

Publication Used: IG X/2 71.

Current Location: Salonica Museum, inv. no. 1009.

Literature:

Related Inscriptions: IG X/2 67 [16], 72 [18], 68 [20]; cf. IMaked 22 [01]; IEdessa 1 [04] 2 [05], 3 [06]; IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08], 38 [09]; IAnydron 1 [10]; IBeroea 1 [11]; IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]; IAnthemone 1 [44]; P.Lond. 2710.

Fragmentary remains of a marble column. Some red colouring is evident in the lettering.

[Θε]ω ν Τ'ψιστω
[---Τερ]έντιος Ἐρμ---

To Theos Hypsistos

Terentius Herm---
IG X/2 72
A Dedication to Theos Hypsistos

Provenance: Thessalonica
Date: 1 CE

Editio Princeps: Avezou and Picard 1913:100 no. 8.
Published: Perdrizet 1914:91; Reinach, Rev. ép. 2 (1914) 109; Plassart 1914:528 n. 1, 529 n. 5; CIU 693d; IG X/2 72; Tečeva-Hitova 1978:71 no. 4; Schürer 1979:3/1:67; Feissel and Sève 1988:455; Levinskaya 1996:97, 155.
Publication Used: Avezou and Picard 1913:100.
Current Location: Now lost.


Related Inscriptions: → IG X/2 67 [16]; 71 [17], 68 [20]; cf. IMaked 22 [01]; IEdessa 1 [04] 2 [05], 3 [06]; IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08], 38 [09]; IAnydron 1 [10]; IBeroea 1 [11]; IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]; IAnthemonte 1 [44]; P.Lond. 2710.

White marble plaque broken in two pieces, only one of which remains (the left side). The size is 0.27 x 0.49 x 0.03 to 0.05 m. A late Byzantine cross is engraved on the opposite face of the marble.

Θεῶι Τύσιστοι κατ’ ἐπιτογγὴν ἸΟΤΕΣ

(Dedicated) to Theos Hypsistos according to the divine command

Comments
See § 4.2.5. in chapter 4.

1 κατ’ ἐπιτογγὴν usually indicates a divine command, especially oracles; see also SIG3 1153 (Athens) and 1 Cor 7:6.
**IG X/2 259**

**Association of Mystai of Zeus Dionysos**

**Provenance:** Thessalonica

**Edition Princeps:** IG X/2 259.

**Published:**

**Publication Used:** IG X/2 259.

**Current Location:** Salonica Museum, inv. no. 983.


**Related Inscriptions:** → IG X/2 260 [41].

A rectangular marble stele measuring 1.125 m high, 0.46 tapering down to 0.45 m wide, and 0.145 m thick at the top and 0.16 m thick at the bottom. The list of names included at the bottom of the inscription are given in two columns. However, beneath the first two lines there is an unequal space, meaning that the subsequent names in each column are not quite on the same line. Below the names are transcribed in separate columns, first the left side and then the right, with the corresponding line numbers repeated.

To the Good Fortune of Zeus Dionysos Gogulos.

Julius — set up (this) to the god and gave by bequest to the present and future mystai, as long as they are full associates, one vineyard in the Perdulia in town, (measuring) one third of five plethra on the following conditions: First, when it has brought forth fruit each year, (they will hold) the banquet from that which has grown in it, according to what was handed over and bequested, on Dustros 19, on Daisius 13, on Gorpiaios 23, at which the present and future mystai will swear by the god and by the oaths and by his midnight (rite) to maintain the above shrine (oikos) in accordance with the bequest. And the mystai recorded below also set up (this stele); Second, that they partake of the fruit (in) the season of life before (the shrine of) the god and those who are mystai will receive two parts from the five plethra; Third, (on the condition) that it shall remain unsold in perpetuity, (the mystai) having taken an oath as above to preserve it.

---

*Found in the Sarapeum.*

---

1 Three Macedonian months.
Col. A
Δ Φουλαίως φίλες
ιερός

space of 0.05 m

Δ Δωμύτευς Ἐρως
Νείκσκαθρος Νεικάνδρου

25 Ἡρακλείδης Κορράγο
Γ. Ἰουλίως φίλες
Μ. ὸμβρευς ὦ Μακεδων
Τ. Σεβέτως [[...—]]
Ν. Τερραίως ὄ Τάκτυθος

30 Ἀρτέγνας Νευκηφάρου
Μ. Ἀδλίως ὄ Αττικός

Col. B
Γ. Ἰουλίως ὄ Αγαθόπους
-ΟΤΟ—......ΚΙΩΝ

space of 0.065 m

Ν. Τερραίως φιμεμό <ζ>
Μ. Δάλ <λ> ὦ Σεβέτως

25 Γ. Ῥάϊως Ζώσιμος
Μ. Μάριως Κερε <ζ> λις

27 Μ. Ὀρτόνως ὄ Πρέιμος

space of 0.125 m

32 ἀνετάθη ἐπιτρέψαιντος Στράτωνος τοῦ Ἐπικράτους, φύσει δὲ Διανοισίου ἱερητεύοντος
vacat τὸ ὑπ' ἑαυτής τοῦ ηπειρικοῦ
vacat vacat c. 0.03

Set up when it was entrusted to Straton, son of Epicrates, being by birth2 the priest of Dionysos for the second time.

Comments
The association of Mystai of Zeus Dionysos is endowed with a vineyard, part of the fruit of which is to be used in a banquet and the rest of which is to be sold for the maintenance of a shrine.

2 Or "being hereditary priest," i.e., the priesthood was hereditary not purchased.
Provenance: Thessalonica

Date: late 1 CE

IG X/2 68
Dedication to Theos Hypsistos
With a Membership List

No. 20

Publication Used: IG X/2 68.
Current Location: Salonica Museum, inv. no. 990.

Grey marble column fractured into two parts. It measures 2.97 m high, with a diameter of 0.315 m at the top and 0.385 m at the bottom. A number of markings (noted with “/”) and some leaves appear on the stone.

20 IG K12 68

Dedication to Theos Hypsistos on behalf of Titus Flavius Euctimenus, son of Amunta the tricliniarchos, by the following association members:

Tytus Flavius Euktimenos son of Amunta
Tytus Flavius son of Dioskouridos
Tytus Flavius son of Neikopolos

Theodas son of Dioskouridos
Theodoros Epeimenous
Lucius Fesios Halimos
Marcus Ouiouios Onesimus
Lucius Atellios Secundus

Eubouilides son of Hyacunathus
Tiberius Claudius
Moschos, son of Agathopous
Dionysios Kleopatras, also called Geminos

Asiatikos Filas
Gaius Oktaiouios Euemeros
Cointus Minoucios Rufus, also called Hermes
Markus Herm erotus
Theodes Prota Thessalonicean
Tiberius Claudius Egyptus

Antifanes son of Epikratous
Lucius Trebius Preimgenes
Lucius Petronius Vales
Philipp son of Epigenous
Cointus Pomponius Sosibus
Paramonos son of Kertimmos
Marcus Herennios Zosimus
Marcus Herennios Romanus
Lucius Meinatios Bublus
Marcus Antonios Poteitos
Kassandros Axiosatos
Publius Popilius Balbus
Gaius Julius Reglus
Marcus Serouilios Kreskes
Titus Claudius Kerdon
Marcus Moutilius Thursos
Tiberius Claudius Agathopous
Aulus Aouios Laitos
Thessalonica 1
Funerary Monument for a Ship Captain

Provenance: Thessalonica
Date: 90/91 CE


Published:
Publication Used: Voutiras.
Current Location: Salonica Museum, inv. no. 6086.
Literature: M. B. Hatzopoulos, BE 1913: 484 no. 314.
Related Inscriptions:

Rectangular marble plate measuring 1.45 x 0.60 (top) and 0.65 (bottom) x 0.13 m. The inscription is recessed within a surrounding framework. Below the framework is a low relief of a ship with a man sitting at the stern and holding the rudder. Below this are two horizontal lines. Three ivy-vines (hedera) are inscribed with the inscription. The plate is broken on the lower left corner.

Δούμος Ἀφροδείτης Ἐπιτευδία, Ινυ-βινε

νομογραφίτος

5 Γ(αύτου) Αὐτρωνίου Λειβερος τῶν καὶ Γλύκωνος, γορμακτεϊνονος Κ(οινού) Παυτίου Κάστορος, Ινυ-βινε

ἐξεκατοτὸ Ξρεμογένους τοῦ Διγογένους, Ἀθηνίων Πραξιτέλους Ἀμαστρικοῦ Ξροε τελευτήσαντα μνείας ἐνεκεν

δι ἐπιμελητῶν τῶν αὐτῶν. Ινυ-βινε

χαίρε καὶ σὺ τίς τοι ἀλ. βερ.

Association of Aphrodite
Epiteudia,
Gaius Autronius
Liberus
also called Glykon,
being archisynagogos,
Quintus Papius Castor
being secretary,
Hermogenes, son of Diogenes,
being auditor. (For) Athenion, son of Praxiteles, who has died outside of Amastris. In memory.
Set up under their charge.
Farewell! So also are you sometime! (Year) 122.

Comments

The association (δούμος Ἀφροδείτης Ἐπιτευδίας) is otherwise unattested, although Aphrodite is known to have been the protectress of sailors. Athenion was probably the captain of the ship (suggested by the relief; Voutiras 1992:90) and, again probably, died at sea. The association of merchant marines set up this funerary monument for him at Thessalonica, although this was not his home town. He was from Amastris, a town at the mouth of the river Parthenios on the south coast of the Black Sea. Thessalonica was probably the ship’s destination.

The sea was a dangerous place—a well-recognized fact in antiquity; see the works of the Thessalonian epigrammaitists Antipater and Philippus (in Vakalopoulos 1963:15).

---

a Assuming the inscription is dated according to the Augustan era. According to the Macedonian era the date would be 26/5 BCE, but this is less likely (Voutiras 1992:88).
b Sacred to Bacchus and used in garlands.

1 Of the Augustan era.
Provenance: Thessalonica

Date: I/II CE copy of an earlier text

Edition Princeps:

Published: Edson, IG X/2 255 (ph.); Merkelbach 1973:50 (lines 2-17); Sokolowski 1974:441-448; Fraikin 1974a; Fraikin 1974b; Fraikin 1974c; Sellew 1980; Horsley, NewDocs 1 (1981) 29-32; MacMullen and Lane 1992 no. 3.2 (English only); J.S. Hanson 1978:4-5; J. S. Hanson, "Dreams and Visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity," ANRW II.23.2 (1980) 1402-03; Hendrix 1994:11-12 (partial English translation only).


Current Location: Salonica Museum, inv. no. 825.


Related Inscriptions: → SIRIS 122 [58]; 123 [59], 124 [60]; IG X/2 192 [39], 220 [40].

The marble stele is in poor condition. The top portion is completely missing. The bottom left corner is fractured on an angle, with a significant amount of text missing. It measures 32 cm (height) x 41 cm (width) x 8 cm (thickness). The height of the letters is 1.2 cm and the vertical interspace is 0.5 cm. It was found during the excavation of the sanctuary of Sarapis in Thessalonica around 1920. The precise location of the inscription in the sanctuary is impossible to determine from the excavation reports (Fraikin 1974c:2).

The dialect of this inscription has been identified as Northwest Greek koine (Sellew 1980:16-17) also called Lokrian (Merkelbach 1973:49-50; Horsley 1977:30).

... during the embassy

... to be received into the oikos, he dreamed that Sarapis stood beside him and told him that after having arrived in Opus, he should carry a message to Euryonomos, son of Teimasitheos, to receive him (Sarapis) and also his sister Isis, and that the letter under (his) pillow should be given to him [Euryonomos]; And after the man awoke he marvelled at the dream and yet he [was] quite at a loss (about) what he should do because he was a rival to Euryonomos; But after he fell asleep again, he also saw the same things, and

---

a Found in Thessalonica, but linguistic evidence suggests that the original version was written in Opus or the surrounding region (Sellew 1980:17).
b Linguistic evidence suggests the original text was written in the III or II BCE., with the latter date being more likely (Sellew 1980:17).
c On the special use of ἐνοδέχομαι (cf. line 17) in the spread (reception) of Greek cults see Sokolowski 1974:44.

1 Or "during his mission" (Fraikin 1974a:2; cf. Sellew 1980:15).
2 Probably here οἶκος is a shrine.
3 Ἀντιπολεστεῖα indicates opposition in terms of ideas or policy (Sokolowski 1974:442), probably indicting a political rivalry.
when he awoke he found the letter under the pillow, just as it had been indicated to him; And when he had returned (to Opus) he gave the letter to Eurynomos and reported the things which were decreed by the god; And when Eurynomos received the letter and heard the things which were said by Xenainetos, he then had a difficult time because, as has been made clear above, they were rivals towards one another; After having read the letter and having seen (that) the things which were written were in agreement with the things first having been said by him (Xenainetos) he (Eurynomos) received Sarapis and Isis. And after he entertained his guests in the house of Sosinike, she received them (the gods) in the room of the household gods. Sosinike offered the sacrifices for a certain time; And after her death Eunosta, who (was) the granddaughter of Sosibas, when she had received the office, administered the mysteries of the gods among those also not initiated into the sacred rites; And when Eunosta finally fell violently ill, — sacrificed on her behalf the sacrifice

Comments
The beginning of the inscription is lost. However, it most probably described the circumstances of Xenainetos’ being in Thessalonica and given the setting for his having a dream. Sellew (1980:17-19) reconstructs the events which may have caused a copy of this inscription to be deposited in Thessalonica: Xenainetos’ dream probably took place in Thessalonica (contra Hanson 1978:5) and the cult was subsequently established in Opus. The story was inscribed for use in the cult at Opus and a copy was taken to the Thessalonian cult centre to become part of its local tradition. It was reinscribed in Thessalonica during the mid-second century CE by devotees of the cult in Thessalonica (see further Wild 1984:1824 n. 216).

4 i.e., "he did not know what to do about this."
5 This suggests that the letter came to Xenainetos sealed and then to Eurynomos with an unbroken seal.
6 Or "submitted to."
7 Or "provided hospitality for the gods" (Horsley 1981:30); ξένους indicates the entertainment of guests.
8 Or "daughter"; so Sellew (1980:15, after Daux), reading θυγατήρ.
9 Or "transmitted the cult" (Horsley 1981:31).
10 Lit: "those not having a share of the sacred rites." Sokolowski (1974:445) suggests that "the familial cult had been opened to people not closely related."
11 Sokolowski (1974:445) suggests that prothy ein here means "sacrifice in the name of somebody else."
Provenance: Thessalonica  

Date: early II CE.a

Edition Princeps: Edson 1948:183-84 (ph.).

Published: SIRIS 109; IG X/2 58; Hendrix 1994:15.

Publication Used: IG X/2 58.

Current Location: Salonica Museum, inv. no. 1254.


Related Inscriptions: →

This inscription was found in the Eliades settlement in the suburb of Salonica in 1932. It is a narrow stele of greyish marble measuring 0.895 by 0.255 by 0.105 m. There is some damage to the top and to the lower left edge. At the top there is a pediment and acroteria and in the centre there is a relief of a wreath encircling a draped statue of Anubis standing on a small base. The height of the letters is reduced in size in the first three lines (2.0, 1.8, 1.5) and the left margin is somewhat uneven. The text is fairly easy to read.b

relief

Aulus
Πατών Χειλων
καταστήσαντι τὸν
οίκον ὁ: ἵπποφόροι

5

συνκλίται

Σκάινος Ἐλιξ
Σαλάριος Νικηφόρος
Δουκελίσσος Βάσσος u
Πρίμος Ἀπολλωνία-

10

Δοσένιος Βάγχιος
Ἰσιλύς Σεκοῦνδος
Ἀννος Σεκοῦνδος
Βιήςος Φήλιξ

15

Σεκοῦνδος Εὐφάντου
Μέρκονδρος Νικάνδρου
Ἀπολής Λούκιολος

Καὶ <λ> ἱστρατος ὁ καὶ Ἀρχων

vacat

For Aulus
Papius Chilon
who "established" the
oikos; the hierophori
and table-companions
Scanius Felix
Salarius Nikephorus
Lucius Bassus
Prinomos son of Apollonios
Prinos of Archeopolis
Dosenius Bakchius
Julius Secundus
Annius Secundus
Viesius Felix

Secundus son of Euphantus
Menandrus son of Nikandrus
Apoleus Lucilus
Kalistratos, who (is) also president

---

a Based on the letter forms and workmanship (Edson 1948:184).
b This information is taken from Edson 1948:183.
c This is the final upsilon for line 9, placed at the end of line 8 for some reason.

1 "Bearers of sacred vessels."
Comments

The tutelary deity of this society is Anubis. According to Edson (1948:184) there is only one other example in the Aegean of a private cult society worshiping Anubis not in conjunction with Sarapis and Isis (the Synanoubiastai of Smyrna [RIG 1223; III BCE]). Hendrix (1994:15) notes that lines 7-11 and 15 reflect "[t]he Greek freedmen's practice of retaining their surnames but adopting as forenames the names of their former masters."
Funerary Bomos of a Dionyiac Official

Provenance: Thessalonica
Date: 132 CE
Published: Duchesne and Bayet 1876:43, 59; IMakedD 386; Baege 1913:91; Jacques Couprey and Michel Feyel, "Inscriptions de Philippi," BCH 60 (1936) 40 (fig. 3); L. Robert, "Hellenica," RPh 13 (1939) 128-31 (pl. II); Edson 1948:161-64; IG X/2 503.
Publication Used: Edson 1948:162.
Current Location: Salonica Museum, inv. no. 1813.
Literature: Kanatsoules 1955: nos. 166, 496, 1272.
Related Inscriptions: IG X/2 502.

Edson (1948:162) describes this stone as a large bomos of local marble which has been treated for re-use as a building block. The stone now measures 1.53 x 0.78 (at the top) x 0.61 m. The text is surrounded by a moulding.

Τον βωμὸν μνείας χάριν ὑδροσκόπιάνατο
καὶ ἱερητέσαντα Διονύσου καὶ ἱεράς ὑπηρεσιάς
καὶ ἱερατεύσαντα ζησάντα ἐτη νας (3) ν.ζ.

Year 164.¹ To Apollonius
son of Artemas, also called Maximus,
a Thessalian.
Eutychus son of Maximus,
and Secunda his wards
(dedicated this) altar in memory
of the one who has been a hydroscopos
and a priest of Dionysos,
and has performed other
services.
He lived 57 years.

¹ On θρεπτοῖ see A. Cameron, "ὈΡΕΙΤΟΣ and Related Terms in the Inscriptions of Asia Minor," Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler (Manchester, 1939) 27-62.

The participles are incorrectly in the accusative in agreement with βωμὸν rather than in the dative with Ἀπώλλων."
The stele, which measured 0.93 x 0.52 x 0.08 m, was found in eleven pieces.

Oι συνήθεις τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔφραξεν μύημα καὶ τὸ ἄρχισαι αὐτὸν, Κώτος

Εἰρήνης, γρ[αμματῶτων]

Μ. Κασσίου Ἠρμώνως καὶ Δημᾶς καὶ Πρίμιτα, ἐπιμελητῶν Πίθωνος

Δο <ν> κειλίας· Θεσσαλονικε[ίς]


The members of the association of Heralces for the member Euphrantos.

In memory. When Kotys Eirenes was archisynagogos, when Marcus Cassius Hermonus and Demas and Primitas were secretaries, and Python Lucilus the Thessalonian was the epimeletes, year 185, also 301, 1 7th day of the month of Peritios.

---

a This is marked by Edson with (!) in IG X/2; in Edson 1948 he offers the correction [ως].
b Edson (IG X/2 288) reads ἔφραξεν τοῖς.
c Edson (IG X/2 288) has γραμματῶτων and again marks it with (!).
d Edson (IG X/2 288) reads πριμίτα.

e Again Edson places (!) at the ending.
f Edson (IG X/2 288) reads ἐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ αὔτ[ῷ] μηνὸς περίτιον ἔτει.

---

1 The first date is given according to the Augustan calendar (which began after the battle of Actium in 31 BCE) while the second date is given according to the Macedonian calendar.
Provenance: Thessalonica
Editio Princeps: IG X/2 289.
Published:
Publication Used: IG X/2 289.
Current Location: Salonica Museum, inv. no. 2186.
Related Inscriptions: → IG X/2 288 [25].

Scraps of marble. Edson estimates the maximum original size as 0.30 x 0.35 x 0.08 m. The text is largely reconstructed by Edson, presumably on comparison with IG X/2 288.

[οἱ συνήθεις τοῦ Ἑρακλέους]
[τὸν δείκτα τοῦ δείνος]
[τὸν συνήθειαν ὁμηρίτης χάριν]
[leaf ὁρίσεως γενοῦντος leaf]
[nuncat (ό) Κωτίνος Ἐιρήνης,]
[γραμματεύσατον Αύλου]
——Δυσαρίωνος
———Τ...]

The members of the association of Heralces for such and such a one the associate. In memory.
When Kotys Eirenes was archisynagogos, and when Aulus — (and) Lykarion were the secretaries
Provenance: Thessalonica
Editio Princeps: IG X/2 244.
Published:
Publication Used: IG X/2 244.
Current Location: Salonica Museum, inv. no. 972.
Related Inscriptions: →

Plaque of white marble, the maximum height of which was 0.625 m. It is 0.565 m wide at the top and 0.575 m at the bottom. The width is 0.06 m. There is moulding on along the bottom.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. I</th>
<th>Col. II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΝΙΟΣ</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Αρρίως Πρόκλους</td>
<td>Arrios Proclus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σερρούλιος(?) Επάγαθος</td>
<td>Serrulios Epagathos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πριστικος Πρίσκος Βουλόφορος</td>
<td>Priscios Pragathos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  Αρκεσίνος Σελευκος</td>
<td>Greceinios Seleucus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κάστιος Εύτυχος</td>
<td>Cassius Eutychus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φούριος Πριομηγός ἀρχινακάρος</td>
<td>Furos Primigas, archinakoros</td>
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<tr>
<td>Αλίους Εὐδηπόδης</td>
<td>Ailius Eulipides</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ούφιος Μάξιμος</td>
<td>Ubius Maximus</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 Αλλος 'Αστακιάδης</td>
<td>Ailius Aslepiades</td>
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<tr>
<td>Κλαύδιος Λύκος</td>
<td>Claudius Lycus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Αβούδιος Θύρας</td>
<td>Aboudius Thyros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σουλτίκιας Πολύτιμος</td>
<td>Sulpicius Poltimus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σαμβίουδος Μάρκος</td>
<td>Sabidianus Marcus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 'Αλεξεινόδος Διονυσίου</td>
<td>Alexander son of Dionysios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Αλεξεινόδος 'Αλεξεινόδου Βησσαρτης</td>
<td>Alexander Besartes son of Alexander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σώστεπτος Πρίσιου</td>
<td>Sospipes son of Primos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σπέδιος Πρόκλους</td>
<td>Spedius Proclus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κεμέριος Κατίτων</td>
<td>Camerius Capiton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Τύριος 'Ιούστος</td>
<td>Tyrios Justus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κλαύδιος Εὐπλοῦς</td>
<td>Claudius Euplous</td>
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<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΗΔ</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πομπωνίοι[ος—]</td>
<td>Pomponius —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κλαύδιος Κατίτω[ν]</td>
<td>Claudius Caipion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σκρειβώμοις Νεκρήφορος</td>
<td>Skreibouios Nikephoros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Εὐφομος Εὐφόμου</td>
<td>Eunomos son of Eunomos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Τ· Φλ· Γράνινος Λύκος</td>
<td>Titus Flavius Granios Lucas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Tiberius Claudius Lycus, also known from IG X/2 461, 686, 608, 609; see Petsas 1981.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lartidia Optata</td>
<td>Caikilia Optata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudius Paramonos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcus Ulpios Felix</td>
<td>Marcus Ulpios Trophimos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ailianos Secundus</td>
<td>Ailianos Secundus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcus Ailios Calatous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Memorial for a Yoke-maker

Provenance: Thessalonica

Date: 160 CE


Current Location:

Literature:

Related Inscriptions: ->

Marble stele with the top carved as a pediment with two acroteria. A rose appears in the centre of the pediment. Underneath the pediment is a relief of a man driving a wagon being pulled by two horses. The inscription appears below the relief inside a frame, except for the first line (the date) which appears between the relief and the inscription.

relief

"Ετος ΑΦ ισθιστοβ.

frame

η συνήθεια Ἡρωνος

4

Αἰλωνίτη τοῦ Ἰουλίῳ

Κρήσκοντι οἱ περὶ ἄρχ(ν)·

συνάγωγον Ἀρτέμωνα

ypedou̱δη, ἱερή

Τρόφωνα, τὰ ἐκ τοῦ

γλωσσοκόμου γινόμενα εὐτυχία μνίας

χάριν.

Year 191 of the Augustan Era.

The association of Heron Aulonites for Gaius Julius Crescens. The colleagues of the archisynagogos Artemon the yoke-maker (and) the priest Tryphon (paid for) the costs arising from the sarcophagus for him.

In memory.

---

a So Horsley (1987:215). Rajak and Noy (1993:92) incorrectly suggest 75 CE. The Augustan calendar begins from the victory of Augustus over Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium on September 2, 31 BCE.
Funerary Stele set up by the Asianai

Provenance: Thessalonica
Date: 171/2 CE


Published:
Current Location: Salonica Museum, inv. no. 6915.

Literature:
Related Inscriptions: → *IG X/2* 309 [33]; *IG X/2* 480 [34].

This funerary slab, measuring 0.91 m high, 0.49 m wide, and 0.14 m thick, was inscribed twice. The first inscription dates from the third century BCE and simply reads Μένανδρος | Σωστράτου. The stone was reused a few hundred years later by turning it upside down.

In the year 3191 of the most august mystai of the most august mystai holy Phabii lies outstretched in this place. The sacred rites of *pophygoi* — [Hades]4 The thiasos of Asianai to the mystes.

---

1 This is the year in the provincial era, corresponding to 171/2 CE.
2 See Preisigke 1967:452 and *IG X/2* 497 for this name.
3 The meaning of this is unclear; προφευγω "flee, escape" perhaps indicates a sense of accomplishment?
4 "Αἴδης is poetic for "Αιδης."
**Provenance:** Thessalonica  

**Date:** II CE

**Editions:** Duchesne and Bayet 1876:52 no. 83.  
**Published:** IMakedD 439; Ziebarth 1896:56 no. 3; Waltzing 1890:3:74 no. 202; Poland 1909:603 Z 7; L. Robert, Études anatoliennes: recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l’Asie mineure (Paris: de Boccard, 1937) 535 n. 3; Déthier, Études archéologiques (1881) 120; Mendel 1914:3:180-81, 967; Broughton 1938:819; IG X/2 291; Hemer 1989:231; Pilhofer 1995:176-77, 179.

**Publication Used:** IG X/2 291.

**Current Location:** Istanbul Museum, sculpture cat. no. 271.

**Literature:** Edson 1948:187 n. 16; Mordtmann, Ἑλ. Φιλ. Συλλ. 13 (1880) πορφυροβαφ- 40; S. Reinach, Catalogue de Musée impérial d’antiquités (Constantinople, 1882) no. 236; Albert Dumont, “Inscriptions de Salonique,” BCH 8 (1884) 463; Dumont and Homolle 1892:176; Mordtmann, Ath. Mitt. 10 (1885) 15, 2; Haenchen 1971:494 n. 9 (alluded to but not cited); Emmanuel Voutiras, “Berufs- und Kultverein: Ein ΔΟΤΜΟΣ in Thessalonike,” ZPE 90 (1992) 90.

**Related Inscriptions:** → IPhilippi 2 [62].

The rectangular white marble stele measuring 0.995 x 0.52 x 0.105 m, is made up of two pieces joined together. On the top piece is a relief of the Thracian Horseman inside a border measuring 0.25 x 0.52 m. The inscription appears below this, inside a border measuring 0.11 x 0.42 m.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Μένιππου Ἀμίου τὸν καὶ Σεβήρου Θνετορηνοῦ μνήμης Χ ἀ ρ ἰ ν.</td>
<td>Menippus, son of Amius who is also called Severus, in memory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The association of purple-dyers of the Eighteenth Street.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Comments**

The purple dying industry was important during the Hellenistic and Roman periods in such cities as Tyre, Philippi, Thessalonica, and regions such as Lydia (including the city of Thyatira), Phrygia, and Egypt. This inscription illustrates the links between people involved in the purple trade in Macedonia and the city of Thyatira (as does IPhilippi 2 [1.62]).

The city of Thessalonica was built according to a grid plan where avenues were given numbers. Thus the “purple-dyers of the Eighteenth Street” indicates that a good number of purple-dyers had workshops (and presumably residences) on this street (Robert 1937: 535 n. 3).

Edson (1948:187 n. 16) suggests that this guild of purple-dyers "seems not to be connected with cult"; however, this is unlikely not only as all the professional associations for which we have more extensive information indicate cultic connections, along with the obvious religious symbolism inherent in the inclusion of the Thracian Horseman on the stele.
Provenance: Thessalonica

Editions: W. Kubitschek, *Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde* 4 (1910) 147 (ph.).

Published: Perdrizet 1914:89–91 (dr.); *IG X/2 62*; Tačeva-Hitova 1978:71 no. 3.

Publication Used: *IG X/2 62*.

Current Location: Originally transported to Austria, now lost.


Related Inscriptions: → IMaked 22 [01]; IEdessa 1 [04] 2 [05], 3 [06]; IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08]; 38 [09]; IAnydron 1 [10]; IBeroea 1 [11]; IPydna 1 [15]; *IG X/2 933* [36]; IAnthemone 1 [44]; *P. Lond. 2710*; cf. *IG X/2 67* [16], 71 [17], 72 [18], 68 [20].

A relief of "the just goddess Nemesis" dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos. The marble tablet measures 0.29 x 0.25 x 0.03 m. The relief of Nemesis is in the centre of the inscription, below the first line. The goddess is facing forward, with wings protruding from her back. In her right hand she holds a scale and in her left a wheel with six spokes. Another figure lies at her feet. The relief was probably originally in a shrine (Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936:57 n. 28a).

Διο γνώστα θεάν δικαίω-   To Zeus Hypsistos. Quintus Furius Urbanus set

αν Νέμεη     up (this) releif of the just goddess Nemesis in
           e           fulfillment of a vow.

Κόλυτος)   Φ-
           i

Ούρβατε-   ούριος
           i

5 νός· ἀ-   νεθη-
           e

κεν εύ-   χί-
           f

b According to Roberts, Skeat, and Nock (1936:57 n. 28a) the relief was bought at Thessalonica and may well come from there.

b Διο γνώστα θεάν δικαίων Νέμεαν Κόλυτος Φούριος Ούρβατος ἀνεθηκεν εἰχήν.
This marble stele is badly damaged at the top and bottom and on both sides. The maximum height and width is 0.81 x 0.605 m; the thickness is 0.085 m.

---

Provenance: Thessalonica

Date: II-III CE


Publication Used: IG X/2 261.

Current Location: Salonica Museum, inv. no. 2452.

Literature:

Related Inscriptions: →
IG X/2 309
Funerary Stele of a Thiasos of Asiani

Provenance: Thessalonica
Date: II-III CE

Edition Princeps: P.N. Papageorgiou, 'Αλήθεια (June 12, 1904) I.
Published: Edson 1948:154 (ph.); IG X/2 309.
Publication Used: IG X/2 309.
Current Location:
Literature: J. and L. Robert, BE (1950) 170 no. 134/1; Kanatsoules 1967 nos. 18, 863.
Related Inscriptions: → IThessalonica 2 [29]; IG X/2 480 [34].

A white marble plaque measuring maximum 0.98 x 0.62 x 0.06 m. The bottom of the stone is broken away. A pediment with acroteria is incised on the stone. The inscription is somewhat worn as it acted as the doorstep to the rear entrance of a private residence where it was seen by Edson (1948:154). Despite not having a funerary formula, this is a gravestone for Makedon (Edson 1948:157).

Μακεδόνη
ἳ.Ασιαίων ὁ θί-
νοσας τῷ συν-
μύστῃ ἰερημεύον-
τος τοῦ Π. Αἰλίου
Ἀλεξάνδρου.

To Makedon.¹
The thiasos of Asiani (set this up)
for their fellow
mystes, during the priesthood
of Publius Aelius
Alexander

¹ The name Makedon occurs frequently in Macedonia (Edson 1948:154-55).
**Provenance:** Thessalonica

**Date:** II-III CE

**Editio Princeps:** B. Kallipolitis and D. Lazaridis, Ἀρχαία Ἐπιγραφαὶ Θεσσαλονίκης (Thessalonica, 1946) 38-39 no. 10.

**Published:** J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1948) 164-65 no. 102; *IG X/2* 480.

**Publication Used:** *IG X/2* 480.

**Current Location:**

**Literature:** Edson 1948:158 n. 16.

**Related Inscriptions:** → IThessalonica 2 [29]; *IG X/2* 309 [33].

This very damaged text appears on a funerary bomos. It measured maximum height 0.62 x 0.43 x 0.09 m.

---ΣΚΙΑ τῶν Ἀσκληπιαστῶν [κ]οί τῶν --- of the Asklepiastoi and of the
---'Ἀσια[ν]ωνΒειέντορος Μέμφυ--- Asiani Veientoros Memn---
---Α.ΙΑ·II μύις χάριν. --- In memory
regulae
Κασσία
Cassia

5
'Ἀντιγόνα
Antigona
Μέμφυς
Memeoni

---....

**Comments**

The honouree may be a member of two different associations, the Asklepiastoi and the Asiani, or, more likely, the patron of both.

---

*Edson supplies this reading in 1948:158 n. 16; *IG X/2* 480 reads ACIAMWN.
Provenience: Thessalonica
Editio Princeps: IG X/2 821.
Published:
Publication Used: IG X/2 821
Current Location: Salonica Museum, inv. no. 2307.
Literature:
Related Inscriptions: → CIG 2000f [46].

White marble altar measuring 1.225 x max. 0.57 x 0.505 m, with moulding on three sides on both the top and the bottom. At the top of the face an acroteria\(^a\) is lightly inscribed.

\[
\begin{align*}
\Gamma \cdot \Κασσίω \quad \Phiιλήτυ \cdot \Gamma \cdot \\
\Κάσσιος \cdot \Νει- \quad \text{To Gaius Cassius} \\
\lambda άς \cdot \kappa α \ι \ ό \ πε- \quad \text{Filetus. Gaius} \\
\pi \ ι \ τον \ ΄Ηρωα \quad \text{Cassius Neilus} \\
\ανέστησαν \quad \text{and those} \\
\muήμης \quad \text{associated with the (shrine of the) Hero} \\
\ ένεκεν. \quad \text{erected (this)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(^a\) Small ornamental turret.
**Provenance:** Thessalonica

**Date:** II-III CE

**Publication Used:** *IG X/2 933.*

**Current Location:** Lost.

**Related Inscriptions:** → *IMaked 22 [01]; IEdessa 1 [04] 2 [05], 3 [06]; IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08], 38 [09]; IAnydron 1 [10]; IBeroea 1 [11]; IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 62 [31]; IAnthemone 1 [44]; P.Lond. 2710; cf. IG X/2 67 [16], 71 [17], 72 [18], 68 [20].

This fragment measures 0.46 x 0.33 m.

\[
[\eta \sigma] \nu \theta \varepsilon \alpha \alpha \\
[\tau \omega \nu] \pi \varepsilon \rho \; \dot{\Lambda} \dot{\lambda} \varepsilon \\
[\varepsilon \alpha \nu \delta \rho \iota \omicron \alpha] \Delta \dot{i} \dot{\alpha} \zeta \\
\ldots \; \sigma \nu \alpha \delta \beta
\]

The association of those with Alexander Dios

**Comments**

Although the ending of this inscription is fragmentary Roberts, Skeat, and Nock (1936:57 n. 27) and Edson (1948:187) suggest that it belongs to a private association worshipping Zeus Hypsistos. This is not certain as the crucial reading of Ὄσιστου is missing at the end of the inscription, although it is one possible reading.

---

\(a\) Papageorgiou reads Ἀλέξιος, which Roberts, Skeat, and Nock suggest is a less likely name in Macedon. Waltzing, Roberts, Skeat, and Nock, and Edson suggest Ἀλέξανδρος.

\(b\) Papageorgiou reads Διὸς [θε]οῦ ἄρα[χιανάκαγον] at the end but Roberts, Skeat, and Nock think a better supplement would be Ὄσιστου although they allow for the reading of Κησίου or Ὅσίτου, etc.
Provenance: Thessalonica
Published: Duchesne and Bayet 1876:45 no. 63; IMakedD 387; Edson 1948:159 (ph.); IG X/2 506 and p. 288.
Publication Used: Edson 1948:159.
Current Location: Salonica Museum, inv. no. 1815.

The funerary bomos is a square of local marble measuring 1.20 x 0.58 x 0.55 m. The bomos has a circular incision on the top, probably for the insertion of an ὀστοθήκη (receptacle for bones). The upper front is an incised pediment a with acroteria b and a rose. The text is inscribed on a central panel, with mouldings on the base.

\[\text{Ἀρτέμειν Μάρκου}
\text{ἡ γυνή καὶ Ἰσίδωρας}
\text{Ἰσιδόρου καὶ Ἰουνία}
\text{Ἰσιδώρου Ἰσιδόρῳ}
\text{Σεβείνου τῷ πατρὶ}
\text{ἐξήκουσε καλός βουλεῖσσαντι ἱερασυμμέλησιν ἰδιάςων Διονύσου}
\text{ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου ἐκείνως μνείας καὶ εὐνοίας χάρῳ}
\text{moulding}
\text{ἐν τῷ ζητέτει.}
\]

\text{on the right side}
\text{χαῖρε}
\text{ψυχή}
\text{καλή.}

\text{Artemin wife}
\text{of Marcus, and Isidorus}
\text{son of Isidorus, and Junia}
\text{daughter of Isidorus. (Dedicated) to their father}
\text{Isodorus son of Sabinus,}
\text{who has lived well,}
\text{and has been a member of the civic council,}
\text{and priest of (several) thiasoi of Dionysos.}
\text{(Paid for) from his own money. (Dedicated) to}
\text{him for the sake of his memory and on}
\text{account of his benevolence.}

\text{In the three hundred and fifty-seventh year.} \text{1}

---

\text{a Triangular part, shaped like a gable, crowning the structure.}
\text{b Small ornamental turret.}

---

\text{1 Of the Provincial Era; the Provincial Era begins 148 BCE.}
Provenance: Thessalonica

Date: II-III CE

Edict Princeps: P. N. Papageorgiou, “Θεσσαλονίκης ἀνέκδοτοι ἐπιγραφαῖ,” Ἀλήθεια (July 17, 1904) I no. 2.

Published: Avezou and Picard 1913:97-100 no. 7; L. Robert, “Inscription de Thessalonique,” Annuaire de l’institut de philologie et d’histoire orientales 2 (1933-34) [Mélanges Bidez] 793-812 (pl. 6 and 7); IG X/2 65.

Publication Used: IG X/2 65.

Current Location: Salonica Museum, inv. no. 1784.


This dedicatory altar measures 0.99 x max. 0.60 x max. 0.45 m. On the left side appears a relief of a shepherd’s crook (pedum) and a torch; on the right side a funerary urn and a torch. The text is damaged and as a result is “enigmatic” (Edson 1948:180)

_..._ moulding

_..._ a

5 ἄρχιμαγες... ἡγεῖς b καὶ ἄρχινες... ὁμόροι καὶ πατήρ... στηλίλευν c καὶ Αὐρ... Σωσίπατρος ἡ γαλακτηφόρος... καταφέρον... ῥήσασα... ἐπι τ... θόν βωμον ἐκ τ... ἰδιων ἀνείθηκαν... space 0.08 m... εὐπικές.

... the chief magistrate
and chief temple warden
and father1 of the
grotto and Aurelius
Sosipater the
milk-bearer,2
having carried the basket,3
set up the altar
from their own (funds) in the 30th year.
Prosperity!

a Edson reads three partial but unidentifiable letters at the end of this line.

b Edson 1948:181. Avezou and Picard comment that there is room for no more than two letters at the end of L. Robert conjectures ἄρχιμαγες[θ]εύς (followed by Nilsson) which Edson (1948:181) suggests is impossible. A that remains of the first letter is an upright bar which is incompatible with Robert’s reading. Avezou and Picard suggest ἄρχιμαγε[θ]εύς. Although this word in not known, it has parallels with ἄρχισυνιστηγεύς and ἄρχισυνιστηγος. On the role of the μάγειρος cf. Poland 1909:71, 391, 421, esp. 393 (with bibliography).

c Read ἱστηλίου ("grotto"), a synonym of temple (Avezou and Picard); cf. μάγειρον (Bousquet 1938:53-54).

d γαλακτηφόρος appears in P.Lond. 1.3.22 (II BCE); Josephus, Bell. 3.4.4.

e καταφέρον appears in Agrip. 1.36; cf. Cumont 1933:246-247.

1 In the Roman period πατήρ is used by many collegia (Poland 1909:372). It was probably an honorific title, but does not indicate "patron"; see Kloppenborg 1996:25.

2 Lit. “giving milk.”

3 In a mystic procession, probably that of Dionysos. Agrip. 1.36; cf. Cumont 1933:246-47.
Comments
The nature of the preservation of this inscription leaves it unclear whether this dedication has to do with Dionysos (Cumont) or Attis (Robert; Edson). It is probably not a cult of Mithra (as Avezou and Picard supposed; see Cumont 1933:259 n. 2). However, also in question is whether the stone is from Thessalonica or whether it is from elsewhere in Macedonia (see Edson 1948:180-81 n. 76 on the problem of the provenance), hence it cannot be used as the sole evidence to support the existence of either cult at Thessalonica.
An Association of Sarapidai
Honours their Patron

Provenance: Thessalonica
Date: III CE

Editio Princeps: P.N. Papageorgiou, 'Ἀλήθεια (Oct. 7 or 17, 1906) no. 27.
Published: Avezou and Picard 1913:95; O. Tafrali, Thessalonique des origines au XIVe siècle (Paris, 1919) no. 1 D; S. Peleides, 'Απὸ τὴν πολιτεία καὶ κοινωνία τῆς ἄρχαιας Θεσσαλονίκης (Thessalonica, 1934) 76 n. 5; SIRIS 111; IG X/2 192; A. J. Reinach, BE (1907) 70.
Publication Used: IG X/2 192.
Current Location: Salonica Museum, inv. no. 1786.

Related Inscriptions: → IG X/2 255 [22]; SIRIS 122 [58], 123 [59], 124 [60].

A marble altar measuring 1.46 x 0.63 x 0.65 m. On the stone anpediment and an ornate acroteria appear in relief.

璎αδὴ · ἦ · ν τύχη · ζ
moulding
δόγματι τῆς κρατίσσης
straight lines
βουλῆς καὶ χειροτονίας τῶν ἱερω-
τέτου δήμου Πατλίων
Αἶλων Νεκάνορα
τῶν ἀξιολογότατων
Μακεδονιόρχιν
οἱ συνθρησκευταί
5
κλείνης θεοῦ με-
γάλου Σαράπις
τῶν προστάτων
between lines:
eἴπηκαίτε.

For good luck.
Decreed by the most excellent
council and by the
voting of the
sacred demos. Publius
Aelius Nicanor
the most noteworthy
Macedoniarch.
The fellow mourners
of the illustrious great
god Sarapis
(honour) their patron.

Prosper!

---

a Both dates are given by Edson in IG X/2 192 and 1948:187 n. 20 respectively.
b Small ornamental turret.
An Association Honours Its Patrons

Provenance: Thessalonica


Published: SIRIS 110; IG X/2 220.

Publication Used: IG X/2 220.

Current Location: Salonica museum, inv. no. 1796.


Related Inscriptions: →

White marble base measuring 0.51 x 0.195 x 0.42 m. On the top there is an irregular hole (average diameter 0.20 m) for the placing of a statue on the base.

[Π]οντώνον Ἐλευν καὶ Κάσιον
[π]ροστάτες θρησκευτών καὶ τῶν σημαστῶν
θεοῦ Ἑρμανοῦφιδος Κλαύνιοιν Αὐξίμον
τόν καὶ Πέριν τῇ <ν> πρὸς τὸν [[περ(ε)ρα]]
pατέρων τειμῆν Κλαύδιον Γάιον τειμῆς χάριν
ἀρχινακορούντος Μάρ(κου) Άυρ(ηλοῦ).

Ἰούστου.

Pomponius Helenus and Cassius, patrons of the worshippers and of the sacred groves of the god Hermes-Anubis (honoured) Claudius Auximus, also called Pierinus, because of the honour shown to his father Claudius Gaius, when Markus Aurelius Justus was the chief temple warden (archineokoros).

Comments

Edson (IG X/2 220) suggests that a more intelligible rendering of the inscription might have been:
Ποντώνον Ἐλευν καὶ Κάσιος, προστάται θρησκευτών καὶ σημαστῶν θεοῦ Ἑρμανοῦφιδος Κλαύνιοιν Αὐξίμον τόν καὶ Πέριν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Κλαύδιον Γάιον τειμῆς ἀρχινακορούντος Μάρ. Άυρ Ἰούστου.

---

a The provenance is not completely sure; there is a slight chance that the base does not originate in Salonica. See Edson 1948:187 n. 19.

b This word is otherwise unknown; Vidman, SIRIS, p. 50.
Testamentary Foundation of a Priestess of Dionysos

Provenance: Thessalonica

Date: III CE


Published: Duchesne and Bayet 1876:34 no. 44; IMakedD 396 and 729; P. N. Papageorgiou, actis Tergesti diurnis Νέα Ημερα (1899, June 30) φωτ. 1287; P. N. Papageorgiou, Αθηναία 12 (1900) 87; P. N. Papageorgiou, Δέκα κοσ Ερανος Tergesti (1899) 13; Perdrizet 1900:322; P. N. Papageorgiou, Die Ίσημα-θόσα-Inschrift von Saloniki (Salonica, 1901); Ziebarth 1903:305-06 no. 77; P. N. Papageorgiou, Die Ίσημα-θόσα-Inschrift von Saloniki, Tergesti (1901) 1-4; Baeg 1913 91; Laum 1914:41 no. 39; Perdrizet 1910:87 no. 4; Ch. Avezou and Ch. Picard, "Le testament de la prêtresse Thessalonicienne," BCH 38 (1914) 38-62; Edson 1948:166-71 (photo of front and left side); IG X/2 260; Charles F. Texier and R. P. Pullan, L'Architecture byzantine (Londres: Dey et fils, 1864) 122 n. 2.

Publication Used: IG X/2 260.

Current Location: IG X/2 260.


Related Inscriptions: → CIL III 703 [51], 704 [52], 707 [53]; IMakedD 1104 [54]; IPhilippi 1 [61], 3 [63].

A marble bomos, with the top hollowed out to act as a receptacle, perhaps to receive the rose crowns at the ceremony. However Edson (1948:176) thinks that this cutting was made while the stone was in use inside the mosque in which it was found. The front panel has a relief of a draped woman facing front, but the upper two fifths have been cut away. The two lines of text beneath the woman are visible, but barely readable. They indicate the name of the deceased and give the date according to two eras, the provincial and the augustan (Perdrizet 1900:321). Both sides are inscribed, the right with 19 lines and the left with 13 lines of text. The text is carelessly cut (Edson 1948:167). At the conclusion of each inscription a leaf is inscribed.
Euphronsyne, niece of Dioskous, Evia priestess.

right side

Eυρωνώφοροι καταλίκῳ εἰς μηνί-ας χάριν αἰω-νίας ἀρτελῶν πλέθρα δῶν σὺν τες τάφροις, ὅπως ἀποκύ-κέπται μαί 
ἀπὸ ἀγοράς μὴ Ἑκα- 
τον Χ ε’ lea 

left side

<φερέτωσαν δέ> f 
καὶ οἱ μύστε 
μικρὸς μέ-γας ἐκαστος 
στέφανον ἡ-
δον. ὃ δὲ μὴ ἐ-
νέκνας μὴ μετε-χέτω μου τῆς 
δωρεώς. αἰάν 
δὲ μὴ ποιήσω-
σων, εἰς αὐτή 
τοῦ Δρυοφό-
ρων θυμάσου ἐ-
πὶ τοῖς σύντοις 

15 εἰ δὲ μὴ δὲ ὁ ἐ-

front

Euphronsyne, niece of Dioskous, Evia priestess.

right side

being priestess Evia of Prinophoros, 1 I bequeath for the perpetuation of my memory two plethra of vineyard, together with the adjacent irrigation ditches in order that sacrifices may be burned for me from the income thereof to the value of not less than five denarii.

left side

The mystai, each and every one, are to bear a crown of roses at the ceremony. The mystes who does not bear a crown is to have no share in (the income of) my bequest. If the Prinophoroi do not fulfill these conditions, the bequest is to devolve to the theiasos of the Dryophoroi, subject to the same conditions. And if the other theiasos does not carry out the terms of the bequest, then the vineyard is to become the property of the city.

---

a The second line is very conjectural. This reconstruction is found in Edson 1948:174; see the discussion there pp. 172-75.

b Edson (1948:168) cites Avezou and Picard (1914:42-44) with the correct reading of ὀδόσων instead of the previously read Θύσα.

c I.e., Ἐυώς, feminine of Ἐυως, well-known epithet of Dionysos (LSJ; Jessen, RE VI, cols. 992-993. Here it is the feminine of Ἐυως = βάκχος (Eur. Bacchae, 566, 579), or simply an adjective, "Evian priestess".

d Epithet of Dionysos.

e Correctly read ἄποκαιρται, Avezou and Picard (1914:47-48).

f Main verb must be restored.

---

1 A cult epithet of Dionysos. Epithets of Dionysos having to do with plant life are common and are attested elsewhere as being combined with φῶρος (Edson 1948:168).
Comments

In this inscription we have a testament of a priestess of Dionysos who seeks to establish a perpetual memorial for herself through regular ceremonies and sacrifices in the form of the *rosalia*. To ensure this, she hands over two plethora of vineyard and the accompanying irrigation ditches to the members of a *thiasos*. Five denarii from the income from the vines are to be used to pay for the crowns of roses to be worn at the ceremonies. The remainder of the income is to be shared among the association members. Any mystes who attends the ceremony without a crown of roses is barred from sharing in the income of the vineyard after the five denarii has been deducted. According to Edson, "[w]hat the testatrix desires is the presence of her fellow mystai at the ceremony and their active participation therein" (Edson 1948:170). However, if the *thiasos* does not carry out her wishes, the bequest is to be transferred to another *thiasos*, that of the Dryophoroi who are to carry out the testatrix's wishes on the same terms.² Should they fail to do this, then the vineyards become the property of the city.

² Against Avezou and Picard (1914:41-47) who think that we have here a reused bomos, with one inscription having little to do with the other; see summary in Edson 1948:171-72. The decisive evidence against this occurs in lines 30-31 where the Dryophoroi are referred to as ὁ ἐπισκόπος θίασος, with reference back to the Prinopholai.
Thessalonica 4
Jewish Sarcophagus Inscription

Provenance: Thessalonica  
Date: III CE


Published:
Current Location: In the garden of the archaeological museum of Thessalonika, inv. no. 5674.

Related Inscriptions: → CIJ 693, 693a [43], 693d [14], 694 [02].

The inscription is found in a tabula ansata on a sarcophagus which was found in 1964. The sarcophagus measures 2.53 m long x 1.59 m wide x 1.30 m high. The letters are 0.04-0.05 m high.

M(ερος) Α(λφήλως) Ἰακώβ ὁ καὶ Εὐτύχιος
τῷ τῇ συμβίῳ αὐτῷ "Ἀννα
τῇ καὶ Ἀσυνκρίτῳ καὶ ἑαυτῷ μνήμῃ ἐις τίς ἔπετα καταθή 5
δωσι ταῖς συνεργοῖς λαῷ μιᾷ Ῥάξ
καὶ μ(υραίδας) ἑττήτα εὐ (πεντακαιστίλια)

Marcus Aurelius Iakob also called Eutychios1 when he was alive (made this) for his wife Anna also called Asyncrition and for himself. In memory. If anyone places another body (in the sarcophagus) he will have to give to the synagogues 75,000 unused2 denarii.

Comments

Nigdelis (1994:305-06) points out that if the plural ταῖς συνεργοῖς indicates a number of independent gatherings of Jews, each with their own building (as he suspects), then the situation in III CE Thessalonika is unlike most Diaspora communities where only a single synagogue is found. Thessalonika would be placed among the three other cities in which the presence of more than one synagogue is known: Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. He attributes the growth of the Jewish population at Thessalonika to the exodus of Jews from Palestine in the wake of the wars of 70 CE and 135 CE. However, he does caution that the nature of the evidence does not allow any hypothesis about the organization of the Jewish community at Thessalonika.

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1 On the practice of Jews taking Greek and Roman names see Nigdelis 1994:302-05.
2 The meaning of λαμπρᾶς here is unclear; Nigdelis (1994:300-02) discusses some possibilities, concluding that it is the equivalent of σμύριος (Latin asper) and is used here in the sense of "newly minted" or "unused."
**Provenance:** Thessalonica

**Date:** IV-VI CE\(^a\)

**Editio Princeps:** S. Pelekidis, Πεπρωγμένα τω θ' διεθνος Βυζαντινολογικου Συνεδριος (Θεσσαλίκη, 12-19 Απριλίου 1953) I (Athens, 1955) 408 (pl. 64).


**Publication Used:** CIJ 693a.

**Current Location:** Salonica Museum, inv. no. 2286.


**Related Inscriptions:** → IThessalonica 4 [41]; CIJ 693a [43], 694 [02], 694b [14].

A white marble tablet broken into eleven fragments, which was probably originally fixed to a wall near the entrance to a synagogue (Lifshitz 1975:71). Its original size was probably 0.475 x 0.27 x 0.025 m. The scriptural text of L. 2-14 comes from Numbers 6:22-27 and follows the Samaritan Pentateuch rather than the LXX\(^b\), hence the identification of the synagogue as “Samaritan.” The stonemaster was more scupulous when inscribing the biblical text than when inscribing the dedication (LL. 16-19; Lifshitz 1975:72).

**Blessed be our God forever.**

**And the Lord spoke with Moses saying,**

“Speak to Aaron and to his sons saying, "Thus shall you bless the sons of Israel; speak to them ‘The Lord will bless you and guard you, the Lord will show his face to you and will love you, the Lord will lift his face to you and make for you peace,’ and you shall place my name on the Israelites and I will bless them."”

**Blessed be His name forever.**

God is one.\(^1\) Blessing to Siricius

---

\(^a\) On the fourth to sixth century dating of this inscription see Purvis 1976:121-23.

\(^b\) For a comparison with the text of the LXX and a discussion of the Hebrew text behind the Greek of the inscription see Lifshitz 1975:72-75, who suggests that “[T]he differences between the Septuagint translation and the inscription show the fidelity of the Samaritan Greek Bible to the Hebrew original” (1975:74).

1 “One God” formulas (εἷς Θεὸς and εἷς Θεὸς βοηθῶν) are frequent in Jewish and Christian epigraphy and literature (Lifshitz 1975:75; see further Erik Peterson, Heis Theos (Göttingen, 1926) 1-77; Guerra 1995:84-101). In the case of CIJ 693a it is clearly a reference to the Jewish god, the obvious deity to be associated with a Samaritan συνεργητή.
who has made this\textsuperscript{2} with his wife and children. Prosper Neapolis\textsuperscript{3} with the friends.

\textit{Comments}

A man named Siricius was a sophist from Neapolis, a disciple of Andromachus, and taught at Athens. Pelekidis thinks this is the same man as that named in this inscription, a possibility that Lifshitz allows (1975:75), but notes that we do not know whether Siricius the sophist was a Samaritan or a Greek.

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{2} Pelekidis assumes that the inscription refers to the synagogue, but Lifshitz (1975:71) is more cautious and suggests that it may refer simply to the tablet.
\textsuperscript{3} Hendrix (1994:49): Samaritan Nablus?
Provenance: Anthemonte

Date: II BCE

Editio Princeps: D.M.Robinson 1938:72 no. 30 (pl. 23.30).
Published: Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992:50-51 no. 5 (pl. 11.1-2).
Current Location: Church of St. Demetrius at Galatista (D.M.Robinson 1938:72)

Literature: Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992:51

Related Inscriptions: → IMaked 22 [01]; IEdessa 1 [04] 2 [05], 3 [06]; IMakedD 6 [07], 7 [08], 38 [09]; IAnydron 1 [10]; IBeoroea 1 [11]; IPydna 1 [15]; IG X/2 62 [31], 933 [36]; P.Lond. 2710; cf. IG X/2 67 [16], 71 [17], 72 [18], 68 [20].

A slab of white marble with white crystals measuring 0.18 x 0.59 x 0.26 m. It is broken at the back.

'Ασκληπιόδωρος
'Ηέρωνος
Δή
ήψίστω

Asclepiodorus
Hieron (dedicated this)
to Zeus
Hypsistos
Provenance: Kassandreia

Date: Roman Period

Editio Princeps:


Current Location:

Literature:

Related Inscriptions: →

Marble funerary stele. There is a relief of two busts.

Kολλήγιον ουρ-  
βαουν Πλω-  
τιανψ Μάρκω  
ἐδωκαν ἵς<κ>ης-  
5 δέιαν * ν- b  

The collegium urbanorum gave to Plotianus Markus 50 denarai for a funeral

\[a \text{ eic.}\]

\[b \ _AE\ transcribes\ line\ 5\ as\ κηδείαν\ (δηνάρια)\ ν'.\]
Provenance: Hagios Mamas

Editio Princps: Le Bas and Foucart 1876:119; CIG 2007f; Otto Lüders, Die dionysischen Künstler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1873) 68; IMakedD 747; Ziebarth 1896:56; Poland 1909:223, 555 B 59; D.M.Robinson 1938:61-64 no. 15 (pl. 11); Rajak and Noy 1993:93 no. 4.


Current Location:


Related Inscriptions:

A marble altar with similar moulding on the top and bottom. The total height is 1.15 m and it is 0.58 m wide. The area between the mouldings is 0.80 m high. The letters measure 0.04 to 0.05 m. The tablet referred to in the inscription (line 7) might have depicted the hero, but it is now lost.

Aίλιονος Νείκων
o ἀρχισυναγωγὸς
θεοῦ ἤρως καὶ τὸ
κο <λ> ιήγιον Βαιβίῳ
5 Ἀρτωνίως ἀνέστησεν
tὸν βιομον.
τὸν δὲ πίνακα ἀνέ-
στησε γαμμάδας αὐτοῦ
'Αξιοδόρης.

Ailanos Neikon
the archisynagogos
of the Hero god and the
collegium erected the altar
for Vibius
Antonius.
But his son-in-law
Achidares\(^1\) set up
the tablet.

\(^a\) Hagios Mamas is 10 km south of Olynthos. This text was originally reported to be from Olynthos itself, but Robinson (1938:62-63 n. 44) notes that this is incorrect and reports excavating near it at Hagios Mamas.

\(^b\) Robinson points out (and his photograph shows) that the stone reads KOΔΗΓΙΟΝ, with the crossbar of the alpha cut lower than the other alphas. He corrects this to ΚΟΛΔΗΓΙΟΝ. Le Bas and Foucart read κολλ[ή]γιον which is followed by most others.

\(^c\) Le Bas and Foucart (followed by others) read Βειβίω; corrected by Robinson.

\(^d\) Le Bas and Foucart (followed by others) read 'Ασιόδορης; corrected by Robinson.

\(^1\) An Eastern name (D.M.Robinson 1938:62).
A drum of white marble. The height and diameter are about 1.1 m and the letters are 0.03 m high. Most probably this is the base of a statue dedicated to Augustus and most likely of Augustus himself.

[Αὐτοκράτορι]  [Αὐτοκράτορι]
[Καίσαρ(ω)]  [Καίσαρ(ω)]
[Θεός θεοῦ [νῦν]]  [Θεός θεοῦ [νῦν]]
Σεβαστῷ ἡ πόλις  Σεβαστῷ ἡ πόλις
cαὶ οἱ συνπραγματευ-
cαὶ οἱ συνπραγματευ-
όμενοι Ρωμαίοι καὶ  οἱ παρουκαῦντες.\(^a\)
οἱ παρουκαῦντες.\(^a\)

To Emperor  Caesar Augustus,
Caesar Augustus,  god, son of god.
(Dedicated by) the city  and the association of
and the association of
Roman merchants and  those dwelling with them.

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\(^a\) The usual word is κατοικοῦντες. Tod (1918:86) knows of no other example where παρουκαῦντες is used in this connection.
IMakedD 923
Votive for Theos Hypsistos

Provenance: Kerdylion
Published: IMakedD 923; Cook 1925:2:878 n. 9; Bæge 1913:18; Taceva-Hitova 1978:70 no. 1 (who misprints Δι for Θεό); Pilhofer 1995:185 n. 12.
Publication Used: IMakedD 923.
Current Location:
Literature:
Related Inscriptions: →

Inscribed on a stone over the door of the church (Perdrizet 1895:110).

Μ(άρκος) Δενκειλω[ζ]              Markus Leukeiiios
Μάκλαις θεός                      Maklas. For Theos
ψίστωρ χασ-                       Hypsistos as a
ριστήριον                         thank offering
Provenance: Amphipolis
Editio Princeps: Perdrizet 1895:110 no. 2.
Published: SIG² 773; SIG³ 1140.
Publication Used: Perdrizet 1895:110 no. 2.
Current Location:
Literature:
Related Inscriptions: →

No description given.

M. Caecilius
Sōtasō ὁ χαλκεύς
ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης
Θεοῖς Μεγάλοις
5 τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθράκη.

Marcus Caecilius
Sotas, from the guild of copper workers.
To the Great Gods in Samothrace.
Provenance: Amphipolis

Date: late III BCE

Publication Used: Patton (text and translation).

Current Location:


Related Inscriptions:

Tomb epigram of the orgiophantes Aleximenes by the Alexandrian Dioscorides. The scene is set by the Strymon River, and a textual note suggests ἀμφίπτωλαν (sic), but it might also be Eion, or another Macedonian town (Gow and Page 1965:2:259).

βάλλεθ' ὑπὲρ τύμβου πολλὰ κρίνα καὶ τὰ συνήθη τύπουν ἐπὶ στήλη ῥήσατ' Ἀλεξιμένους,
καὶ περιδινήσασθαν μακρὰς ἀνελέγματα χαίτης
Στρυμονὶν ἄφετος θυώδες ἀμφί πόλιν,

5 ἡ γλυκερά πνεύσαντος ὅφ' ὑμετέρουσαν

ἀδόπτας, pólláka πρὸς μαλακῶς τοῦθ' ἐχόμευε νόμους

Cast white lilies1 on the tomb and beat by the stele of Aleximenes the drums he used to love; whirl your long flowing locks,2 ye Thyiades,3 in freedom4 because the death of Aleximenes has dissolved the association

Comments

This is the tomb epigram of Aleximenes, “apparently a piper whose music accompanied Bacchic revels in Macedonia” (Gow and Page 1965:2:258). Later he designated ὄργιοφάντης (eis Ἀλεξιμένην ὄργιοφάντην, Anthologia Palatina 9.688 [anon]), indicating “orgiophant,” a priest who initiates others into the mysteries. If this indicates that the leader of the orgia is a man, he “[m]ay represent a transitional stage between the old orgia which were celebrated by women exclusively, and the new Dionysiac

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1 Gow and Page (1965:2:259) note that κρίνα is ambiguous but might mean lilies (so Patton; Beckby (“Lilien”)).

2 The loosed, braided hair was a sign of mourning (Gow and Page 1965:2:259).

3 The Thyiades were “specifically connected with Delphi and Athens, but the name is common in poetry for chants and Maenads” (Gow and Page 1965:2:259).

4 ὀγγετοί might indicate “ranging widely about” but might also imply that “they are released from their religious duties because the death of Aleximenes has dissolved the association” (Gow and Page 1965:2:259).

5 The meaning of the final word of line 5 is unknown (so Gow and Page 1965:2:259).

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a The inscription may also be from Alexandria (Gow and Page 1965:235).

b So Patton, Dübner; Gow and Page read ήμετέρουσαν; Beckby reads ήμετέροισσαν.

c Dübner, Patton, Gow and Page have ἀδόπτας while Beckby has ἄνωτας. See further Gow and Page 1965:2:259.
mysteries that were open to men as well as to women” (Nilsson 1957:8). However, Gow and Page (1965:2:258) doubt that it means much more than “initiate” and is probably not part of the original epigram. Gow and Page (1965:2:258) doubt that the epigram gives evidence for music at tombs and suggest that it “conveys no more than an invitation to mourn for a lost colleague.”
CIL III 703
Thiasos of Liber Pater Tasibastenus

Provenance: Reussilova

Date: n.d.


Published: Heuzey and Daumet 1876:152 no. 87; CIL III 703; IMakedD 1507; Perdrizet 1900:312-13 no. 4; Waltzing 1890:3:73-74 no. 200; Collart 1937:416 n. 2, 474 n. 3; Pilhofer 1995 no. 524/L103.

Publication Used: Perdrizet 1900:312-13 no. 4.

Current Location:

Literature: Ziebarth 1903:306 no. 78; Poland 1909:555 B 63a; Salač 1923:61; Pilhofer 1995:88, 103, 139.

Related Inscriptions: → IG X/2 260 [41]; CIL III 704 [52], 707 [53]; IMakedD 1140 [54]; IPhilippi 1 [61], 3 [63].

The text is found on a large sarcophagos which has been split into two pieces along the length. The split has mutilated three. The letters NEPOTESET appears in very small letters above line five (see note b, below).

Bithus Tauzigis fili(us), qui | et Macer, an(anorum) LX, Tazies Bithi qui et Ru | fus, an(norum) XLV, a Bithus Tauzigis ann(orum) LXXII h(ic) s(it) s(unt). Zipacenthus Tauzigis, Bithicenthus | Cerzulae, Sabinus Dioscuthes, nepotes etb heredes f(aciendum) c(uraverunt). | Idem Bithus donavit thiasis Lib(er) pat(ris) Tasibast(eni) (denarios) C Ex quor(um) rediv(u) annuo | rosai(ibus) ad moniment(um) eor(um) vescentur.

Bithus, son of Tauzigis, also called Macer, 60 years old, Tazies, son of Bithi, also called Rufus, 45 years old, Bithus, son of Tauzigus, 72 years old. All are buried here. Zipacenthus, son of Tauzigis, Bithicenthus, son of Cerzulae, Sabinus, son of Dioscuthes, decedents and heirs, have prepared and cared for (this). The same Bithus donated to the thiasos of Liber Pater Tasibastenus 200 denarii and Rufus (donated) 100 denarii, from the interest of which every year on the rosalia they shall have a banquet at their funerary monument.

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a CIL III 703 and Waltzing read “XIX” while Perdrizet reads “XLV.”

b NEPOTESET appears in very small letters above line five; they do not appear in the text of CIL III 703, IMakedD 1507 or Waltzing. It appears in line 5 in Perdrizet and Collart.
Provenance: Reussilova


Published: Heuzey and Daumet 1876:153 no. 88; CIL III 704; IMakedD 1058; Perdrizet 1900:313 no. 5; Waltzing 1890:3:74 no. 201; Collart 1937:416 n. 3, 475 n. 1 no. 9.

Publication Used: Perdrizet 1900:313 no. 5.

Current Location: No longer extant (Perdrizet 1900:313).

Literature: Ziebarth 1903:306 no. 79; Poland 1909:555 B 63b; Salač 1923:61;

Related Inscriptions: → IG X/2 260 [41]; CIL III 703 [51], 707 [53]; IMakedD 1140 [54]; IPhilippi 1 [61], 3 [63].

A funerary stele in the form of an altar. A relief shows the Thracian Horseman throwing a javelin with another person on foot behind him. Ahead of the horseman are a boar and a snake coiled around a tree.

D(iis) i(nferis) M(anibus)
[relief of the Thracian Horseman]
Lucius Caesi Victori(s)
servus actor an(norum) L
h(ic) s(itus) e(st). Idem Lucius thi-
5 asis Lib(eri) pat(ris) Tasibas-
teni donavit X ....

To the Spirits of the Dead
Lucius, slave of Cassius Victor,¹
a steward,² 50 years old,
is buried here. The same Lucius
donated 10 (denarii)³ to the thiasos
of Liber Pater Tasibastenus....

¹ Cassius Victor was an important land owner in Philippi (Perdrizet 1900:313).
² Or "manager," or, less likely, "performer."
³ The amount might be larger as the stone is broken here.
CIL III 707
Funerary Association of Diana

Provenance: Proussotchania

Date: n.d.

Editio Princeps: Heuzey and Daumet 1876:150 no. 86.

Published: CIL III 707 and p. 2328; IMakedD 1056 and 1105; Perdrizet 1900:310-12 no. 3; Collart 1937:474 n. 3 no. 2.

Publication Used: Perdrizet 1900:310 no. 3.

Current Location:

Literature: Abrahamsen 1989b:69 n. 25; Abrahamsen 1995:104 and 1986:83 both cite the source incorrectly, but this is the inscription under discussion.

Related Inscriptions: → IG X/2 260 [41]; CIL III 703 [51], 704 [52]; IMakedD 1140 [54]; IPhilippi 1 [61], 3 [63]; CIL XIV 2112.

Stone plaque, whitewashed, with badly formed letters. Perdrizet suggests that previous publications of this inscription have been flawed due to the difficulty of reading the letters (Perdrizet 1900:310).

Cintis Polulae fil(ius) Sc|aporenus sibi et uxori su|ae SecuB Bithi fil(iae) v(ivus) f(acendum) curavit. | DeduB her(edibus) meis X LX ut (e)x u|uris eius adiant Rosal(ibus) | sub curat(ione) Zipae Mesti fil(ii). | Ad arbiterio eius q(ui) s(upra) n ominatus e(st) Diane | X CCL.

Cintis Scaporenus, son of Polula made this tomb for himself and his wife Secu, daughter of Bithi, while he was still living. I gave to my heirs 60 denarii, the interest from which they shall apply to the rosalia under the trusteeship of Zipa, son of Mestius. And the above named Zipa is also to be arbiter. (And) 250 denarii go to (the association of) Diana.

---

a Between Philippi and Drama.

b CIL III 707 reads Sicu and Perdrizet (1900:310) suggests that SECV = Seci, the dative of Secis, the feminine form of Secus.

c CIL III 707 reads De(dit) while Perdrizet (1900:310) suggests that DEDV = dedi.
Mystai of Dionysos Honour Their Benefactor

Provenance: Alistrati

Editio Princeps: Ελλην. Φιλολ. Συλλ. Παράρτημα τού ις τόμου (1886) 108 no. 3.

Published: Th. Homolle, "Nouvelles et Correspondance," BCH 17 (1893) 634; IMakedD 1104;
Ziebarth 1896:56; M. Pappadopoulos Kérameus, Κύκλος de Cples, παράρτημα 16, p. 108;
Perdrizet 1900:317; Collart 1937:416 n. 4.

Publication Used: Perdrizet 1900:317.

Current Location:

Literature: Poland 1909:555 B 64.

Related Inscriptions: → IG X/2 260 [41]; CIL III 703 [51], 704 [52], 707 [53]; IPhilippi 1 [61], 3 [63].

White marble stele measuring 0.73 x 0.74 m. There remains of this monument the pediment and
part of the inscription, although the bottom is lost. On the pediment the face of a man with a neck-
lace beard is carved in relief. Perdrizet (1900:317) comments that it is the ugliest sculpture ("la
plus laide sculpture") he has seen in the Macedonian villages!

Oĩ περεὶ Ῥοῦφων
Zείπτα μῦτα Βότρυς-
ος Διονύσου μῦ-
[στη Ῥο]όφω 1 τῷ εὑρ-
5 [γέτη δῶ]ρον ἔχορί-
[σαντο . . . . .]

The association of Rufus
Zipas, mystes of Dionysos
Botrys, freely give this gift
to the mystes Rufus the
benefactor....

1 Pappadopoulos reads μυ[στάρχη] Ῥο[όφω but Perdrizet (1900:317) points out that there is not enough room for
this restoration.
Stele of white Pangean marble, 0.95 m high. The inscription is accompanied by two rows of busts in relief. The first two lines of the inscription separate the two rows of busts. Zipas, the father, is shown laughing while his wife, Cleudis, wears a necklace of large pearls and has two small plaits descending down her cheeks. On the same line there is a small bust relief of a young boy followed by another of a young girl, with the same hairstyle and dress as her mother. A fifth figure is only partially visible. The second row includes one young man and three young women, with a fifth figure presumably lost. A relief of the Thracian Horseman hunting a boar appears in the midst of the inscription. The remainder of the stele has been lost.

Zipas made this for himself and his own wife Kleudis and all their own children.

And I bequeathed to the mystai of Dionysos 120 denarai.

They shall light (a fire) beside (this tomb) for me (during) the rosalia each year.
IKalambaki 1
Tomb Epigram for the Treasurer
of the Silversmiths

Provenance: Kalambaki
Published: Collart 1937:271 n. 2.
Publication Used: Salač 1923:78 no. 39.
Current Location:
Literature:
Related Inscriptions:

Gravestone found re-used in a Turkish cemetery. It measures 2.58 x 0.67 x 0.12 m.

"Ἰούλιος Εὐτυχῆς ἀρκάρις ἀργενταρίων ἐνθάδε κεῖτε"
Julius, son of Eutychus, treasurer (arcarius) of the silversmiths (argentarii) lies here

Comments
The word argentarii can mean either silversmith or banker/money changer, but Collart (1937:271 n. 2) leans towards the former as the meaning in this inscription. Salač (1923:78) suggests manufacturers or merchants of silverware.
The following four Latin inscription were found by Heuzey engraved in the rock face of the acropolis among the ruins of a temple of Sylvanus near the Philippian theatre. The inscriptions are on the rear wall of the sanctuary (see diagram below for placement). They were accompanied by various figures in relief, but they were poorly executed and are not well preserved. There was also a Greek inscription but it was of poor quality and was completely effaced when found by Heuzey. Tod suggests that four very fragmentary inscribed stones found in the ruins of the theatre also belong to the same sanctuary (Tod 1918-19:97).

This first inscription provides the names of those who have donated to the building and ornamentation of the temple of Sylvanus. It appears to the right of the next inscription (the membership list, no. II, below). The framework of this inscription was subsequently enlarged to the left and now takes up some of the space between it and the inscription to the left. Presumably the space was originally left for the enlargement of the membership list.

P(ublius) Hostilius Philadelphus, ob honor(em) aedilit(atis) titulum polivit de suo et nomina sodal(ium) inscripsit eorum, qui munera posuerunt:

5 Domitius Primigenius statuam aeream Silvani cum aede;
C. Horatius Sabinus at templum tegendas CCC tectas;
Nutrius Valens sigilla marmuria

10 duae Herculem et Mercurium;
Paccius Mercuriales opus cementic(ium)

*5 CCL ante templum et tabula(m) picta(m) Olympum * XV;

Publius Hostilius Philadelphus, on account of his public office of aedile, at his own expense had this inscription placed on polished rock and inscribed the names of the association members who made donations: Domitius Primigenius (gave) a bronze statue of Sylvanus with the temple,1 Gaius Horatius Sabinus (gave) as the covering of the temple 400 covered roof-tiles. Nutrius Valens (gave) two marble images—Heraclès and Mercury. Paccius Mercuriales (gave) 250 denarii for a work of concrete in front of the temple and 15 denarii for a painted board of Olympus. Publicius Laetus donated 50

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1 Bakirtzis, Hendrix, and Buell (1994:15b) suggest "with its edifice."

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* The symbol * is found on the inscription, which Waltzing renders "denariorum" (contra Abrahamsen [1995:43 n. 20] who claims the monetary value is unknown.
Publicius Laetus at templum aedificandum donavit * L;

15 Item Paccius Mercuriales at templum aedificandum cum filis et liberto donavit * L; ita sigillum marmurium Liberi * XXV; Alfensus Aspasius sac(it)us sos signum aer(eum) Silvani cum basi;

20 item vivus * (singulos) mortis causae sui remisit;
Hostilius Philadelphus insc[ere]dentibus in templo petram exicit d(e) s(uo).

denarii for building the temple. Likewise Paccius Mercuriales, along with (his) son and freedman, donated 50 denarii for building the temple, as well as 25 denarii for a marble image of Liber. Alfenus Aspasius, priest, paid one denarius for a bronze image of Sylvanus with a base while he was alive, which was remitted to him on account of his death. Hostilius Philadelphus had the rock ascending into the temple quarried at his own expense.

CIL III 633, II
Subscription List of the Association

Provenance: Philippi
Date: II CE

Edition Princeps: Heuzey and Daumet 1876, nos. 34.

Published: IMakedD 935; CIL III/1 633 II; Waltzing 1890:3:72-73 no. 199; Collart 1937:403 (without names; pl. 65/1); ILS 5466.2; Abrahamsen 1989a:70-71 and 1995:36, 43 n. 51 (both without names); Bakirtzis, Hendrix, and Buell 1994:15a.

Publication Used: CIL III/1 633 II and Waltzing.

Current Location:

Literature: Lightfoot 1881:168 n. 5; Plummer 1919:91 note.
Related Inscriptions:

This inscription is surrounded by a framework moulding and appears to the left of the previous inscription. The names of sixty-nine of the members of the association appear in four columns. It is meant to replicate a bronze tabula insata (Bakirtzis, Hendrix, and Buell 1994:15).

P(ublius) Hostilius P(ublii) I(ibertus) Philadelphus | petram inferior(em) excidit et titulum fecit, ubi | nomina cultiv(orum) scripsit et sculptit sac(erdote) Urbano, s(ua) p(ecunia).

Publius Hostilius Philadelphus, freedman of Publius Lucius, at his own expense cut out the rock below and the title, upon which he wrote and sculpted the names of the worshippers under the priest Urbanus.

Col. A
L(uicius) Volattius Urbanus Sac(erdos)
L(uicius) Nutrius Valens Iun(ior)
Hermeros Metrodori (servus)
C(aius) Paccius Mercurialis
5 P(ublius) Vettius Victor
C(aius) Abellius Anteros
Orinus Coloniae
M(arcus) Publicius Valens
Crescens Abelli
10 C(aius) Flavius Pudens
M(arcus) Varinius Chresimus
M(arcus) Minucius Iunianus
P(ublius) Hostilius Philadelphus
P(ublius) Herennius Venus tus
15 L(uicius) Domitius Ikarus

Col. B
M(arcus) Herennius Helenus
C(aius) Atilius Fuscus
C(aius) Atilius Niger
Tharsa Coloniae
Phoebus Coloniae
L(uicius) Laelius Felix
M(arcus) Plotius Gelos
P(ublius) Trosius Geminus
M(arcus) Plotius Valens
M(arcus) Plotius Plotianus
M(arcus) Plotius Valens · F (Lucius) Atiarius Successus
C(aius) Herennius Valens
C(aius) Velleius Rixa
T(itus) Flavius Clymenus
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. C</th>
<th>Col. D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hostilius Natales</td>
<td>Iulius Candidus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C(aius) Paccius Mercuriales</td>
<td>Valerius Clemens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M(arcus) Alfenus Aspasius Sacerdos</td>
<td>Phoebus Colon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C(aius) Valerius Firmus</td>
<td>A(ulus) Velleius Palbes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A(ulus) Velleius Onesimus</td>
<td>A(ulus) Velleius Palbes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoebus Colon</td>
<td>A(ulus) Velleius Palbes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C(aius) Plauius Pudens</td>
<td>L(uicus) Volattius Firmus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L(uicus) Volattius Firmus</td>
<td>M(arcus) Publicius Cassius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C(aius) Abellius Secundus</td>
<td>C(aius) Abellius Cassius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atilius Fuscus</td>
<td>C(aius) Abellius Cassius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L(uicus) Domitius Venerianus</td>
<td>C(aius) Abellius Cassius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L(uicus) Volattius Urbanus</td>
<td>C(aius) Abellius Cassius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C(aius) Iulius Philippus</td>
<td>C(aius) Iulius Philippus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L(uicus) Domitius Icario</td>
<td>L(uicus) Domitius Icario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camuleius Crescens</td>
<td>Camuleius Crescens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L(uicus) Atiarius Moschos</td>
<td>L(uicus) Atiarius Moschos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fontius Capito</td>
<td>Fontius Capito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M(arcus) Glitius Carus</td>
<td>M(arcus) Glitius Carus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L(uicus) Atiarius Suauis</td>
<td>L(uicus) Atiarius Suauis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domitius Peregrinus</td>
<td>Domitius Peregrinus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CIL III 633, III**  
Membership List of the Association

Provenance: Philippi  
Date: II CE

Editio Princeps: Heuzey and Daumet 1876, nos. 35.  
Published: IMakedD 936; *CIL* III/1 633 III; Waltzing 1890:3:72-73 no. 199; Abrahamsen 1989a:70-71 and 1995:36, 43 n. 53 (both without names).  
Publication Used: *CIL* III/1 633 III and Waltzing.  
Current Location:  
Literature:  
Related Inscriptions: →

This inscription is more lightly inscribed than the others, and is definitely done by another hand. It includes twenty-five names in three columns. These are probably the names of new members, added after the original list was made. Below it a niche is carved into the rock.

---

b This name appears underneath the drawing of the inscription in *CIL* III/1 633 II.
**List Popili**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. A</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S(externus) Optatus</td>
<td>(Domiti)us Venerianus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A(ti(i)us) Fuscus</td>
<td>Atius Firmus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Domitius Icario</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. B</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Veturius ——— us</td>
<td>Popillius ——— ilus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domitius ——— nchus</td>
<td>Capitius (U)nerianus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>——— us Trophimus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. C</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Titiulius Crispus</td>
<td>Atius Anites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D(ecimus) — VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paccius Germanus</td>
<td>Ueronius Viimer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petronius Optatusius</td>
<td>Petronius Eutuches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassius Ocraterus</td>
<td>Petronius Zosimus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**CIL III 633, IV**

**Membership List the Association**

Provenance: Philippi

Date: III CE

Editio Princeps: Heuzey and Daumet 1876, nos. 36.

Published: IMakedD 937; *CIL* III/1 633 IV; Waltzing 1890:3:72-73; Collart 1937:404 (without names); Abrahamsen 1989a:70-71 and 1995:36, 43 n. 54 (both without names).

Publication Used: *CIL* III/1 633 IV and Waltzing.

Current Location: 

Literature: 

Related Inscriptions: →

The upper part of the frame moulding around this inscription is damaged. Along the sides small crowns are inscribed. Under the title ten or eleven names appear in two columns; these again must be new members. The letter "B" is used in place of "V," indicating a later date (Collart 1937, 405).

Worshippers of the association of Sylvanus written above:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. A</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sedius Proclus Pater</td>
<td>Sedius Valens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[f]il(i)us Proculus pater</td>
<td>P(ublius) Sulp Quintus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. B</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Var(us) Dionysid</td>
<td>N(m)ans Carc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arc.i.rfa</td>
<td>A.frosaforo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comments

The worship of Sylvanus is not attested as extensively in the Greek east as it is in the Latin west. There exists only a "handful of inscriptions from Macedonia, Asia, Phrygia and Commagene" (Dorcey 1992:67, who lists only this series of inscriptions for Macedonia). In this inscription the association members are referred to as both cultores and sodales and the association itself as the collegium. The membership lists show that the members are Roman citizens of western and eastern origin (Dorcey 1992:67), most of whom are freedmen; the list also includes four slaves. Along with Silvanus, other traditional Roman gods such as Liber Pater, Herakles, and Mercury are invoked.

The preamble of 633/II mentions the priest Urbanus but the third column lists a certain Marcus Alfenus Aspasius as priest. Abrahamsen (1995:37) suggests that the third column was inscribed after Aspasius had replaced Urbanus as priest and new members were added to the list. However, Aspasius is also mentioned in 633/I. If it was commissioned at the same time, as Collart maintains (1937:404), by the same person (Publius Hostilius Philadelphus) then the possibility remains that there was more than one priest active in the association at this time. The designation "junior" for Lucius Nutrius Valens may indicate that he is a priest, but secondary to the aforementioned Lucius Volatti Hradus the "sacerdos" (see Waltzing 1890:73), although it may simply be part of his name.

Waltzing (1890:73, followed by Abrahamsen 1995:37) suggests that the association may have been a funerary cult in light of the remittance to the deceased member upon his death, although it should probably be better understood as a religious association (cf. Kloppenborg 1996a:20-22).

Below is a diagram of the placement of the inscriptions (cf. Collart 1937, pl. 64/3):

\[\text{Diagram of inscriptions placement}\]

---

2 This is confirmed by the fact that inscriptions I and II are in the same hand (Bakirtzis, Hendrix, and Buell 1994:15).
Provenance: Philippi

Date: II-III CE

Editio Princeps: Paul Collart, "Inscriptions de Philippi," BCH 62 (1938) 428-31 no. 10 (fig. 5).

Published: Collart 1937:259, 262, 267-68, 273 n. 5, 364 n. 3, 447 no. 8, 453 (pl. 81/2); AE 1939, no. 185; SIRIS 122; Bormann 1995:59-60.

Publication Used: SIRIS 122.

Current Location:

Literature:

Related Inscriptions: → SIRIS 123 [59], 124 [60]; IG X/2 192 [39], 220 [40], 255 [22].

The top of this block of local marble is shaped like an altar. The mouldings below frame the inscription. The same pattern, without the inscription, appears on the other three faces. The bottom part of the inscription has been broken away. The entire face measures 1.10 x 0.95 m. The frame around the inscription measures 0.77 x 0.80 m on the outside and 0.61 x 0.50 on the inside, where the inscription is found.

L. Valerio L. fil(io)
Voll(inia) Prisco,
orn(amentis) dec(urionatus) hon(orato),
dec(urioni), irenar(chae), II vi-
r(o) iur(e) d(icundo), munera-
rio, cultores
deor(um) Serapis [et]
Isidis.

(Dedicated to) Lucius Valerio Vollinia Prisco, son of Lucius, who has been honoured with the insignia of the office of a decurion,¹ a decurion, an eiranarch,² a magistrate,³ the giver of gladitorial games, by the worshippers of Sarapis and Isis.

---

¹ Decurions are frequently mentioned in inscriptions from Philippi; see Collart 1938:429 n. 3 and 1937:266-67
² A police officer, probably of the territory; Collart 1938:430.
³ Duoviri iure dicundo is literally, "one of two men named by law," who served as the highest board of magistrates in the municipia and colonies. The title is the equivalent of ὁρηγοί (see Bruce 1978:341; cf. Ac 16:35-38).
SIRIS 123
Honours for a Benefactor of Worshippers of Sarapis

Provenance: Philippi
Date: mid-III CE

Published: AE 1936, no. 45; Collart 1937:447 no. 9; SIRIS 123; Bormann 1995:60.

Publication Used: Collart 1937:447 no. 9.

Current Location:

Related Inscriptions: → SIRIS 122 [58], 124 [60]; IG X/2 192 [39], 220 [40], 255 [22].

The stele measures 1.61 x 0.85 x 0.83 m. The inscription is framed by rectangular moulding engraved in the stele. The stele has been reused on the upper part of a pillar. It is broken across the middle.

Γε rd Ταξιν.
Κ. Φλάβιοιον Ἐρ-
μαδίων τὸν
ἀξιολογώτα-

5 [το]ν, οἱ βραχεῖν-
[τοῖ]ν Σάρα-
[τὸ]ν εὐεργέτην,
[μὴ]μης χάριν

For Good Fortune.
Quintus Flavius
Hermadion who
is most honourable.
(Set up by) the worshippers
of Sarapis
(for) their benefactor.
In memory.
Honours for a Benefactor of Worshippers of Sarapis

SmS 124

Provenance: Philippi

Date: mid-III CE

Editio Princeps: Lemerle 1935:142 no. 41 (ph., fig. 5).

Published: AE 1936, no. 46; Collart 1937:448 no. 10; SIRIS 124; Bormann 1995:60.

Publication Used: Collart 1937:448 no. 10.

Current Location:


Related Inscriptions: → SIRIS 122 [58], 123 [59]; IG X/2 192 [39], 220 [40], 255 [22].

The stele measures 0.97 x 0.44 x 0.44 m. It broken at the bottom and the top left corner (but the inscription is complete). The inscription is framed by rectangular moulding engraved in the stele. The engraver seems to have been somewhat careless: the omicron after K in line one is barely visible above the K, the final letter of line 2 appears on the moulding, and the iota in και on line six is missing (and was probably also on the moulding). The stele has been reused in a pillar.

```
Κο. Φλάβιων Ἐρμαδώνιος νίσχιν
Κο. Φλαβίων Ἐρμαδώνιος
τῷ κραττίστῳ γυμνασιάρχῳ καὶ[λ]
ἀρχιερέως,
οἱ θρησκευόν
τῇ τῶν ἱδιῶν
ἀγωνοθέτην
τῶν μεγάλων
Ἀσκληπείαν
```

Quintus Flavius Hermadion, son of Quintus Flavius Hermadion the most excellent gymnasiarch1 and chief priest. The worshippers [of Sarapis] (set this up) for their own president (agonothete)2 of the great Asklepieia.

Comments

This association of worshipers of Sarapis erected this inscription to honour their benefactor who was gymnasiarch (γυμνασιάρχης) and chief priest (ἀρχιερεύς) of the association and who had acted as president of the games (ἀγωνοθέτης) of the great Asklepieia. It honours the son of the honouree of SIRIS 123 [59] by the same association. Obviously the family was of some wealth and continued to patronize this association. The festival of the “great Asklepieia” seems to be different from the annual “Asklepieia,” and may have taken place every fifth year (Lemerle 1935:146).3 It is odd that an association of Sarapistai would hold such a festival at all, instead of the obvious Sarapieia, attested elsewhere. It probably indicates a syncretism of two dieties and shows that the Egyptian gods came to be thought of having healing powers (Lemerle 1935:146-47).

---

1 For another gymnasiarch of an association of Sarapistai see IKos 371.
2 This indicates that the honouree funded the games, which were quite lavish and indicate a certain degree of wealth (Lemerle 1935:146).
3 Evidence for it also comes from Epidaurus (Rocher, Lexicon I p. 631), Kos (SIG3 1064, 1065), Ancyra (OGIS 547), and Cyzique (IGRP 4 no. 143).
Philippi

Testamentary Foundation Involving Associations

Provenance: Philippi

Date: II-III CE


Published: Collart 1937:74-75 n. 3 no. 8 (second part only); AE 1937 no. 51.

Publication Used: Lemmere 1936:337.

Current Location:

Literature:

Related Inscriptions: → IG X/2 260 [41]; CIL III 703 [51], 704 [52], 707 [53]; IMakedD 920 [55]; [Philippi 3 [63].

Stele of local marble measuring 1.26 x 0.64 x 0.40 m, although it is very slightly wider at the bottom. At the top of the stele appear the busts of three draped people whose faces are mutilated. The sides of the stone are smooth but the back has been dug out in the shape of a washbasin. The inscription extends into the site on the stone which would be used to secure it to its base, indicating that it was not well calculated in advance (Lemmere 1936:337).

Aurēs(ai)ων · Σιπύρουν
ētōn · Δ’ · ἐνθάδε
καὶ · Οὐαλλερία/ερία Μαντάναι
τῷ εἰδῶν ἄνδρι καὶ
αἰώνῇ ἰχνὸς ἐποίησεν · ἑὰν δὲ τις
μεταρρύθη τὸν βωμὸν
tούτον · δώσαι τῇ πόλιι
X χλώει καὶ δηλάτωρ-
μι · X · Φ’ ·
Οὐαλλερία Μαντάναι κα-
τὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ ἄνθροπος Αὐρη-
λίου Ζιπύρους Διζανος Ἰδω-
κα συντοσοῦ θεό Σουρεγέθου
πρὸς τὴν ἄγοραν παρὰ τὸ ἀργο-
λίδιν Χ ΤΙΝ · ἀφ’ ὧν ἐκ τῶν τόκων
παρακαλάσκασιν κατὰ μόδους · [ἐὰν
δὲ] ἥμη παρακαλάσκασιν, δώσοι [μου]
προσετέμουν τὰ προτεγράφεμεν
δὲ πλάθτω τοῖς τοιούτοις α瑙 "Ηρ[ων]ος
πρὸς τὰς Τορβιανᾶ.

And if anyone should remove this altar let them give 1000 denarii to the merchants and 500 denarii to the informant (delator).

Valeria Montana, according to the will of her husband Aurelius Zipuron, Didzanus, gave 150 denarii to the symposium of the god Souregethes at the side of the the marketplace beside the clock.1 From which, out of the interest, they will light the tombside fire in accordance with (the customs for) the rosalia. And if they do not light the tombside fire, they will give double the above written fines to the associates of the shrine of the Hero near the Torbiana.2

---

1 This is the only attestation for this word (LSJ Supp. s.v.); it may be an elision of συμποσίασται.

2 An instrument for telling time, either a sundial or a hydraulic clock; neither has been found in the agora at Philippi.

This is a neuter plural latinism, torviana. It is probably a significant construction undertaken by a certain Torvus. Often buildings, atriums, water fountains, etc. were named after the one responsible for their construction. It would be obvious to all who lived there which place was thus designated (Lemmere 1936:341)
Provenance: Philippi


Current Location: Destroyed.


Related Inscriptions: —

The inscription was found on a slab of white marble by Mertzides in 1872 in a military post which he claims was subsequently destroyed. The trustworthiness of this inscription has been questioned by Robert (1939:142, pointing out that Mertzides is known to have fabricated evidence; see Pilhofer 1995:178) but affirmed by Lemerle (1945:28-29), Kanatsoules, and Pilhofer (1995:179-82). The latter thinks that it must be authentic as a bold falsifier such as Mertzides was would have included the name of Lydia or even Paul had he invented the inscription. Pilhofer (1995:180-81) also suggests that a note about seeing an inscription with the word ΘΑΤΕΙΠΘ(ΩΝ) suggests that this inscription was also seen independently by G. Lampakes (“Δοξάτο, Φιλικτοί, Νάταλις (τον Καβάλλα), Ξάνθη, Αβδήρα,” Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 6 [1906] 35).

The city honoured from among the purple-dyers, an outstanding citizen, Antiochus, the son of Lycus, a native of Thyatira (as a benefactor).

Comments

The existence of the purple trade is also attested in a very fragmentary Latin inscription which reads [pu]prurai [CIL III 664]. Although the first two letters are reconstructed, Pilhofer (1995:176 n. 6) notes that a search for the letters RPVRARI in the PHI-CD-ROM #5.3 turned up no other meaningful possibilities for this combination of letters.
**IPhilippi 3**

**Bequest to an Association of Grave-diggers**

**Provenance:** Philippi

**Date:** n.d.


**Published:** Perdrizet 1900:306 no. 2; Collart 1937:286 n. 5, 474 n. 3 no. 5, 480 and n. 1.

**Publication Used:** Perdrizet 1900:306.

**Current Location:**

**Literature:** Ziebarth 1903:305 no. 76; Poland 1909:555 B 62.

**Related Inscriptions:** → IG X/2 260 [41]; CIL III 703 [51], 704 [52], 707 [53]; IMakedD 1104 [54]; IPhilippi 1 [61].

The stone measures 1.85 x 0.52 x 0.31 m. The engraving is regular and deep; Perdrizet (1900:306) calls the inscription “well-executed.” At the top the Thracian Horseman is engraved within a square.

```
Μάντας ἰδίω τόκινον
Σουδίων Παυβίλας ἔ-
των καὶ μινής χάριν.
Καταλείπω δὲ κοι-

5
[π]ίεσιν Καλπαπου-

ῥείτα(ι)ς Χ ῥοῦ. Περα-

κόσσουσιν δὲ ἐπαξι

tοῦ ἐτους ῥόδοις.
```

Manta\(^1\) in memory of her own child, Soudios Paibilas, 26 years old.

I bequeathed to the Kalpaoureitian grave-diggers\(^2\) 150 denari.

And they shall light (a fire) beside (this tomb) once a year during the rosalia.

---

\(^{a}\) Found in the ditch along the road between Philippi and Kavalla.

\(^{b}\) Perdrizet (1900:306) refers to this as “imperfectly published.”

1 A woman’s name, frequently found on other inscriptions from various Macedonian and Thracan locales; see Perdrizet 1900:306-08.

2 LSJ s.v. κοπιάτης, which notes κοπιάσων as the dative plural, with reference to this inscription. Ziebarth (1903:305 no. 76) suggests “corpse-bearers” (Leichenträger).
**IPhiippi 4**  
Association of Gladiators' Dedication to Nemesis

**Provenance:** Philippi  
**Edition Princeps:** Chapouthier 1924:289 (drawing, fig. 1; ph., fig. 3).  
**Published:** Bakirtzis, Hendrix, and Buell 1994:8.  
**Publication Used:** Chapouthier 1924:399.

**Current Location:**

**Related Inscriptions:** → IPhilippi 5 [65], 6 [66]; cf. *IG X/2* 62 [31].

Block of Philippian marble with large grains measuring 0.46 m wide. It is sculpted from the same block as IPhilippi 6 [66]. The framework is 0.45 x 0.34 m. The block is chipped along the top and across the top right corner. A low-relief has the goddess Nike holding a palm branch in her left hand and standing on a globe. She is facing forward and her right arm is outstretched and she is holding a wreath or crown in her right hand. The face of the goddess is indistinct. The inscription appears above the relief of Nike and inside the inner frame.

This inscription was found with two other low-relief votives on the doorposts of the door opening into the western parados of the theatre. Each was dedicated by Marcus Velleius Zosimus, a priest of Nemesis.

```
M. Βελλεύος Ζώσι[μος]  
ιερεύς τῆς ἀνεκήτου Νεμ[είς]-  
ως ὑπὲρ φιλοκυνηγῶν τοῦ στέμματος

5  
tὸς τὰ ἄφν-  
δρευ-  
ματα τῶ-  
v θεῶν  
ἐκ τῶν ἰ-  

10  
δῶν ἐ-  
ποίησ-  
eν.
```

**M. Velleius Zosimus,**  
priest of the unconquerable Nemesis,  
on behalf of the association of  
gladiators,\(^1\)  
has made the  
reliefs  
of the  
deities  
at his  
own  
expense.

**Comments**

By the second or third century, if not earlier, there existed an association of gladiators at Philippi. In the theater of Philippi, on the door posts of the opening into the western parados, three low-relief votives were found (IPhilippi 4 [1.64], 5 [1.65] and 6 [1.66]). They were accompanied by a dedication engraved by a priest of Nemesis ὑπὲρ φιλοκυνηγῶν τοῦ στέμματος (literally, "for lovers of the chase of the wreath"). While associations of hunters are known from other areas (Philippopolis, Tomi, Thasos, Ilion, Pergamum, Corinth; Chapouthier 1924:300) that of Philippi took on a special character. The location of these dedications in the theater suggest that this association is known as the "gladiator friends." These gladiators were participants in the *venationes*, the fights against wild animals, which took place in the theater at Philippi, which had been converted for this purpose (Chapouthier 1924:300-01; Collart

---

\(^1\) Lit. "lovers of the chase of the wreath."
The dedications are probably votives given after successful matches. The placement of these votives in the entrance to the modified orchestra area itself would serve as a moral support for the combatants entering into the arena. The religious nature of the association of gladiators is not surprising as many of the circus events had their origins in religion and were much like ritual (Chapouthier 1924:301). There also exists a fragmentary inscription from Raktcha in which a thiasum honours the benefactor of gladiatorial games (IRaktcha 2 [1.73]). Since Raktcha is a village quite close to Philippi, the games referred to probably took place in Philippi itself. This is further evidence of the connections between voluntary associations and the gladiatorial games at Philippi.
IPhilippi 5
Association of Gladiators' Dedication to Nemesis

Provenance: Philippi

Date: II-III CE

Edition Princeps: Chapouthier 1924:293 (drawing, fig. 2; ph. fig. 4).

Published:

Publication Used: Chapouthier 1924:293.

Current Location:


Related Inscriptions: →IPhilippi 4 [64], 6 [66], IG X/2 62 [31].

Block of Philippian marble with large grains measuring 0.44 m wide. The framework is 0.42 x 0.25 m. The block is very eroded and is completely broken at the bottom. A low-relief depicts the goddess Nemesis. Her face is eroded, as is the scale she is holding in her right hand. At her left foot is a wheel with six spokes and in her left hand she holds a scroll. The inscription appears above the relief and is fragmentary.

This relief was found with two other low-relief votives on the doorposts of the door opening into the western parados of the theatre. Each was dedicated by Marcus Velleius Zosimus, a priest of Nemesis.

M. Be[λ][λε[θ][ος]
Z[ώσιμος ι[β][θ][ος]
τῆς ἀνεικέτου Νε[μέος]-
e[θ].

Marcus Velleius
Zosimus, priest
of the unconquerable
Nemesis.

Comments

See IPhilippi 4 [64].
IPhilippi 6
Association of Gladiators’ Dedication to Nemesis

Provenance: Philippi
Date: II-III CE

Edition Princeps: Chapouthier 1925:240 (drawing, fig. 1; ph., fig. 2).

Publication Used: Chapouthier 1925:240.

Current Location:


Related Inscriptions: → IPhilippi 4 [64], 5 [65], IG X/2 62 [31].

A stele of Philippian marble with large grains originally measuring 0.54 m wide. It is sculpted from the same block as that of IPhilippi 4 [64]. The left side has been completely eroded and the face is now 0.38 m wide. The framework around a low-relief measures 0.40 x 0.30 m. The relief depicts the god Mars standing upright and looking straight out. He is dressed as a Roman legionnaire near the end of the empire. A shield is strapped to his left forearm and he holds a spear in his left hand. The object in his right hand is indistinct. The inscription appears above the relief and inside the framework.

This relief was found with two other low-relief votives on the doorposts of the door opening into the western parados of the theatre. Each was dedicated by M. Velleius Zosimus, a priest of Nemesis.

[Μ. Βελλείους ᾿Ζώσιμος]
[ἔρευς Νεμέως] τῆς θεοῦ ἀνειλή-
[τοῦ ὑπὸ φιλακοινηγῶν τοῦ στήμ-
-ματος.]

[ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τὰ [ἀφοθεὶ]όμα[τα].

Marcus Velleius ...lenus Zosimus,
priest of Nemesis, the unconquerable goddess,
on behalf of the association of gladiators.

(He has made) the reliefs
(of the deities) at his own expense.

Comments
See IPhilippi 4 [64].

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a This last phrase is suggested by Chapouthier (1925:241 n. 3) on analogy with IPhilippi 4 (000). Only a few letters are visible on this inscription.
Philippi 7
Association of Worshippers of Cupid

Provenance: Philippi
Date: n.d.
Published: Paul Lemerle, "'Nouvelles inscriptions latines de Philippes," BCH 61 (1937) 414 no. 7 (ph.); AE 1938:324 no. 53.
Publication Used: Lemerle 1937:414 no. 7.
Current Location:
Literature:
Related Inscriptions:

Stele moulded on three sides and measuring 1.23 x 0.56 m. Much of the front face has been effaced.

Gn Velleio
Ursus, acto-
ri col., an. XLII,
cultores Cupid[i]-
n[is....]

Gnaeus Velleius
Ursus, actor
coloniae, year 42
(set up by) the worshippers of Cupid

Comments
The title of actor coloniae, or "'civic benefacor,"' on this gravestone is like the the titles actor rei
publicae, municipii, civitatis and suggests that this member of the association Cupid had some official
part to play in the administration of the colony, probably in the management of goods in the public area
(Lemerle 1937:414). Such a role would indicate that he was a freeman (Lemerle 1937:414).
I.Philippi 8
Person Honoured by his Fellow Associates

Provenance: Philippi
Date: n.d.
Editio Princeps: Paul Collart, "Inscriptions de Philippes," BCH 62 (1938) 431-32 no. 11 (fig. 6).
Published: Collart 1938:431 no. 11.
Published: Collart 1937:270.
Current Location:
Literature:
Related Inscriptions: →

Stele of local marble measuring 0.60 x 0.53 x 0.18 m. The top is shaped like a pediment under which appears the inscription in a space measuring 0.41 x 0.48 m. The bottom of the stele is broken. The deity is left unspecified and it is unclear whether the stele is meant to be a funerary stele or is set up in honour of the person named (Collart [1938:431-32] favours the latter).

C. Fideio f(ilio)
co(n)sacrani

(Dedicated) to Gaius Fideius, son of Gaius (Fideius), by his fellow associates.¹

¹ Consacrani is the Latin equivalent of συμμόστα (Collart 1938:414).
**IPhilippi 9**  
*Association of Liber and Libera and Hercules*

**Provenance:** Philippi  
**Edition Princps:** Collart 1937:414 n. 1 (pl. 68/2).  
**Published:** Portefaix 1988:100 n. 131.  
**Publication Used:** Collart 1937:414 n. 1.  
**Current Location:**  
**Literature:**  
**Related Inscriptions:** –>IPhilippi 10 [70], 11 [71]; IRaktcha 3 [74]; Salaé 1923:75 no. 33.

---

```
ex imperio  
Liberi et Liberae  
et Herculis,  
nequis nequ-eve velit faciem  
tangere, nesi  
siqui imperat-um fuaret  
ex imperio,  
Pomponia  
10 Hilara posuit
```

---

**By the authority**  
**of Liber and Libera**  
**and Hercules**  
**Let no one desire**  
**to touch the face/form,** ¹  
**unless**  
**that one has been**  
**commanded to do so by authority.**  
**Pomponia**  
**Hilara set this up.**

---

**Comments**

This inscription lists the deities Liber, Libera, and Hercules, the same deities who received the dedication of the *thiasus Maenadarum regianarum* at Philippi (IPhilippi 10 [1.70]). Pomponia Hilara may belong to this association. Two other private dedications by women may also be affiliated with this association. The first reads Salvia | Pisidia | Lib[ero] Pat[ri] M N (Collart 1937:415 n. 4; Portefaix 1988:100 n. 132). The second reads Pisidia | Helpis | L[ibero] P[atri], v. s. | I. a. (=votum soluit animo libens; Collart 1937:415 n. 4; Cagnat 1914:471; Portefaix 1988:100 n. 133).

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¹ Perhaps this indicates the dedication of a statue ('faciem'); Portefaix 1988:101.
No. 70

IPhilippi 10
Association of Liber and Libera and Hercules

Provenance: Philippi

Date: n.d.

Editio Princeps: Collart 1937:368 n. 1, 414 n.1 (pl. 68/3).

Published: AE 1939:299 no. 192; Portefaix 1988:100 n. 129.

Publication Used: Collart 1937:368 n. 1.

Current Location:

Related Inscriptions: →IPhilippi 9 [69], 11 [71]; IRaktcha 3 [74]; Salač 1923:75 no. 33.

Lib(ero) et Lib(erae) et Herc(uli),
thiasus Maenad(arum)
regianar(um) aq-
[ua]m induxit [p(osteris) s(uis)]

(Dedicated) to Liber and Libera and Hercules
by the thiasos of the distinguished maenads
brought in water¹
[for their decendants]

¹ Perhaps “built a water conduit.”
Provenance: Philippi
Published: Portefaix 1988:100 n. 134.
Current Location:
Literature:
Related Inscriptions: →IPhilippi 9 [69], 10 [70]; lRaktcha 3 [74]; Salač 1923:75 no. 33.

Lib(ero) et Lib(erae)
Herc(uli) sac(rum),
C. Valer.
Fortunatus cum Marronia Eutycia,
[ε] ux[ore]

Gaius Valerius Fortunatus
with Marronia Eutycia, his wife,
(dedicated this) sanctuary
to Liber and Libera and Hercules
Provenance: Raktha

Date: II-III CE

Editio Princeps: Collart 1933:370-73 no. 28 (ph.).

Published:
Publication Used: Collart 1933:372 no. 28.

Current Location:

Literature: Collart 1937:269.

Related Inscriptions: →CIL III 633 [57]; IRaktha 2 [73].

The stone measures 0.53 x 0.48 x 0.13 m and is broken at the top left corner and the lower left side. Since it a fragmentary list of names it is left untranslated.

.................us
.................ndus
..............Niger.
...........ivi[.....Here]nius · Zoticus

5 [...Ma]rcellus · L(ucius) · Eprius · Tertullus ·
[...Her]ennianus · pec(unia) · inlata ·
.......erna · P(ublius) · Rufrius · Maximus ·
.......dus · M(arcus) · Herennius Priscinus ·
[....Sec]undus · Q(uintus) · Manius · Proculus ·

10 ............ens · L(ucius) · Atiarius · Hilarus
...........iens · Q(uintus) Cossutius Hilarus
...........lis · L(ucius) · Salvius · Niger · filius)
...........Ti(berius) · Caecina · Celer ·
...........idius · Fortunatus ·

15 ............onius · Ianuarius · pec(unia) in(lata).
..............viu[s..... ........

Comments
This inscription testifies to an association like that of CIL III 633 [57]. It may be a list of members of an association of worshippers of Silvanus (Collart 1933:372-73).
Provenance: Raktcha


Published:

Publication Used: Collart 1937:417 n. 2.

Current Location:

Literature:

Related Inscriptions: → CIL III 703 [51], 704 [52].

A mutilated, fragmentary inscription.

...ut eorum...
... thiasum muner...
...eorum celebrent...
 scriberentur.

......
thiasos ..
benefactor of gladiatorial games....
to be recorded.

Comments

Collart (1937:417) suggests this is an association of the same god as that of CIL III 703 [51] and 704 [52]—Liber Pater Tasibastenus—because of the use of the latinized form thiasum.
Provenance: Raktcha


Current Location:

Related Inscriptions: → IPhilippi 9 [69], 10 [70], 11 [71]; Salač 1923:75 no. 33.

[L]ibe[ro]
[et] Lib[erae]
[s]acrum...

[N dedicated this] sanctuary
to Liber
and Libera
CIL III/1 656
Bequest for the vicani of Median

Provenance: Selian

Date: n.d.


Published: W. Fröhner, "Griechische und lateinische inschriften," Philologus 19 (1863) 138 no. 20; IMakedD 995; CIL 3 656;

Publication Used: CIL 3 656.

Current Location: Paris.

Literature: Collart 1937:270-71, 71 n.1, 287, 474 n.3; 475 n.1.

Related Inscriptions: → see Collart 1937:271 n. 1.

Large stone plaque, broken on the bottom.

P. Opimio P. f. Vol. Felici an(norum) XX
Tagini[a] | Quarta, quae et Polla, filio
f(aciendum) c(uravit). Hic ab hered[e] | matre
post obitum eius legavit libertis matris et suis |
posterisq(ue) eorum fundos Aemilian(um) et
Psychian(um), ne unquam || [d]e familia exeat,
sed ut ex reditu eorum ii qui s(upra) s(critpi)
(sunt) moniment[um] | eiuis et parentium eius
colant et ipsi alantur ; item vicanis Media[nis |
eadem] condicione ex fundo Psychiano
vinea[rum] pl(ethra?) ... legavit.

Publius Opimius Volarius Felix, son of Publius, 20 years old. Tanginia Quarta, also called Polla, made this (tomb) for her son. Herewith after her death she bequeaths by testament as heir and mother to her freedmen and to their descendents the Aemilian lands and the Psychian lands on the condition that they not be alienated from the family but that from their income those persons whose names are inscribed below shall take care of the monument and the parentalia and they will keep doing it. Furthermore, she bequeaths by testament to the vicanii of Median, on the same conditions (a number of) plethra of vineyards from the Psychian lands.

Comments
In many villages the vicani associated for religious and funerary purposes (Collart 1937:270-71).

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a A village near Philippi.

1 Heuzey (1862:324) suggests that the village of Selain was situated on the Psychian land, and that Median was close by.
Appendix II

Maps and Site Plans
DISTRICTS OF ROMAN MACEDONIA.
PLAN OF PHILIPPI

- Neapolis Gate
- Krenides Gate
- Gate in the Marshes
- Colonial Arch

Battle of Philippi

0 200 yards
0 200 metres
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