THE FIRST URBAN CHURCHES 1
METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

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Ronald F. Hock, Editor

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Abbreviations

Ancient Sources

Aen.	Virgil, *Aeneid*
Ann.	Tacitus, *Annales*
Att.	Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*
Aug.	Suetonius, *Augustus*
Bell. civ.	Appian, *Bella civilia*; Caesar, *Bellum civile*
Bell. gall.	Caesar, *Bellum gallicum*
Bell. jug.	Sallust, *Bellum jugurthinum*
Carm.	Horace, *Carmina*
Cat.	Cicero, *In Catalinam*
Cic.	Plutarch, *Cicero*
Civ.	Augustine, *De civitate Dei*
Claud.	Suetonius, *Claudius*
Clem.	Seneca the Younger, *De clementia*
Controv.	Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae*
De or.	Cicero, *De oratore*
Deipn.	Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*
Diag.	Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus*
Diatr.	Epictetus, *Diatribai* (*Dissertationes*)
Dom.	Cicero, *De domo suo*
Dysk.	Menander, *Dyskolos*
Ep.	Horace, *Epistulae*; Martial, *Epigrams*; Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*
Epod.	Horace, *Epodi*
Fab. Aes.	Phaedrus, *Fabulae Aesopiae*
Geogr.	Strabo, *Geographica*
Har. resp.	Cicero, *De haruspicum responso*
Hermot.	Lucian, *Hermotimus* (*De sectis*)
Hist.	Sallust, *Historiae*; Tacitus, *Historiae*

Inst.	Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*
J.W.	Josephus, *Jewish War*
Leg. man.	Cicero, *Pro Lege manilia* (*De imperio Cn. Pompeii*)
Merc. cond.	Lucian, *De mercede conductis*
Metam.	Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*
Mor.	Plutarch, *Moralia*
Mur.	Cicero, *Pro Murena*
Nat.	Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*
Nec.	Lucian, *Necyomantia*
Noct. att.	Gellius, *Noctes atticae*
Or.	Demosthenes, *Orationes*
Pauper. amand.	Gregory of Nyssa, *De pauperibus amandis*
Phaedr.	Plato, *Phaedrus*
Pisc.	Lucian, *Piscator*
Plut.	Aristophanes, *Plutus*
Poet.	Aristotle, *Poetica*
Pol.	Aristotle, *Politica*
Pont.	Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto*
Rep.	Cicero, *De republica*
Resp.	Plato, *Respublica*
Saec.	Horace, *Carmen saeculare*
Sat.	Juvenal, *Satirae*
Saturn.	Lucian, *Saturnalia*
Sest.	Cicero, *Pro Sestio*
Somn.	Lucian, *Somnium* (*Vita Luciani*); Philo, *De somniis*
Theaet.	Plato, *Theaetatus*
Theog.	Hesiod, *Theogonia*
Tib.	Suetonius, *Tiberius*
Tr.	Ovid, *Tristia*
Val.	Tertullian, *Adversus Valentinianos*
Virt.	Philo, *De virtutibus*
Vit. Aesop.	*Vita Aesopi*
Vit. Mos.	Philo, *Vita Mosis*

Secondary Sources

ABSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
AE	*L'Année épigraphique*. Edited by René Cagnat et al. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1888–.

AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*. Part 2, *Principat*. Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–.
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*
APF	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*
AuOr	*Aula Orientalis*
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BCHSupp	Supplements to Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BE	Bulletin épigraphique
BGU	*Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895–.
Bib	*Biblica*
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BR	*Biblical Research*
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Edited by August Boeckh. 4 vols. Berlin, 1828–1877
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin, 1862–.
CJ	*Classical Journal*

ConBNT	Coniectanea Neotestamentica or Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
CRAI	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
DocsAug	*Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*. Edited by V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones. Oxford: Clarendon, 1963.
DocsGaius	*Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero*. Edited by E. M. Smallwood. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.
EDNT	*Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider. 3 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990–1993.
GR	*Greece and Rome*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
IEph	Wankel, Hermann, et al., eds. *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. 8 vols. Bonn: Habelt, 1979–1984.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*. Editio Minor. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1924–
IGRR	*Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*
IK	*Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*. Edited by Helmut Engelmann. Bonn: Habelt: 1972–.
IKorinthKent	Kent, John Harvey. *The Inscriptions 1926–1950*. Vol. 8.3 of *Corinth: Results of Excavations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966.
IMT	Barth, Matthias, and Josef Stauber. *Inschriften Mysia und Troas*. Munich: Leopold Wenger-Institut, 1993.
Int	*Interpretation*
IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JGRChJ	*Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JNAA	*Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia*

JÖAI	*Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRH	*Journal of Religious History*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer- Kommentar)
LBW	Le Bas, Philippe, and William Henry Waddington, eds. *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*. Paris: Didot, 1870.
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LGPN	*A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Edited by P.M. Fraser and Elaine Matthews. 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1987–2010.
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*. Edited by W. M. Calder et al. London: Manchester University Press; Longmans, Green, 1928–.
MDAI	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
MEFR	*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école français de Rome*
NewDocs	*New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. Edited by G. H. R. Horsley et al. North Ryde, NSW: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1981–.
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NumC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
ÖAI	Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts

OCD	*Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Edited by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012
OEANE	*The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*. Edited by Eric M. Meyers. 5 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997
OGI	*Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. Edited by Wilhelm Dittenberger. 2 vols. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903–1905.
OTL	Old Testament Library
P.Bas.	Rabel, Ernst, and Wilhelm Spiegelberg, eds. *Papyrusurkunden der Öffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität zu Basel*. 2 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1917.
P.Berl.Bork.	Borkowski, Zbigniew, ed. *Une description topographique des immeubles à Panopolis*. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975.
P.Mich.	*Michigan Papyri*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1931–.
P.Oslo	Eitrem, Samson, and Leiv Amundsen, eds. *Papyri Osloenses*. 3 vols. Oslo: Dybwad, 1925–1936.
P.Oxy.	Grenfell, Bernard P., et al., eds. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898–.
P.Ryl.	Hunt, Arthur S., et al., eds. *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*. 4 vols. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1911–1952.
PG	Patrologia Graeca [= *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca*]. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 162 vols. Paris: Migne, 1857–1886.
PHI	Packhard Humanities Institute
PW	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. New edition by Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll. 50 vols. in 84 parts. Stuttgart: Metzler & Druckenmüller, 1894–1980
RechPap	*Recherches de Papyrologie*
RevPhil	*Revue de philologie*
RIC	*The Roman Imperial Coinage*. Edited by Harold Mattingly. 10 vols. London: Spink, 1923–1994.
RIDA	*Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité*
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World

RPC	*Roman Provincial Coinage*
RTR	*Reformed Theological Review*
SB	*Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*. Edited by Friedrich Preisigke et al. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1915–.
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum graecum
SIG	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Edited by Wilhelm Dittenberger. 4 vols. 3rd ed. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1915–1924
SNTSMS	Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series
ST	*Studia Theologica*
Studia Pontica	Anderson, J. G. C., Franz Cumont, and Henri Grégoire. *Studia Pontica*. 3 vols. Brussels: Lamertin, 1903–1910.
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TAPA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*
TENTS	Texts and Editions for New Testament Study
TextMin	Textus Minores
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

The First Urban Churches: Introduction

James R. Harrison

1. Introduction

1.1. The Rationale of The First Urban Churches Series

The series The First Urban Churches investigates the expansion of early Christianity as an urban phenomenon from Jerusalem to Rome. This will be explored primarily from the perspective of Paul's letters and the books of Acts and Revelation against the backdrop of the local documentary and archaeological evidence. The rationale for this approach is that two blind spots have traditionally vitiated the scholarly study of the corporate and civic life of the first urban believers in the eastern and western Mediterranean basin. First, scholars have focused on the literary evidence of the literate upper classes throughout the empire at the expense of the local documentary, numismatic, archaeological, and iconographic evidence of the Mediterranean cities in which the early churches flourished. Second, almost by way of reaction to the upper-class bias of our literary sources, the first Christians have been caricatured as a "lower-class" phenomenon, though significant scholars such as Edwin Judge, Abraham Malherbe, and Gerd Theissen have challenged this stereotype of Christian origins.[1]

1. For a brief overview of the scholarship, supportive and critical of Judge's approach, see James R. Harrison, introduction to *The First Christians in the Roman World: Augustan and New Testament Essays*, by E. A. Judge, ed. James R. Harrison, WUNT 229 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 17–20. Contra Justin J. Meggitt, *Paul, Poverty and Survival* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998). Most recently, see Bruce W. Longenecker, *Remember the Poor: Paul, Poverty, and the Greco-Roman World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), passim; L. L. Welborn, *An End to Enmity: Paul and the "Wrongdoer" of Second Corinthians*, BZNW 185 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 230–81.

Adolf Deissmann's conclusion regarding the "lower-class" social position of the early Christians, however, emerged historically by his narrow focus on the papyrus evidence as the formative background for the understanding early Christianity, though Deissmann's position on the social location of the first believers is more nuanced than has been generally recognized.[2] Additionally, New Testament researchers have failed to bring the full range of documentary and archaeological evidence into sympathetic dialogue with the upper-class literary evidence and the writings of the New Testament. Wayne Meeks's sociological approach to the urban environment of the early Christians has posed the right questions regarding the social location of the New Testament texts, but it has failed to generate the detailed city-by-city approach, based on a close analysis of the local civic evidence, that is required to understand the experiences of the first urban Christians and their writings.[3] Only recently are we starting to see the emergence of such an approach in the publications of New Testament scholars.

The series The First Urban Churches seeks to redress this imbalance by (1) launching a city-by-city study of the key centers of the urban expansion of early Christianity, and (2) reinvigorating the study of specific cities in which the first believers lived through the relevant literary and New Testament sources being brought into dialogue with the local documentary, archaeological, iconographic, and numismatic evidence. It seeks to bring together New Testament and classical scholars in the study of the New Testament writings as primary evidence for the understanding of civic and religious life in the first-century Mediterranean world. It is hoped that

Thanks are expressed to Julien M. Ogereau, who read this essay, gave helpful feedback, and suggested extra literature at stages.

2. Adolf Deissmann, "Primitive Christianity and the Lower Classes," *Expositor* 7 (1909): 208–24; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts from the Graeco-Roman World*, 2nd ed. (1927; repr., Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978). For a helpful correction of popular misrepresentations of Deissmann's views regarding the early Christians' social location, see Longenecker, *Remember the Poor*, 255 n. 13.

3. Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003). For an insightful critique of Meeks's sociological methodology in relation to ancient cities, see Richard L. Rohrbaugh, "The City in the Second Testament," *BTB* 21 (1991): 67–75, esp. 68. More recently, see Reinhard von Bendemann and Markus Tiwald, eds., *Das frühe Christentum und die Stadt*, BWANT 198 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2012).

the wide range of methodologies and disciplines employed in this investigation would ensure a more holistic approach than has been the case in the past. The first volume of The First Urban Churches, therefore, investigates the methodology of responsibly handling the nonliterary evidence in reconstructing the political, social, and religious life of ancient cities.

1.2. Defining the Ancient Polis: Methodological Issues

Several comments on the methodology of defining polis in the ancient world are warranted. We must let our ancient sources speak in their own terms about what constitutes the polis, taking into account the genre of writing employed and allowing for their diversity of approach. First, in the philosophical literature, Aristotle famously speaks of humans as "political" animals by nature because they find their perfection in the self-sufficiency of the polis, which, in his view, is also "among the things by nature" (*Pol.* 1253a2–3). The "village" represents the partnership arising from the union of several "households" (*Pol.* 1255b19–20), whereas the polis is composed of several villages that attain full self-sufficiency for their inhabitants (*Pol.* 1252b28–29, 31–53a1).[4] The New Testament also maintains the distinction between "village" and "city," though without explaining the grounds for the distinction (Matt 9:35; 10:11; Mark 6:56; Luke 8:1; 13:22).[5] One presumes that the distinction was axiomatic for the auditors and did not require any amplification.

However, Aristotle admits that there were (presumably monarchic) alternatives to the polis (*Pol.* 1252b19–20), but he dismisses them as prepolitical.[6] But the historical reality was that the New Testament polis of the postclassical world was situated within larger entities of "empire" that also sponsored their own versions of "self-sufficiency," whether they were the Hellenistic monarchies of the past or the current Roman provincial system. The classical ideal of the *autarkeia* ("self-sufficiency": Aristotle, *Pol.* 1321b; cf. 2 Cor 9:8) and autonomy of the polis may have been very occasionally part of the civic rhetoric,[7] but it was no longer the political reality.

4. For full discussion, see Thomas L. Pangle, *Aristotle's Teaching in the* Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

5. Rohrbaugh, "City in the Second Testament," 67.

6. Pangle, *Aristotle's Teaching*, 33.

7. Note the possible restoration of "[αὐτάρ]κειαν of the Colossian people" (l. 5)

Second, according to the second-century CE geographer and ethnographer Pausanias, a "village" was distinguished, in comparison to the polis, by there being "no government buildings, no theatre, no agora, no water conducted to a fountain, and … the people live in hovels like mountain cabins on the edge of a ravine" (10.4.1).[8] Here the polis is understood in terms of its civic, political, cultural, and infrastructural activities carried on within the boundaries of its precincts. Clearly, in the understanding of Pausanias, the "civilizing" role of the polis for its inhabitants and its hinterland is symbolized by its substantial civic structures within the city itself.[9] Conversely, from the Roman perspective of Cicero, when early human beings gathered together "they called such a collocation of buildings a town or a city, being punctuated with shrines and common spaces" (Cicero, *Har. resp.* 1.41). As Richard Jenkyns pithily observes, "Worship and public area—these are the basics."[10]

Third, the polis is also defined in terms of its mythological origins, actions, and accomplishments.[11] The Ephesian inscriptions are a helpful

in a decree (first–second century CE) honoring the repairer of the baths at Colossae (Alan Cadwallader, "Honouring the Repairer of the Baths at Colossae," *NewDocs* 10:110–13). If Cadwallader's restoration is correct, the city asserts both self-sufficiency and (implicitly) autonomy from any rquirement of imperial patronage because of the beneficence extended to the city by its wealthy elite citizens. However, a factor counting against Cadwallader's very cautious and guarded restoration of αὐτάρκεια, which is certainly possible, is the the rarity of the word in the inscriptional corpora. A web search of the Packhard Humanities Institute Greek Epigraphy program only furnished one case of its occcurence (*SEG* 26.121 [Attica: 10/9–3/2 BCE]), itself heavily restored.

8. See M. I. Finley, "The Ancient City: From Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19 (1977): 305–27.

9. On the hinterland as part of the polis, see IEph 1a.7.2, l. 11 ("the Ephesians who live in Ephesus or in the countryside;" cf. l. 15) and IEph 1a.8, ll. 16–17 ("the protection, safety and salvation both of the temple of Artemis and of the city and its countryside"). The strong nexus between the hinterland and polis is seen in the civilizing of the barbarians as they settled down to agriculture and, consequently, to urban life (Strabo, *Geogr.* 4.1.5). See John Rich and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, eds., *City and Country in the Ancient World* (London: Routledge, 1991).

10. Richard Jenkyns, *God, Space, and City in the Roman Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 114.

11. Rohrbaugh, "City in the Second Testament," 67. Note Ovid's comments regarding the relation of Rome's imperial identity to her god/gods: "Rome, which looks around the whole globe from its seven hills, the site of empire and the gods" (*Tr.*

source for providing this perspective on "polis." The polis of Ephesus is spoken of in terms of its divine origins. An inscription celebrating the power of Artemis over a sorcerer's art announces at the outset the relation of Artemis to Ephesus: "she is the leader of the entire city from (its) origin (being the) midwife and increaser of mortals and giver of produce."[12] The "antiquity of the god's cult" is emphasized (IEph 1a.18b, l. 4), as well as the fact that the impact of Artemis's divine manifestations (IEph 1a.24B, ll. 8–14), has made Ephesus internationally famous.

> Since the goddess Artemis, leader of our city, is honoured not only in her homeland, which she has made the most illustrious of all cities through her own divine nature, but also among the Greeks and also the barbarians, the result is that everywhere her shrines and sanctuaries have sprung up, and temples have been founded for her and altars dedicated to her because of the visible manifestations effected by her.

The status of the city is also enhanced by its status of being a "twice" (IEph 1a.22; 1a.23; 2.728; 3.730; 5.1606) or "thrice" *neokoros* (IEph 2.212), referring to its privileged position as a warden of multiple temples of the imperial cult.[13] In other words, the illustrious status of a polis in the Greek East was increasingly determined by its *fides* to Rome and the reciprocation of honor to the ruler for his patronage. By contrast, the *neokoros* reference in Acts 19:35 refers to Ephesus as warden of the illustrious civic cult of Artemis alone.[14] The earliest inscriptional *neokoros* occurrence occurs in the Domitianic inscription that refers to the "the *neokoros* city of the Augusti of the Ephesians" (IEph 6.2034).[15] However, the rivalry between

1.5.69–70); "Rome, the city of Mars, shall look forth victorious from its hill upon the conquered globe" (*Tr.* 1.3.7.51–52).

12. James R. Harrison, "Artemis Triumphs over a Sorcerer's Evil Art," *NewDocs* 10:37–47, §8, ll. 3–4. Note IEph 1a.27, l. 13: "the greatest goddess Artemis, from whom the most beautiful things come to all."

13. For discussion, see Steven J. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 116 (Leiden: Brill, 1993); Barbara Burrell, *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors*, Cincinnati Classical Studies 2/9 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 58–85.

14. This interpretation is confirmed by a Neronian coin with the legend Ἐφεσίων νεωκόρων on the reverse (Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, 53).

15. Friesen (ibid., 56–57) has posited that the numismatic evidence of the Domitianic period reveals two "twice *neokoros*" coins, announcing the innovation of a cult of Artemis and of the Sebastoi. However, the epigraphic evidence, which is highly

Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamum as *neokoroi* meant that each city aspired for the status of being called a "metropolis,"[16] an honorific that Ephesus flaunted in the face of its rivals (IEph 1a.22, ll. 34–42).

> Because of these things even now, for good fortune, it was decided by the world's artists under the patronage of Dionysius and imperator T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, victors of sacred games, crowned victors and their competitors who meet at the quinquennial contest (held) in the *greatest* and *first* metropolis of Asia, and the twice-neokoros-of-the-Augusti city of the great Ephesians.[17]

In short, the differing genres of evidence and styles of rhetoric relating to "polis" have to be respected. We are provided with a variety of apertures through which we can look at what a city was (or was perceived to be) in the minds of the ancients. We must therefore resist the temptation to view the ancient polis from our industrial and postindustrial perspectives, or reduce our understanding of the city to a single concept,[18] or assume, given the diversity of the ancient evidence, that a sociological approach will generate a better conceptual understanding of what constitutes a polis.[19]

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sensitive to these issues, is unequivocally clear in refuting this position: the appearance of "twice *neokoros*" only appeared in the period of Hadrian, transitioning from a reference to *neokoros* alone in 130/131 CE (IEph 2.430: τῷ νεωκόρῳ Ἐφεσίω[ν]) to "twice *neokoros*" in 132 CE (*IG* II^2 3297). See Barbara Burrell, "Temples of Hadrian, not Zeus," *GRBS* 43 (2003): 31–50, esp. 44. As Burrell has argued, the Domitianic coin evidence to which Friesen appeals in order to establish a "twice *neokoris*" legend has been shown to have been recut later, with the result that these falsified Ephesian coins deceived early numismatic interpreters, as well their followers who have relied on their arguments (Burrell, *Neokoroi*, 65). In reality, the legends of these falsified coins were based on the post-Hadrianic coinage.

16. IEph 1a.23, ll. 4–5: "the greatest metropolis of Asia, and all but for the (whole) world."

17. For the Ephesian *neokoros* coins, see Barclay Vincent Head, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins of the British Museum: Greek Coins of Ionia* (London: British Museum, 1892), 79–93, §§233–34, 235, 242, 254, 259, 262, 264–265, 268, 270–72, 276–77, 280–81, 291, 298–99, 301–3, 306, 308–9.

18. Finley ("Ancient City," 327) states: "allowing for exceptions, Graeco-Roman towns did not all have common factors of sufficient weight to warrant both their inclusion in a single category and their differentiation from both the oriental and the medieval town."

19. See the classic discussion of Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City: Past and Present* (New York: Free Press, 1960).

Finally, another important aspect of research—sometimes overlooked—that should be seriously considered is the investigation of the hinterlands of city life, focusing on the nearby small villages where archaeological and epigraphic evidence might be available. In particular, the funerary inscriptions, if present, would be crucial for investigating the populace over a period of time. Given that the New Testament maintains the distinction between "village" and "city," a totally "urban" lens to our research might oversimplify the social, parochial, and geographical complexities of ancient life.

1.3. The Ancient City in Modern Scholarship

A brief overview of the main scholarly works on the ancient city is apposite. The foundational work is Fustel de Coulanges's 1864 French classic, which studies the religion, laws, and institutions of Greek and Roman city-states.[20] While the work provides an invaluable collection of literary sources for modern researchers, its scholarship is vitiated by its Aryan evolutionary assumptions and simplistic treatment of the causes of urban development.[21] The polemical nature of de Coulanges's thesis, therefore, should give the reader reason for caution. The works of Mason Hammond and Lewis Mumford cover in broad brushstrokes the urban development of the major ancient civilizations,[22] whereas the two books of A. H. M. Jones are exemplary in their meticulous use of the literary, documentary,

20. Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City: A Study on the Religion, Laws, and Institutions of Greece and Rome* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1955). The French work of Gustave Glotz, *La cité grecque* (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1928: ET, *The Greek City and Its Institutions* [London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1929]) follows de Coulanges's thesis in considering the polis to be the result of the orderly or evolutionary development from the patrician gens. However, Glotz posits that the ancient polis culminates in Athenian democracy and then declines with the advent of the Macedonian conquest. See, however, the appreciative discussion of A. D. Momigliano, "The Ancient City of Fustel de Coulanges (1970)," in *Studies on Modern Scholarship*, ed. G. W. Bowersock and Timothy J. Cornell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 162–78.

21. Rohrbaugh, "City in the Second Testament," 70.

22. Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961); Mason Hammond, *The City in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972). See V. Gordon Childe, "The Urban Revolution," *The Town Planning Review* 21 (1950): 3–17. See also Joyce Marcus and Jeremy A. Sabloff, eds., *The Ancient City: New Perspectives on Urbanism in the Old and New Worlds* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008).

archaeological, and numismatic evidence to establish the nature of provincial urban culture.[23] In terms of Roman cities, John E. Stambaugh's book provides an excellent coverage of the variegated aspects of urban life in Rome, including an overview of the capital's development and Roman urbanism in other areas.[24] As far as western Asia Minor, a collection of essays on the urbanism of several of the biblical cities located there, among others, is valuable.[25] Finally a series of specialist studies on benefaction, cultic officials, civic elites, municipal virtues, magistrates and city government, and the local associations have added great riches to our understanding of the urbanized regions of the Mediterranean basin.[26]

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23. A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971 [orig. 1937]); Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940).

24. John E. Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988). See also Peter Connolly and Hazel Dodge, *The Ancient City: Life in Classical Athens and Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Helen M. Parkins, ed., *Roman Urbanism: Beyond the Consumer City* (London: Routledge, 1997).

25. David Parrish, ed., *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor: New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2001). See also Edwin M. Yamauchi, *The Archaeology of New Testament Cities in Western Asia Minor* (London and Glasgow: Pickering & Inglis, 1980); Charles Gates, *Ancient Cities: The Archaeology of Urban Life in the Ancient Near East and Egypt, Greece and Rome* (London: Routledge, 2011).

26. **Benefaction:** Philippe Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leur bienfaiteurs (IVe–Ier s. av. J-C): Contribution à l'histoire des institutions*, Suppléments au Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 12 (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 1985); Léopold Migeotte, *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques: recueil des documents et analyse critique* (Québec: Les Editions du Sphinx, Les Belles Lettres, 1984); Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques* (Geneva: Droz, 1992); Migeotte, *Les finances des cités grecques* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2014); Arjan Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). **Cultic officials:** Gabrielle Frija, *Les prêtres des empereurs: Le culte impérial civique dans la province romaine d'Asie. Histoire* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012); Marietta Horster and Anja Klöckner, eds., *Cities and Priests: Cult Personnel in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands from the Hellenistic to the Imperial Period* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013). **Civic elites:** Mireille Cébeillac-Gervasoni and Laurent Lamoine, eds., *Les élites et leurs facettes: Les élites locales dans le monde hellénistique et romain* (Rome: École française de Rome; Clermont-Ferrand: Presses universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2003); Laurent Capdetrey and Yves Lafond, eds., *La cité et ses élites: Pratiques et représentation des formes de domination et de contrôle social dans les cités grecques; Actes du colloque de Poitiers, 19–20 octobre 2006* (Pessac, France: Ausonius, 2010). **Municipal virtues:** Elizabeth Forbis, *Municipal Virtues in*

We turn now to a brief study of select cities of the early Christian churches, following the Acts narrative and their intersection with (primarily) the Pauline Epistles. Several of the cities of Rev 2–3 are omitted in what follows (Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia), but Colin Hemer's work on the cities provides a good starting point.[27] How are researchers positioned in coming to grips with the intersection of the archaeological, documentary, and numismatic evidence of the major cities of the early Christians? How does it contribute to our understanding of the biblical texts?

2. From Jerusalem to Rome: Investigating the Major Cities of Early Christianity

2.1. Jerusalem, Caesarea Maritima, and the Cities of Ancient Palestine

In comparison to previous generations of scholars, we stand in a privileged position in discussing the epigraphic realia of the cities of ancient Pales-

the Roman Empire (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1996). **Magistrates and city government:** David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor: To the End of the Third Century after Christ*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950); Pierre Fröhlich, *Les cités grecques et le contrôle des magistrates (IVe–Ier siècle avant J.-C.)* (Geneva: Droz, 2004); Sviatoslav Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). **Local associations:** John S. Kloppenborg and Stephen G. Wilson, eds., *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* (London: Routledge, 1996); Onno M. van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1997); Philip A. Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003); Ilias Arnaoutoglou, *Thusias heneka kai sunousias: Private Religious Associations in Hellenistic Athens* (Athens: Academy of Athens, 2003); Jinyu Liu, *Collegia Centonariorum: The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); John S. Kloppenborg and Richard S. Ascough, eds., *Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace*, vol. 1 of *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary* (Berlin: de Gruyter 2011); Monique Dondin-Payre and Nicolas Tran, eds., *Collegia: Le phénomène associative dans l'Occident romain* (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2012); Richard S. Ascough et al., eds., *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012); Pierre Fröhlich and Patrice Hamon, eds., *Groupes et associations dans cités grecques (IIIe siècle av. J.-C.–IIe siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes de la table ronde de Paris, INHA, 19–20 juin 2009* (Geneva: Droz, 2013).

27. Colin J. Hemer, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in their Local Setting*, JSNTSup 11 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986). See Friesen's critique of Hemer: Steven J. Friesen, "Revelation, Realia, and Religion: Archaeology in the Interpretation of the Apocalypse," *HTR* 88 (1995): 291–314.

tine. The inscriptions of Palestine and Caesarea Maritima have long been available in French and English translation for researchers.[28] But with the advent of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae*, the projected nine-volume series edited by the celebrated German epigraphist Werner Eck and the prominent Israeli papyrologist Hannah Cotton, scholars will now have an abundance of Palestinian epigraphic evidence in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Samaritan, Aramaic, and Phoenician to examine. From 2010 to 2014, three volumes had been published, providing scholars with indispensible insight into the people, conventions, politics, and institutions of Jerusalem, Caesarea and the Middle Coast, and the South Coast.[29] We are witnessing here a generational change in the epigraphic scholarship on Judaea and Palestine that will transform the discipline for decades to come. The inscriptional evidence of the synagogues from the first century onward has also been collected,[30] allowing investigation of their honorific and benefaction culture.[31]

28. Jean-Baptiste Frey, *Europe*, vol. 1 of *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum: Jewish Inscriptions from the Third Century BC to the Seventh Century AD* (New York: Ktav, 975 [Fr. orig. 1936]); Clayton Miles Lehmann and Kenneth G. Holum, *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima. Excavation Reports: The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* (Boston: ASOR, 2000).

29. Hannah M. Cotton et al., eds., *Jerusalem, Part 1: 1–704*, vol. 1.1 of *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010); Hannah M. Cotton et al., eds., *Jerusalem, Part 2: 705–1120*, vol. 1.2 of *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012); Walter Amerling et al., eds., *Caesarea and the Middle Coast 1121–2160*, vol. 2 of *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011); Walter Amerling et al., eds., *South Coast 2161–2648*, vol. 3 of *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014).

30. Anders Runesson, Donald D. Binder, and Birger Olsson, eds., *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins to 200 C.E.: A Source Book*, Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 72 (Leiden: Brill, 2008). For the archaeological evidence, see Lee I. Levine, *Ancient Synagogues Revealed* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981); Dan Urman and Paul V. M. Flesher, eds., *Ancient Synagogues: Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Ze'ev Weiss and Ehud Netzer, *Promise and Redemption: A Synagogue Mosaic from Sepphoris*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1998); Donald D. Binder, *Into the Temple Courts: The Place of the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period*, SBLDS (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999).

31. Baruch Lifshitz, *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives* (Paris: Gabalda 1967); Susan Sorek, *Remembered for Good: A Jewish Benefaction System in Ancient Palestine* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2010).

Moreover, there is detailed scholarly coverage of the archaeology and history of Jerusalem and Caesarea Maritima.[32] The numismatic evidence, too, is readily available in two collections.[33] Future researchers will be able continue to build on this solid base of scholarly work, helped by the explosion of archaeological work being undertaken in Israel. This will enable the gospel narratives of Jesus's ministry and the depiction of the Jerusalem church in Acts to be brought into profitable dialogue with Josephus's narrative of Herodian and Roman power, as well as Philo's brief forays into the area (*De legatione ad Gaium*; *In Flaccum*). Hopefully this may also throw a more nuanced light on the elements of continuity and discontinuity between the New Testament, first-century Judaism, and the (later) rabbinic sources.

32. W. C. Van Unnik, *Tarsus or Jerusalem: The City of Paul's Youth* (London: Epworth, 1962); Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1973); Lee I. Levine, *Roman Caesarea: An Archaeological Topical Study* (Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1975); Michael Avi-Yonah, *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975–1978), vols. 1–4; Eliat Mazar and Benjamin Mazar, *Qedem, Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount—The Ophel of Biblical Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989), vol. 29; Kenneth G. Holum et al., eds., *King Herod's Dream: Caesarea on the Sea* (New York: Norton, 1988); Ephraim Stern, ed., *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vols. 1–4 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta, 1993); Stern, *Supplementary Volume*, vol. 5 of *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta, 2008); Hillel Geva, ed., *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994); Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *The Holy Land* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Ariel Lewin, *The Archaeology of Ancient Judea and Palestine* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005); Ehud Netzer, *Architecture of Herod, the Great Builder* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008); Eric M. Meyers and Mark A. Chancey, *Alexander to Constantine*, vol. 3 of *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

33. Yaʿaḳov Meshorer, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins: From the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba* (New York: Amphora, 2001); David Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 5th ed. (New York: Amphora, 2010). On the coins of Caesarea Maritima in the late empire, see Robert L. Hohlfelder, "Caesarea Maritima in Late Antiquity: An Introduction to the Numismatic Evidence," in *Ancient Coins of the Graeco-Roman World: The Nickle Numismatic Papers*, ed. Waldemar Heckel and Richard Sullivan (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1984), 261–86.

2.2. Pisidian Antioch, Ankara, and the Cities of First-Century Galatia

Whether one subscribes to a Northern or Southern Galatian hypothesis for the addressees of Paul's letter to the Galatians, we have substantial archaeological and epigraphic background relevant to the letter, whatever its destination might be. In this regard Galatians commentators, strangely, have ignored Stephen Mitchell's English translation of Northern Galatian inscriptions from the district of Ankyra,[34] as well as the Pisdian Antioch collection of Barbara Levick and W. M. Ramsay.[35] In 2012 the collection of the inscriptions from the city of Ankara were also published in English translation, including the most up-to-date rendering of the *Res Gestae*.[36] It is worth remembering in this regard that an inscription in the inner area of the portico of the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Ankara lists the names of the annually appointed priests of the god Augustus and of the goddess Roma as well as their benefactions.[37] Significantly, the vast majority of the high priests have Celtic names, indicating that the imperial priesthoods were pathways for the acquisition of civic status, providing opportunities for the competitive provincial elites to demonstrate their personal wealth and their faithfulness (*fides*) as clients to the Roman ruler. Because of the outstanding work of Gabrielle Frija in collecting the inscriptions of the imperial priests in the Roman province of Asia, scholars can now search the entire corpus on the worldwide web site by site, with original texts and French translations, charting the imperial priestly elites of the Greek East.[38]

34. Stephen Mitchell, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor II: The Ankara District; The Inscriptions of North Galatia* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1982).

35. W. M. Ramsay, "Colonia Caesarea (Pisidian Antioch) in the Augustan Age," *JRS* 6 (1916): 84–134; Ramsay, "Studies in the Roman Province Galatia: VI. Some Inscriptions of Colonia Caesarea Antiochea," *JRS* 14 (1924): 172–205; Barbara Levick, "An Honorific Inscription from Pisidian Antioch," *AnSt* 8 (1958): 219–22; Levick, "Unpublished Inscriptions from Pisidian Antioch," *AnSt* 17 (1967): 101–21; Maurice A. Byrne and Guy Labarre, *Nouvelles inscriptions d'Antioche de Pisidie d'après les Notebooks de W. M. Ramsay* (Bonn: Habelt, 2006).

36. Stephen Mitchell and David French, eds., *From Augustus to the End of the Third Century AD*, vol. 1 of *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)* (Munich: Beck, 2012). A second volume is forthcoming.

37. Ibid., 138–50.

38. Frija, *Les Prêtres des empereurs*. See Frija's webiste, *Prêtres civiques*, http://www.pretres-civiques.org/.

Considerable study of Pisidian Antioch and Phrygian/Anatolian culture has been undertaken,[39] with many elements of this research being highly profitable for New Testament exegesis.[40] Other cities of South Galatia could also be explored for their cultural relevance to the New Testament. For example, in South Galatia, the cities of Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe should be more thoroughly investigated,[41] along with Pessinus and Germa in North Galatia.[42] In sum, there is considerable inscriptional and archaeological evidence to be sifted for the valuable exegetical insights that could be brought to the study of Galatians and Acts 13:1–14:24.

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39. W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, Being an Essay of the Local History of Phrygia from the Earliest Times to the Turkish Conquest*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1895–1897); David M. Robinson, "Roman Sculptures from colonia Caesarea (Pisidian Antioch)," *Art Bulletin* 9 (1926): 5–69; Cilliers Breytenbach, *Paulus und Barnabas in der Provinz Galatien: Studien zu Apostelgeschichte 13f.; 16,6; 18, 32 und den Adressaten des Galaterbriefes*, AGJU (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 160–62; Stephen Mitchell and Marc Waelkens, *Pisidian Antioch: The Site and Its Monuments* (London: Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales, 1998); Robert L. Mowery, "Paul and Caristanius at Pisidian Antioch," *Bib* 87 (2006): 223–42; B. B. Rubin, "(Re)presenting Empire: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor, 31 BC–AD 63" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2008); Adrian J. Ossi, "The Roman Honorific Arches of Pisidian Antioch: Reconstruction and Contextualization" (PhD. diss., University of Michigan, 2010); Elaine K. Gazda and Diana Y. Ng, eds., *Building a New Rome: The Imperial Colony of Pisidian Antioch (25 BC–AD 700)* (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum Publication, 2011).

40. Clinton E. Arnold, "'I Am Astonished That You Are So Quickly Turning Away!' (Gal 1:6): Paul and Anatolian Folk Belief," *NTS* 51 (2005): 429–49; Mowery, "Paul and Caristanius"; Justin K. Hardin, *Galatians and the Imperial Cult: A Critical Analysis of the First-Century Social Context of Paul's Letter*, WUNT 2/237 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008); James R. Harrison, "'More Than Conquerors' (Rom 8:37): Paul's Gospel and the Augustan Triumphal Arches of the Greek East and Latin West," *Buried History* 47 (2011): 3–21.

41. Breytenbach, *Paulus und Barnabas*, 162–67; Cilliers Breytenbach and Carola Zimmermann, *Early Christianity in Lycaonia and Adjacent Areas* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). See also the epigraphic data base for Asia Minor at P. Toalster and C. Zoller, "Epigraphic Database for Ancient Asia Minor," http://www.epigraphik.uni-hamburg.de/database. Note also the (forthcoming) epigraphic database of early Christian inscriptions of Greece and Asia Minor (ICAM/ICG), which is currently being developed by the Berlin Cluster of Excellence TOPOI/Humboldt University (Berlin), to be completed in 2016. For details, see "Authorization of Early Christian Knowledge Claims Research Project: B-5-3," Topoi, http://www.topoi.org/project/b-5-3/.

42. Breytenbach, *Paulus und Barnabas*, 121–24; Toalster and Zoller, *Epigraphic Database for Ancient Asia Minor*.

2.3. Philippi

The inscriptional corpus of Philippi has been well served for several years now by Peter Pilhofer's monumental collection of the extant inscriptions.[43] But Cédric Brélaz's recent collection of the Philippian collections relating to the public life of the colony and of the Roman state places us in an even stronger position in terms of our understanding of imperial Philippi; another collection of the classical and Hellenistic inscriptions relating to the Greek and Macedonian period of the city by Angelos Zannis and Chaido Koukouli-Chrysanthaki is also forthcoming.[44] Several recent studies on Philippi have considerably expanded our knowledge of its historical, cultural, religious, and administrative evolution of the city,[45] adding to the earlier classic publications of Paul Collart and Philippe Lemerle,[46] though Lemerle's exhaustive coverage

43. Peter Pilhofer, *Katalog der Inschriften von Philippi*, vol. 2 of *Philippi*, 2nd ed., WUNT 1/119 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009). Before Pilhofer, we were indebted to Paul Collart, "Inscriptions de Philippes (I)," *BCH* 56 (1932): 192–231; Collart, "Inscriptions de Philippes (II)," *BCH* 57 (1933): 313–79. For the Christian inscriptions, see Denis Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe siècle* (Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 1983).

44. Cédric Brélaz, *Inscriptions relatives à la vie publique de la colonie et de l'Etat romains*, vol. 2.1 of *Corpus des inscriptions grecques et latines de Philippes* (Athens: École française d'Athènes 2014); Angelos G. Zannis and Chaido Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, *La cité grecque et macédonienne (inscriptions classiques et hellénistiques)*, vol. 2.2 of *Corpus des inscriptions grecques et latines de Philippes* (Athens: École française d'Athènes, forthcoming). A third volume of Philippian inscriptions, edited by Cédric Brélaz and Clément Sarrazanas (= *CIPh* 2.3), will review the inscriptions from the paleo-Christian and proto-Byzantine period.

45. Lilian Portefaix, *Sisters Rejoice: Paul's Letter to the Philippians and Luke-Acts as seen by First-Century Women*, ConBNT 20 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988); Valerie Ann Abrahamsen, *Women and Worship at Philippi: Diana/Artemis and Other Cults in the Early Christian Era* (Portland: Astarte Shell Press, 1995); Lukas Bormann, *Philippi: Stadt und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus*, NovTSup 78 (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Peter Pilhofer, *Die erste christliche Gemeinde Europas*, vol. 1 of *Philippi*, WUNT 1/87 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995); Charalambos Bakirtzis and Helmut Koester, eds., *Philippi at the Time of Paul and after His Death* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998); Peter Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter*, SNTSMS 110 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

46. Paul Collart, *Philippes ville de Macédoine de ses origines jusqu'à la fin de l'époque romaine* (Paris: Boccard, 1937); Philippe Lemerle, "Palestre Romaine a Phillippes," *BCH* 61 (1937): 86–102; Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale*

of the archaeological evidence has never really been superseded. The most recent English studies of the archaeology of Philippi are those of Geōrgios G. Gounarēs and Eduard Verhoef,[47] as well as a French guide to the Forum.[48] In terms of the numismatic evidence, there is Paulos Lambros's study of the Philippian gold coins, originally published in Greek in 1854.[49] Michel Amandry has also written a definitive essay on the operations of the city's provincial mint in the imperial period, focusing on the coin issues from the reign of Gallienus that were marked with the letters RPCP (*Res Publica Coloniae Philippensium*).[50]

The exegetical dividends arising from Pilhofer's publication of the Philippian inscriptions in a readily accessible volume is becoming increasingly apparent. Joseph Hellerman, for example, has investigated the ascent of honor articulated in the Philippian military and civic inscriptions against the backdrop of Christ's shameful descent to cruciform dishonor (Phil 2:5–8), richly illustrating the rewards of a documentary approach to

à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine. Recheches d'histoire et d'archéologie: Contents: 1 Textes; 2 Album (Paris: Boccard, 1945). See also Étienne Lapaulus, "Sculptures de Philippes," *BCH* 59 (1935): 175–92; Jacques Coupry, "Sondage à l'ouest du forum de Philippes," *BCH* 62 (1938): 42–50; Paul Collart and Pierre Ducrey, *Philippes I: Les reliefs rupestres* (Paris: Boccard, 1975).

47. Geōrgios G. Gounarēs and Emmanouela G. Gounarē, *Philippi: Archaeological Guide* (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2004); Eduard Verhoef, *Philippi: How Christianity Began in Europe. The Epistle to the Philippians and the Excavations at Philippi* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

48. Michel Sève and Patrick Weber, *Guide du forum de Philippes* (Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 2012).

49. Paulos Lambros, *Gold Coins of Philippi* (Chicago: Obol International, 1975 [Gk orig. 1854]).

50. Michel Amandry, "Le monnayage de la *Res Publica Coloniae Philippensium*," in *Sonderdruck aus Edith Schönert-Geiss zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Stephanos Nomismatikos (Berlin: Akademie, 1998), 23–30. For the coinage of the cities in the Roman provinces, see especially the publications of Andrew Burnett and Michel Amandry, eds., *From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*, vol. 1 of *Roman Provincial Coinage* (London: British Museum Press; Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1992 [rev. 2006]); Burnett and Amandry, *Supplement I* (1999), only available electronically in PDF; Burnett and Amandry, *From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96)*, vol. 2 of *Roman Provincial Coinage* (London: British Museum Press; Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1999). Additionally, see Christopher J. Howgego, Volker Huechert, and Andrew Burnett, eds., *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Pauline exegesis.[51] Richard Ascough's study of the Philippian association inscriptions has also provided an important springboard for helping us understand better the dynamics and social location of the Pauline house churches.[52] Additionally, the book of Julien Ogereau represents an exhaustive and authoritative analysis of the contemporary documentary evidence of *koinōnia* language in its economic and legal context.[53] Ogereau has meticulously opened up a new vista in Philippians scholarship, reinvigorating the earlier (but largely dismissed) hunch of J. Paul Sampley on the issue.[54] Paul's financial relationships in his missionary outreach at Philippi, Ogereau argues, reflected the rituals and language of ancient Roman *societas* contracts. These testify to the apostle's engagement with Roman legal practice in this instance, though in the process Paul transformed the expression of these traditional financial conventions though his apostolic gospel.

Last, the archaeological site of Philippi is extensive and initially challenging because of the minimal information provided at the site for the convenience of modern visitors. Furthermore, the vast majority of its evidence postdates the New Testament. Thus new studies that demystify the layout, monuments, culture, and activities of the city in its various periods, as well as spelling out their chronological interrelation, would be of enormous help to New Testament researchers.[55]

51. Joseph Hellerman, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi: Carmen Christi as* Cursus Pudorum, SNTSMS 132 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

52. Richard S. Ascough, *Paul's Macedonian Associations: The Social Context of Philippians and 1 Thessalonians*, WUNT 2/161 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 110–61. For the epigraphic and archaeological evidence for Philippian associations, see Ascough et al., *Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, 39–42 §§41–44, 222 §B3.

53. Julien M. Ogereau, *Paul's* Κοινωνία *with the Philippians: A Socio-historical Investigation of a Pauline Economic Partnership*, WUNT 2/377 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014); Ogereau, "Paul's Κοινωνία with the Philippians: Societas as a Missionary Funding Strategy," *NTS* 60 (2014): 360–78.

54. J. Paul Sampley, *Pauline Partnership in Christ* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980).

55. Laura S. Nasrallah, "Spacial Perspectives: Space and Archaeology in Roman Philippi," in *Studying Paul's Letters: Contemporary Perspectives and Methods*, ed. Joseph A. Marchal (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 54–74.

2.4. Thessalonica and Athens

In spite of the sparse first-century archaeological evidence available at Thessalonica,[56] a host of publications have recently appeared on the city,[57] including discussions of the first-century imperial context of the Thessalonian epistles (most recently, James Harrison).[58] Notwithstanding the paucity of material evidence in comparison to the other cities being discussed, the inscriptional evidence is voluminous,[59] with, for example, decrees honoring Roman and association benefactors, as well as a (late) inscription from a synagogue at Thessalonica (see Acts 17:2).[60] The Thessalonian

56. However, the archaeological artifacts at the museum of Thessaloniki are substantial. See the popular book of Manolēs Andronikos, *Thessalonike Museum: A New Guide to the Archeological Treasures* (Athens: Ekditike Hellados, 1982). Consequently, important works on the museum's holdings are periodically published: Note the (projected) four-volume series of Giōrgos Despinēs, Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou, and Emm Voutyras, eds., *Katalogos glypton tou Archaiologikou Mouseiou Thessalonikis* (an English translation exists as well: *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki*); vol. 1: *Thessaloniki: Morphotiko Idryma Ethnikes Trapezes* (1997); vol. 2: *Thessaloniki: Morphotiko Idryma Ethnikes Trapezes* (2003; published only in Greek); vol. 3: *Thessaloniki: Morphotiko Idryma Ethnikes Trapezes* (2003, published only in Greek). Work has already begun on volume 4, which will bring the series to conclusion. The series collects and discusses a broad spectrum of Greek and Roman marble sculptures from ancient Macedonia.

57. Christoph Vom Brocke, *Thessaloniki, Stadt des Kassander und Gemeinde des Paulus: Eine frühe christliche Gemeinde in ihrer heidnischen Umwelt*, WUNT 2/125 (Tübingen; Mohr Siebeck, 2001); Richard S. Ascough, *Paul's Macedonian Associations: The Social Context of Philippians and 1 Thessalonians*, WUNT 2/161 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); Cilliers Breytenbach, *Frühchristliches Thessaloniki*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 44 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007); Laura Nasrallah et al., eds., *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikê: Studies in Religion and Archaeology*, HTS 64 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

58. James R. Harrison, *Paul and the Imperial Authorities at Thessalonica and Rome: A Study in the Conflict of Ideology*, WUNT 1/273 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

59. Charles F. Edson, *Inscriptiones Thessalonicae et viciniae*, vol. 10, pt. 2, fasc. 1 of *Inscriptiones Graecae Epiri, Macedoniae, Thraciae, Scythia* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972). Since the publication of Edson's *IG* volume, over five hundred new Thessalonian inscriptions, published and unpublished, have been collected by Pantelis Nigdelis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, for a further *IG* 10.2.1 Supplement, to be published in 2016–2017.

60. Holland L. Hendrix, *Thessalonicans Honor Romans* (ThD diss., Harvard University, 1984); Hendrix, "Benefactor/Patron Networks in the Urban Environment: Evidence from Thessalonica," *Semeia* 56 (1992): 39–58; Pantelis Nigdelis, "Synagoge(n)

inscriptions have not been translated (as opposed to those of Aphrodisias, Corinth, and Philippi, for example), so considerable light could be shed on the Thessalonian epistles by concentrating on the epigraphic evidence of this corpus. In this regard, Pantelis Nigdelis (see n. 64) has recently assembled some 140 Thessalonian inscriptions, additional to Charles Edson's collection, from the imperial period.[61] Nigdelis's selection, which provides a commentary on each individual inscription, focuses on the public life of the city, its private associations and professional life, as well as its funerary practices and demographic composition.[62] It is likely that this rich collection of inscriptions will throw considerable light on the social relations and Greco-Roman cultural conventions and belief systems that form the backdrop to Paul's Thessalonian correspondence.

In the case of Athens, even though New Testament scholars have predictably concentrated on Paul's Areopagus address (Acts 17:16–34), there is an abundance of Athenian association decrees that would provide insight into the similarities and differences of the house churches with the ancient clubs,[63] as well as the honorific rituals of a significant Mediterranean city.[64] In sum, a focus on the inscriptions places us at the cutting edge of engagement with recent historical and New Testament scholarship on both cities.

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und Gemeinde der Juden in Thessaloniki: Fragen aufgrund einer neuen jüdischen Grabinschrift der Kaiserzeit," *ZPE* 102 (1994): 297–306; Ascough, *Paul's Macedonian Associations*, 162–90; Nigdelis, "Voluntary Associations in Roman Thessalonikê: In Search of Identity and Support in a Cosmopolitan Society," in Nasrallah, *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikê*, 13–47. For the epigraphic and archaeological evidence for associations at Athens and Thessalonica, see Ascough, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, 9–16 §§1–7, 221–22 B2; 45–53 §§47–59.

61. Pantelis Nigdelis, *Epigraphika Thessalonike, Symvole sten politike kai koinonike historia tes archaias Thessalonikes* (*Epigraphica Thessalonicensia: A Contribution to the Political and Social History of Ancient Thessaloniki*) (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2006).

62. See Paraskevi Martzavou, review of *Epigraphika Thessalonike, Symvole sten politike kai koinonike historia tes archaias Thessalonikes*, by Pantelis Nigdelis, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (July 25, 2008), http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2008/2008-07-25.html.

63. Nicholas F. Jones, *The Associations of Classical Athens* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1997).

64. Geoffrey C. R. Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens: A New Epigraphy and Prosopography*, Mnemosyne Supplementum 302 (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

2.5. Corinth, Isthmia, and Cenchreae

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA) began excavations at ancient Corinth in 1896. Initially the archaeological focus was topographical, but excavations soon began to concentrate on the center of the city. From the period of 1925–1940 a vast metropolis was unearthed that constituted one of the great cities of the Roman East. Excavations continue to this day. The Corinth Monograph Series, published by the ASCSA since 1932, currently comprises some forty-three publications as part of a twenty-one-volume series and is regularly supplemented by new monographs.[65] Every conceivable aspect of Corinthian material culture (pottery, sculpture, lamps, etc.) and civic life (the agora, stoas, basilicas, springs, villas, acrocorinth, cemeteries, asclepion, baths, potter's quarter, theater, sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, etc.) has been discussed. Reports on archaeological and inscriptional finds at Corinth are also published in *Hesperia*.[66]

In terms of the inscriptions, three volumes of Latin and Greek inscriptions from Corinth were published last century and have recently been supplemented with a new volume of inscriptions.[67] Older collections of Corinthian inscriptions have also been republished.[68] However, there is need for investigation of the new inscriptions published by *Hesperia*, *SEG*, and *ZPE* and for these to inform the exegesis of the Corinthian epistles

65. On the website of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, one may view the vast range of ASCSA publications on Corinth, spanning 1932 to 2013: http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/publications/browse-by-series/corinth. See also the ASCSA publication of Elizabeth R. Gebhard and Timothy E. Gregory, eds., *"The Bridge of the Untiring Sea": The Corinthian Isthmus from Prehistory to Late Antiquity*, Hesperia Supplement 48 (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2014).

66. See also the excellent Corinthian archaeological updates of David K. Pettegrew (Messiah College) on "Corinthian Matters: A Resource for the Study of the Corinthia, Greece" (http://corinthianmatters.com/).

67. B. D. Meritt, *Greek Inscriptions, 1896–1927*, vol. 8, part 1 of *Corinth* (Cambridge, MA: ASCSA, 1931); A. B. West, *Latin Inscriptions, 1896–1926*, vol. 8, part 2 of *Corinth* (Cambridge, MA: ASCSA, 1931); J. H. Kent, *The Inscriptions, 1926–1950*, vol. 8, part 3 of *Corinth* (Princeton: ASCSA, 1966); R. S. Stroud, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Inscriptions*, vol. 18, part 6 of *Corinth* (Princeton: ASCSA, 2013).

68. L. R. Dean, *Latin Inscriptions from Corinth* (Piscataway, NJ: Analecta Gorgiana, 2009); K. Smith, *Greek Inscriptions from Corinth II* (Piscataway, NJ: Analecta Gorgiana, 2009).

where appropriate. Two examples will suffice. First, a Corinthian inscription honoring the *retiarius* Draukos could throw light on Paul's arena imagery in 1 Cor 4:9, as well as the Corinthian lamp evidence relating to gladiators.[69] Second, the publication of a new Corinthian inscription referring to individual named Erastus (*SEG* 29.301) was discussed by Andrew Clarke many years later after its publication in 1991.[70] This new inscription contributed to reviving the ongoing scholarly discussion regarding the "Erastus" of Rom 16:23 (ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως ["the treasurer of the city"]) and the treasurer's relation to the earlier famous Erastus inscription found at Corinth and published by Kent in 1966 (IKorinthKent 232). The focus of the ensuing heated debate has been the social location of the Corinthian believers (1 Cor 1:26–29) and of Erastus himself.[71] In the most recent article on the issue, Timothy Brookins has examined the 105 datable inscriptional references to Erastus up to the fifth century CE, arguing that only two (possibly three) individuals bear this name in first-century Greece and that, significantly, in each case they have an elite profile.[72] In the first-century world, where social mobility was widespread, it is not inconceivable that one of these individuals went on to hold the prestigious position of οἰκονόμος at Corinth.

69. Michael Carter, "A Doctor Secutorum and the *Retiarius* Draukos from Corinth," *ZPE* 126 (1999): 262–68. For a *retiarius* on an unglazed Corinthian lamp, clad in a loin cloth, left, with sword and trident, see Oscar Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps*, vol. 4, part 2 of *Corinth* (Cambridge, MA: ASCSA, 1930), §633. See Cavan W. Concannon, "'Not for an Olive Wreath, but Our Lives': Gladiators, Athletes, and Early Christian Bodies," *JBL* 133 (2014): 193–214; James R. Unwin, "'Thrown Down but Not Destroyed': Paul's Use of a Spectacle Metaphor in 2 Corinthians 4:7–15," *NovT* (forthcoming).

70. Andrew D. Clarke, "Another Corinthian Erastus Inscription," *TynBul* 42 (1991): 146–51. See also his excellent monograph, with its attention to epigraphic evidence: Clarke, *Secular and Christian Leadership in Corinth: A Socio-historical and Exegetical Study of 1 Corinthians 1–6*, AGJU 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

71. See Welborn, *An End to Enmity*, 260–82, for a balanced summary of the recent debate. See also in the current volume Paul Trebilco, "Epigraphy and the Study of *Polis* and *Ekklēsia* in the Greco-Roman World," §3.6. On the issue of "honor" conflicts in the Corinthian epistles, see Harry A. Stansbury, "Corinthian Honor, Corinthian Conflict: A Social History of Early Roman Corinth and Its Pauline Community" (PhD diss., University of California Irvine, 1990).

72. Timothy A. Brookins, "The (In)frequency of the Name 'Erastus' in Antiquity: A Literary, Papyrological, and Epigraphic Catalogue," *NTS* 59 (2013): 496–516.

The potential for bringing the inscriptions into fruitful dialogue with the Corinthian epistles has been amply demonstrated, to cite just three examples, by the works of Bruce Winter, L. L. Welborn, and Bradley Bitner.[73] Winter, through his careful use of the inscriptions and his exploration of their intersection with the literary evidence, has opened up our eyes to the sociocultural issues affecting the first-century believers at Corinth,[74] as well as unpacking the rhetorical expectations that the Corinthians and interloping "super-apostles" were demanding from their apostle.[75] Welborn, in an innovative monograph, has insightfully brought together the literary evidence regarding the consolatory rhetorical genre and the Corinthian epigraphic and archaeological evidence in trying to identify the shadowy figure of the "wrongdoer" in 2 Cor 2:5–8 and 7:12.[76] Bitner, in a forthcoming book, examines how the Corinthian constitution continued after the colonial foundation to shape the form of civic life, arguing analogously from the epigraphic record of other such constitutions in antiquity (e.g., the Spanish Charters) in the absence of the original constitution at Corinth. After reconstructing how Corinth's constitution would probably have appeared to its citizens, Bitner adeptly brings this material into dialogue with Paul's establishment of Christ's covenantal community for his house churches in the city. In this seminal and highly original work, Bitner explores the extent to which Paul's covenantal construction of Christian identity would have interacted with the civic constitution at Corinth, showing how Paul sensitively responded to the local colonial resonances of Roman law in his alternate understanding of the believer's status in Christ.[77]

73. Reference should also be made to Cavan W. Concannon's excellent monograph (*"When You Were Gentiles": Specters of Ethnicity in Roman Corinth and Paul's Corinthian Correspondence*, Synkrisis [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014]), which constructs a portrait of the ancient Corinthians, with whom Paul interacts, based on the literary, numismatic, and archaeological evidence.

74. Bruce W. Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth: The Influence of Secular Ethics and Social Change* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001).

75. Bruce W. Winter. *Philo and Paul among the Sophists*, SNTSMS 96 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

76. Welborn, *An End to Enmity*.

77. Bradley J. Bitner, *Paul's Political Strategy in 1 Corinthians 1–4: Constitution and Covenant*, SNTSMS 163 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Last, the numismatic evidence of Corinth, too, has been well serviced by the older works of Barclay Vincent Head and Katharine May Edwards,[78] with the recent numismatic updates of Amandry and Mary Hoskins Walbank adding considerably to our knowledge of Corinth.[79] Furthermore, there are excellent monographs and articles on the city of Corinth, both as the wealthy Greek polis pre-146 BCE and the Roman colony post-44 CE.[80] In sum, modern scholars have a wealth of Corinthian documentary, numismatic, and archaeological evidence to bring to bear on aspects of "local" exegesis of the Corinthian epistles.

However, the archaeological and epigraphic evidence of nearby Isthmia and the harbor city of Corinth, Cenchreae, produces even further opportunities for intersections with the Corinthian epistles. In the case of Isthmia, the archaeology of the city has been well documented in the nine volumes published by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens,[81] though, disappointingly, there are so far no publications on the coinage and inscriptions.[82] Once again, it is crucial that the Isthmian inscriptions published by *Hesperia*, *SEG*, and *ZPE* are brought into the service of the exegesis of the Corinthians epistles. For example, an inscribed lead tablet associated with the games, found at the bottom of a reservoir in the West Water Works at Isthmia, says this: "I, Marius Tyrannos, disqualify

78. Barclay Vincent Head, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins: Corinth, Colonies of Corinth, etc.* (London: British Museum, 1889), 1–93; Katharine May Edwards, *Coins, 1896–1929*, vol. 6 of *Corinth* (Cambridge, MA: ASCSA, 1933).

79. Michel Amandry, *Le Monnayage des Duovirs Corinthiens*, BCHSupp (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 1988); Mary E. Hoskins Walbank, "Image and Cult: The Coinage of Roman Corinth," in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society*, ed. Steven J. Friesen, Daniel N. Schowalter, and James C. Walters (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 151–98. See the essay of Bradley J. Bitner in this volume for an authoritative critique of New Testament scholarly usage of numismatic evidence in Corinthian studies.

80. J. R. Wiseman, "Corinth and Rome I: 228 BC–AD 267," *ANRW* 7.1:438–548; Donald W. Engels, *Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); J. B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 BC* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997).

81. On the website of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens nine ASCSA publications on Isthmia, spanning 1973 to 2012, may be accessed at http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/publications/browse-by-series/isthmia.

82. See, however, Marietta Sasel-Kos, "The Latin Inscriptions from Isthmia," *Vestnik (Ljubljana)* 29 (1978): 346–53.

Semakos."[83] Along with ancient visual evidence touching on disqualification in the ancient games,[84] this inscription throws light on Paul's fear of "disqualification" as an apostle at Corinth in 1 Cor 9:27b, illustrating contextually the riveting metaphor that culminates his athletic imagery in 9:24–27a.[85]

As far as Cenchreae, six volumes have appeared covering the archaeological evidence,[86] one of which deals with the numismatic evidence, but there is no similar volume devoted to the inscriptions. As noted before in relation to other cities, a search of the Cenchreae inscriptions in *Hesperia*, *SEG*, and *ZPE* would produce valuable exegetical results. For example, a lead curse tablet found in the Koutsongila cemetery at Roman Cenchreae (*SEG* 57.332: mid-first century CE, or late third century CE) is an intriguing find. It is a prayer against a thief who had stolen an item of clothing, with the result that the author of the curse summons the chthonic deities for assistance. The supernatural power of Lord Abrasax is invoked: "take revenge and completely mow down the son of Caecil(i)us, O Lord Chan Sêreira Abrasax!"[87] Possibly we see here something of the conceptual back-

83. D. Jordan and A. J. S. Spawforth, "A New Document from the Isthmian Games," *Hesperia* 51 (1982): 65–68.

84. James R. Harrison, "Paul and the Athletic Ideal in Antiquity: A Case Study in Wrestling with Word and Image," in *Paul's World*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, Pauline Studies 4 (Leiden, Brill, 2007), 81–109.

85. For discussion of the deliberate defacing of an Isthmian honorific inscription (Oscar Broneer, "Excavations at Isthmia: Fourth Campaign, 1957–1958," *Hesperia* 28.4 (1959): 298–343, esp. 324–26 §5) and its significance thematically to 2 Cor 6:8 ("in honor and dishonor"), see James R. Harrison, "Paul and Ancient Civic Ethics: Redefining the Canons of Honour in the Graeco-Roman World," in *Paul in Graeco-Roman Context*, ed. Cilliers Breytenbach, BETL 277 (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 75–118, esp. 97–98.

86. Robert Scranton, Joseph W. Shaw, and Leila Ibrahim, eds., *Topography and Architecture*, vol. 1 of *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth* (Leiden: Brill, 1978); Leila Ibrahim, ed., *The Panels of Opus Sectile in Glass*, vol. 2 of *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth* (Leiden: Brill, 1976); Robert Hohlfelder, ed., *The Coins*, vol. 3 of *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth* (Leiden: Brill, 1978); Beverley Adamsheck, ed., *The Pottery*, vol. 4 of *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth* (Leiden: Brill, 1979); Hector Williams, ed., *The Lamps*, vol. 5 of *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth* (Leiden: Brill, 1981); Wilma Olch Stein, ed., *Ivory, Bone, and Related Wood Finds*, vol. 6 of *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth* (Leiden: Brill, 2007). See also Robert Scranton and Edwin S. Ramage, "Investigations at Corinthian Kenchreai," *Hesperia* 36.2 (1987): 124–86.

87. See Christopher A. Faraone and Joseph L. Rife, "A Greek Curse against a Thief

drop to Paul's warning to the Corinthians, including those living in the port city of Cenchreae, about being led astray by idols, as they had been in their preconversion days (1 Cor 12:2; cf. 10:7, 14–22). Believers who are led by the Spirit of God, Paul avers, can never say, "Let Jesus be cursed!" Rather they will always confess "Jesus is Lord" (1 Cor 12:3). Two texts on a rectangular lead tablet, found in the debris of the southeast quarter of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth (fourth century CE), also address the gods of the underworld, either Katachthonois Hermes or Hades, with "lordship" language: "Lord gods of the underworld—"; "Lord, expose them and—cut their hearts, Lord, by means of the gods of the underworld. THE [- - -]."[88] Paul was well aware of the various counterfeits of spiritual power available in the ancient world and wanted the Corinthian believers to be absolutely clear about the consequences of their confessional and experiential commitment to the risen Christ. Once again, we see here the riches that a *local* understanding of the inscriptional evidence brings to the exegesis of (what is to a modern audience) a puzzling text.

2.6. Ephesus

The British engineer John Turtle Wood was the director of the first archaeological excavation of Ephesus from 1864 onward, which was carried out under the auspices of the British Museum. Wood published two seminal works on Ephesus in 1877 and 1890, with the former containing a substantial appendix of Ephesian inscriptions.[89] David George Hogarth continued Wood's work on the temple of Artemis, supervising the archaeological

from the Koutsongila Cemetery at Roman Kenchreai," *ZPE* 160 (2007): 141–57. Curse tablets were widespread in the cities and regions visited by Paul. See the classic work of Adolf Kirchhoff et al., eds., *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum. Appendix: Defixionum tabellae Atticae* (Berlin: Reimer, 1897). A new volume of *IG* 16: *Corpus defixionum Graecarum. Pars I: Defixiones Atticae* is being prepared for future publication as part of the Berlin Excellence Cluster TOPOI.

88. R. S. Stroud, ed., *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Inscriptions*, vol. 18.6 of *Corinth* (Princeton: ASCSA, 2013), §127.

89. John Turtle Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus, Including the Site and Remains of the Great Temple of Diana* (London: Longmans, Green, 1877); Wood, *Modern Discoveries on the Site of Ancient Ephesus* (London: Longmans, Green, 1890). The British Museum (E. L. Hicks, *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum Part III: Priene, Iasos and Ephesos* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1890], 67–292) published exact representations of the Ephesian inscriptions collected by Wood at Ephe-

expedition at the site from 1904 onward. Hogarth wrote on the temple of Artemis, setting out the literary evidence regarding the Artemesion and cataloging its finds with commentary.[90] Further excavations of the Austrian Archaeological Institute began in 1895 under Otto Benndorf, and the work continues to this day.[91] Thirty-seven monographs have been published from 1906 to 2013 in the Forshungen in Ephesos series (FiE), covering thoroughly each archeological structure at Ephesus and their associated finds.[92] Articles on Ephesus, among many other ancient sites, are also published in its annual journal.[93]

Excavations were interrupted from 1913 onward by World War I, but Adolf Deissmann worked tirelessly to get international funding for their resumption, participating in the renewed digs at Ephesus from 1926 to 1929 and unleashing a stream of articles on Ephesus.[94] Inexplicably, Deissmann's role is totally ignored on the ÖAI centenary publication in its discussion of the period 1926–1935, notwithstanding the fact that he made a fundamental contribution to the work of the ÖAI during the period.[95] From 1954 onward, the archaeologists of the Ephesus Museum commenced excavations and restorations of the site of Ephesus and continue to do so until this day.[96]

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sus during 1863–1874, supplemented in each case with commentaries, and including many further uncopied inscriptions (67).

90. David George Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus: The Archaic Artemesia* (London: British Museum, 1908).

91. See Gilbert Wiplinger and Gudrun Wlach, *Ephesus: 100 Years of Austrian Research* (Vienna: Österreichische Archäoligisches Institut, 1996). See also the three-volume centenary collection of the ÖAI celebrating its archaeological work: Herwig Friesinger and Fritz Krinzinger, eds., *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos: Akten des Symposions Wien 1995* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 1999).

92. For the publications, see http://www.oeaw.ac.at/antike/index.php?id=159.

93. The journal is *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* (= *JÖAI*: *Annual Notebooks of the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Vienna*).

94. For Deissmann's work at Ephesus, see Albrecht Gerber, *Deissmann the Philologist* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 155–206. Deissmann wrote a stream of articles on Ephesus in 1918, 1923, 1925, 1927 (four articles), 1930, and 1931. For the details, see *Deissmann the Philologist*, 595–97; for his work on the Ephesian inscriptions, 180–81, 189, 194, 198.

95. Wiplinger and Wlach, *Ephesus*, 42–57.

96. For the official publication of the Ephesus Museum detailing its exhibits, see Meltem Cansever, ed., *Ephesus Museum Selçuk* (Beyoğlu-Istanbul: BKG, 2010).

In 1948 the colossus of Greek epigraphy, Louis Robert, began to publish a series of penetrating articles on the epigraphy of Ephesus,[97] but Robert did not surpass the vast arsenal of articles on the Ephesian inscriptions written before him by Josef Keil.[98] In the 1970s the University of Köln, as part of the IK series headed up by Reinhold Merkelbach,[99] began to collect the vast Ephesian inscriptional corpus (IEph) in an eight-volume publication that appeared over the period 1979–1984.[100] Other noteworthy publications on the Ephesian inscriptions also appeared in the early 1980s.[101] There are, to be sure, some deficiencies with the production of the IEph corpus. First, the editors of IEph did not attempt to date the vast majority of the Ephesian inscriptions. By contrast, the online Packhard Humanities Institute (PHI) Greek Epigraphy program of the Ephesian inscriptions,[102] edited by Donald McCabe, offers dates for most of the inscriptions, but readers are nevertheless advised to consult the original published edition of the inscription in order to check the editor's commentary in this regard. Second, the helpful commentaries that accompanied the first volume (IEph 1a) peter out by the second volume, undoubtedly in order to expedite the production of the ensuing volumes. In short,

97. Louis Robert, "Les hellénodiques à Ephèse," *Hellenica* 5 (1948): 59–63; Robert, "Epitaphes juives d'Ephèse et de Nicomédie," *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960): 90–111; Robert, "Sur des inscriptions d' Ėphèse: fêtes, athletes, empereurs, épigrammes," *RevPhil* 41 (1967): 7–84; Robert, "Sur des inscriptions d' Ėphèse: 6. Lettres impériales à Ėphèse," *RevPhil* 41 (1967): 44–64; Robert, "Les femmes théores à Éphèse," *CRAI* (1974): 176–81; Robert, "Sur des inscriptions d' Ėphèse: II. Sur une lettre d'un proconsul d'Asie," *RevPhil* 51 (1977): 7–14; Robert, "Sur des inscriptions d' Ėphèse 12. Deux inscriptions pseudo-Éphésiennes," *RevPhil* 55 (1981): 9–13; Robert, "Dans une maison d' Ėphèse, un serpent et une chiffre," *CRAI* (1982): 126–32.

98. For the seventy-five publications of Josef Keil, see Richard Oster, *A Bibliography of Ancient Ephesus* (Philadelphia: American Theological Library Association; Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1987), 60–66 §§657–731.

99. The series of the University of Köln, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, sought to publish city by city the epigraphic texts for the regions of Asia Minor, even if the "finished edition" status was not achievable for some (or many) of the texts.

100. Hermann Wankel, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, 8 vols. in 11 (Bonn: Habelt, 1979–1984).

101. Dieter Knibbe, *Der Staatsmarkt: Die Inschriften des Prytaneions I: Die Kureteninschriften und sonstige religiöse Texte* (Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 1981); Dieter Knibbe and Sıtkı İsa Bülent Iplikçioğlu, *Ephesos im Spiegel seiner Inschriften* (Vienna: Schlindler, 1984).

102. See http://www.epigraphy.packhum.org/.

the collection of IEph does not reflect the precision of production that Robert would have expected. But Merkelbach was very rightly concerned to make the vast Ephesian corpus available to researchers as quickly as possible so that scholars *themselves* could take up the challenge of bringing the precision of Robert and Keil to their study of the inscriptional documents.[103] Researchers of Ephesus, therefore, stand in an enviable position, with all the resources of IEph and PHI at their disposal, in reconstructing the social, institutional, religious, and political history of the city from its epigraphy, in comparison to the more limited resources of other cities in Asia Minor.

Moreover, the epigraphy needs to be brought into dialogue with the archaeological record of the city. It is therefore surprising that Jerome Murphy-O'Connor did not draw at all from this invaluable corpus of documentary evidence—around 3,600 inscriptions at least—in collecting the primary sources relating to Ephesus, a total that excludes newly published Ephesian inscriptions in *SEG* and *ZPE* from 1985 onward and other unpublished inscriptions. Though a valuable work, Murphy-O'Connor's approach is entirely literature- and archaeology-based, apart from one fleeting inscriptional reference.[104] By contrast, the intense value of the documentary and archaeological evidence is readily seen in the publications of G. H. R. Horsley, Guy Rogers, Steven Friesen, Rick Strelan, *NewDocs*, Helmut Koester, Michel Cottier, and Norbert Zimmermann and Sabine Ladstätter, to name but a few.[105] Finally, the coinage of Ephesus, both in

103. See the criticisms of G. H. R. Horsley, "The Inscriptions of Ephesos and the New Testament," *NovT* 34 (1992): 119–20.

104. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Ephesus: Texts and Archaeology* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2008), 175.

105. G. H. R. Horsley, "A Fishing Cartel in First-Century Ephesos," *NewDocs* 5:95–114; Horsley, "Inscriptions of Ephesos," 105–68; Guy MacLean Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos* (London: Routledge, 1991); Rogers, *The Mysteries of Artemis: Cult, Polis, and Change in the Graeco-Roman World*, Synkrisis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*; Rick Strelan, *Paul, Artemis, and the Jews in Ephesus* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996); G. H. R. Horsley, "The Silversmiths at Ephesos," *NewDocs* 4:7–10; R. A. Kearsley, "Some Asiarchs in Ephesos," *NewDocs* 4:46–55; Richard Oster, "Holy Days in Honour of Artemis," *NewDocs* 4:74–82; G. H. R. Horsley, "Giving Thanks to Artemis," *NewDocs* 4:127–29; Horsley, "Fishing Cartel"; R. A. Kearsley, "The Mysteries of Artemis at Ephesos," *NewDocs* 6:196–202; Kearsley, "Ephesus: *Neokoros* of Artemis," *NewDocs* 6:203–5; James R. Harrison, "Family Honour of a Priestess of Artemis," *NewDocs* 10:31–38; Harrison, "Artemis Triumphs

the Hellenistic and imperial periods, has been intensively discussed in the scholarly literature.[106]

The enormity of the Ephesian epigraphic corpus, therefore, allows researchers to use its evidence not only for the urban world of Ephesus[107] but also for the cultural conventions and elitist ideology pervading social life in Asia Minor more generally.[108] Furthermore, the Ephesian

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Over a Sorcerer's Evil Art," *NewDocs* 10:39–47; Harrison, "The 'Grace' of Augustus Paves a Street at Ephesus," *NewDocs* 10:61–66; Helmut Koester, ed., *Ephesos: Metropolis of Asia. An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion and Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); M. Cottier et al., eds., *The Customs Law of Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Norbert Zimmermann and Sabine Ladstätter, *Wall Painting in Ephesos from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine Period* (Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari, 2011).

Note also the following works on Ephesus itself: Anton Bammer, *Ephesos: Stadt an Fluss und Meer* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1988); Richard E. Oster, "Ephesus as a Religious Center under the Principate, I. Paganism before Constantine," *ANRW* 18.3:1661–1728; Friedmund Hueber, *Ephesos Gebaute Geschichte* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1997); Peter Scherrer, *Ephesus: The New Guide*, rev. ed. (Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari, 2000); John K. Davies, "The Well Balanced *Polis*: Ephesos," in *The Economies of Hellenistic Societies, Third to First Century BC*, ed. Zosia H. Archibald, John K. Davies, and Vincent Garielsen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 176–206. For a magisterial discussion of early Christianity in Ephesus, see Paul Trebilco, *The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

106. Barclay V. Head, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia* (London: British Museum, 1892), 47–115; Edward Robinson, "The Coins from the Ephesian Artemision Reconsidered," *JHS* 71 (1951): 156–67; Gilbert K. Jenkins, "Hellenistic Gold Coins of Ephesus," *Anadolu* (1980): 183–88; Richard Oster, "Numismatic Windows into the Social World of Early Christianity: A Methodological Inquiry," *JBL* 101 (1982): 195–223; Stefan Karwiese, "The Artemisium Coin Hoard and the First Coins of Ephesus," *Revue belge de numismatique* 137 (1991): 1–28; John Paul Lotz, "The *Homonoia* Coins of Asia Minor and Ephesians 1:21," *TynBul* 50 (1999): 173–88; Lyn Kidson, "Minting in Ephesus: Economics and Self-Promotion in the Early Imperial Period," *JNAA* 23 (2013): 27–36.

107. Philip Harland, "Honours and Worship: Emperors, Imperial Cults, and Associations at Ephesus (First to Third Centuries CE)," *Studies in Religion* 25 (1996): 319–34. For the epigraphic and archaeological evidence for Ephesian associations, see Ascough, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, 99–108 §§159–75, 222–24 §§B4–B5.

108. For two fine samples of such an approach, see R. Saunders, "Attalus, Paul and PAIDEIA: The Contribution of *I. Eph. 202* to Pauline Studies," in *Early Christianity, Late Antiquity, and Beyond*, vol. 2 of *Ancient History in a Modern University*, ed. T. W. Hillard et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1998), 175–83; E. A. Judge, "Ethical Terms in

epigraphic evidence should be brought to bear on the exegetical study of Ephesians.[109] The theory that Ephesians is a "circular" letter has probably militated against the idea that local epigraphic evidence might throw light on exegetical, historical, and literary puzzles of the epistle, irrespective of whether the author is considered pseudonymous or the apostle himself. The rich contribution that the honorific inscriptions makes to our understanding of the genre of the notoriously long sentence in Eph 1:3–14 is a case in point.[110]

2.7. Colossae, Hierapolis, and Laodicea

At the outset, mention must be made of Ulrich Huttner's magisterial monograph that deals with the expansion of early Christianity in the Lycus Valley.[111] With meticulous attention to the archeological, inscriptional, and literary evidence, Huttner incisively discusses Colossians and Philemon, the evidence of Revelation, as well as the evidence of the church fathers regarding the bishops of Hierapolis, ecclesiastical institutions, persecutions, and legends. It is methodologically an excellent example of what needs to be done in our discipline. But what studies have been devoted to each of the Lycus Valley cities themselves?

St Paul and the Inscriptions of Ephesus," in *The First Christians in the Roman World*, 368–77.

109. However the comment of Peter T. O'Brien (*The Letter to the Ephesians*, Pillar New Testament Commentary [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009], 49) demonstrates the resistance of exegetes to our position: "a specific knowledge of the ancient city of Ephesus, in spite of the increasing amount of information available to us, especially through the inscriptions, does not assist us a great deal in interpreting the letter." The untested assumption implicit in O'Brien's statement is made clear when one remembers there are more than 3,600 Ephesian inscriptions. How can we claim that no difference will be made to the interpretation of Ephesians if we refuse from the outset to engage with such a vast corpus of inscriptions? I am grateful to Isaac Soon for drawing my attention to this reference. However, the *Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) is a significant exegetical step forward in this regard. A similar project employing the inscriptions is imperative.

110. Holland Hendrix, "On the Form and Ethos of Ephesians," *USQR* 42 (1988): 3–15.

111. Ulrich Huttner, *Early Christianity in the Lycus Valley*, Early Christianity in Asia Minor (Leiden: Brill, 2013). See, in the same series, Cilliers Breytenbach and Carola Zimmermann, *Early Christianity in Lycaonia and Adjacent Areas* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

Although the mound of Colossae remains to be excavated, scholars have been able to pursue studies of the site, as the Alan Cadwallader and Michael Trainor volume has shown.[112] Not only have new Colossian inscriptions been recently found in situ and translated by Cadwallader,[113] but also pottery shards from the mound itself and various funerary stelae from the neighboring area have provided revealing insights into Colossian culture and personalities.[114] Rosalinde Kearsley's article in the volume, on the inscriptions of Hierapolis and Laodicea, shows in miniature the riches to be mined by incisive epigraphic research.[115] The recent work of Rosemary Canavan employs the iconography of clothing found on the Lycus Valley statuary, stelae, and coins to throw light on the clothing imagery behind Col 3:1–17.[116] Canavan's highly original scholarship illustrates the great potential of "visual" exegesis. Last, although Colossae remains an "ugly stepsister" in this scenario, yet to be excavated and bypassed by the new Turkish highway on the tourist track, the recent finds of Colossian inscriptions published by Cadwallader underscore the riches remaining to be unearthed should excavation begin sometime in the future.[117] Cadwallader's rich discussion of the relevance to Colossians

112. Alan H. Cadwallader and Michael Trainor, eds., *Colossae in Space and Time: Linking to an Ancient City*, NTOA/SUNT 94 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).

113. Alan H. Cadwallader, "Refuting an Axiom of Scholarship on Colossae: Fresh Insights from New and Old Inscriptions," in Cadwallader and Trainor, *Colossae in Space and Time*, 170–75; Cadwallader, "Honouring the Repairer of the Baths at Colossae," *NewDocs* 10:110–13.

114. Michael Trainor, "Excavating Epaphras of Colossae," 232–46, and Bahadir Duman and Erim Konakçi, "The Silent Witness of the Mound of Colossae: Pottery Remains," 247–81, both in Cadwallader and Trainor, *Colossae in Space and Time*.

115. Rosalinde A. Kearsley, "Epigraphic Evidence for the Social Impact of Roman Government in Laodicea and Hierapolis," in Cadwallader and Trainor, *Colossae in Space and Time*, 130–50.

116. Rosemary Canavan, *Clothing the Body of Christ at Colossae*, WUNT 2/334 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012).

117. Cadwallader "Refuting an Axiom," 170–74; Alan Cadwallader, "A New Inscription, A Correction and a Confirmed sighting from Colossae," *Epigrapha Anatolia* 40 (2007): 109–18; Cadwallader, "Honouring the Repairer of the Baths: A New Inscription from Kolossai," *Antichthon* 46 (2012): 150–83. See also Cadwallader's semi-popular book, *Fragments of Colossae* (Adelaide: ATF Press, forthcoming). Cadwallader has also edited two Colossian epitaphs in *SEG* 57.1384–85. Cadwallader has mentioned to me in private email correspondence (March 22, 2014) that he is

of a fragment of a Colossian gladiator stele, recently pointed out to him by a local on a trip to Colossae, is a case in point.[118]

The Italian epigraphist Tullia Ritti has long since collected and published the Greek inscriptions of Hierapolis.[119] Ritti has recently published an English collection of these inscriptions, with commentary, relevant to specific archaeological sites of Hierapolis.[120] Both of these works build on the vast corpus of inscriptions from Hierapolis collected by Walther Judeich at the end of the nineteenth century.[121] Moreover, Hierapolis is also a very important archaeological site in the Lycus Valley. It is famous for its vast necropolis and accompanying inscriptions (revealing a Jewish presence in the city), its theater with its famous mythological relief, and seating for the civic elites and dignitaries, local associations, and gladiator reliefs,[122] to name a few attractions. As recently as 2010 an Italian monograph on the coinage of Hierapolis from extensive archaeological campaigns has been published.[123] It is therefore a curiosity of Colossians scholarship, given that

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preparing two other Colossian inscriptions for publication: (1) a pedestal noted in an obscure 2005 Turkish publication and (2) an epitaph from the necropolis where a man, his wife, and the wife of another man are mentioned as occupying the grave ("a rare but not unique reference, although usually an allocation to another man [friend etc.] is the norm").

118. The paper of Alan Cadwallader ("Russell Crowe at Colossae? A Gladiatorial Fragment and the Letter to the Colossians") was presented at the Fellowship of Biblical Studies conference, September 29, 2014, Mandelbaum House, Sydney, Australia, and is now included in expanded form in this volume ("Assessing the Potential of Archaeological Discoveries for the Interpretation of New Testament Texts: The Case Study of a Gladiator Fragment from Colossae and the Letter to the Colossians").

119. Tullia Ritti, *Hierapolis, scavi e ricerche I: Fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1985).

120. Tullia Ritti, *An Epigraphic Guide to Hierapolis (Pamukkale)* (Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari, 2006). On the archaeology of Hierapolis, see Francesco D'Andria, *Hierapolis of Phrygia (Pamukkale): An Archaeological Guide*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari, 2010).

121. See Carl Humann et al., eds., *Altertümer von Hierapolis* (Berlin: Reimer, 1898), 67–202.

122. See Ritti, *An Epigraphic Guide*. For the "association" inscriptions of Hierapolis, see Ascough, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, 94–99 §§147–58. On the Hierapolis theater relief, see Francesco D'Andria and Tullia Ritti, *Hierapolis, scavi e ricerche II: Le sculture del Teatro. I rilievi con i cicli di Apollo e Artemide* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1985). On gladiators at Hierapolis, see Tullia Ritti and Salim Yilmaz, *Gladiatori e venationes a Hierapolis di Frigia* (Rome: Accademia Naz. dei Lincei, 1998).

123. Adriana Travaglini and Valeria Giulia Camilleri, *Hierapolis di Frigia, le monete: campagne di seavo 1957–2004* (Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari, 2010).

Epaphras was also a pastor to believers at nearby Hierapolis and Laodicea (Col 4:13), that the abundant epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological evidence of each city has not been brought into dialogue with the epistle, especially in view of our meager material evidence from Colossae.

Laodicea is another important archaeological site, with its inscriptions recently published,[124] as well as a massive two-volume study, published in Turkish, of the necropolis surrounding the city in all directions, comprising some 283 tombs.[125] In the case of the necropolises of Hierapolis and Laodicea, the hierarchical and agonistic values of the civic elites are revealed in the mortuary ostentation of the postclassical polis. Such ostentation became even more prolific as the civic elites moved increasingly into the center of the polis with their grandiose monuments and inscriptions. Here we have the opportunity to study, from the perspective of the Lycus Valley cities (Col 1:2; 4:13, 15–16; Rev 3:14), the social outworking of the values promulgated by the early Christians (e.g., Col 3:1–4:6; Rev 3:14–22), as well as Paul's use of the gladiatorial imagery of the arena (e.g., 1 Cor 4:8–13; 2 Cor 4:8–9; 6:3–10), to cite two examples. Furthermore, Trainor has brought into play the evidence of funerary stelae in discussing the network of social relations fostered by Epaphras in his house churches in the Lycus Valley.[126] Although the study of these cities by New Testament scholars is in its infancy,[127] the explosion of archaeological work being carried out at Laodicea and Hierapolis, along with the study of their inscriptions, will reveal further insights into the urban culture of the Lycus Valley and its house churches.

124. Thomas Corsten, ed., *Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos* (Bonn: Habelt, 1997). Before the volume of Corsten, we were indebted to Louis Robert's discussion of the Laodicean inscriptions: "Inscriptions," in *Laodicée du Lycos: Le Nymphée (campagne 1961–1963)*, ed. Jean des Gagniers et al. (Québec: L'Université Laval, 1969), 247–389.

125. C. Selal, M. Okunak, and M. Bilgin, *Laodikeia Nekropulü (2004–2010 Yillari)*: vol. 1: *Laodikeia çalismalari. Metin*, vol. 2: *Laodikeia çalismalari* (Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari, 2011).

126. Trainor, "Excavating Epaphras of Colossae," 232–46; Trainor, *Epaphras: Paul's Educator at Colossae* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2008).

127. Cadwallader and Trainor, *Colossae in Space and Time*; see Larry Kreitzer, *Hierapolis in the Heavens: Studies in the Letter to the Ephesians* (London: T&T Clark, 2008).

2.8. Rome and Ostia

Recently, in a methodologically innovative book, Peter Oakes has helpfully brought the evidence of Romans into dialogue with the archaeological evidence of Pompeii.[128] Oakes culled demographic information and data from Pompeii to depict daily life in a typical *insula*, or apartment complex, similar to those that some of Paul's auditors might have lived in at Rome. [129] Oakes suggested that these analogous materials point to the likelihood of a Christian meeting occurring in a craftsman's workshop in an apartment block in Transtiberim in Rome.[130] Although the evidence for Pompeii and Herculaneum is extensive, one wonders why Oakes did not bring the (admittedly more meager) archaeological evidence of Rome into dialogue with Romans. This is not meant in any way to diminish Oakes's very considerable achievement: rather it is simply a reminder that we must prioritize the local evidence, even where it is ambiguous, fragmentary, or inconclusive.

In the case of Rome, the archaeological remains of an early second-century-BCE *insula* were found at base of the Capitoline Hill, close to the nearby Roman Forum.[131] We also have four *CIL* inscriptions mentioning *insulae* at Rome (*CIL* 6.67, 10250, 29791, 9824), as well as further inscriptional (e.g., *AE* 1971.45) and literary references (Tertullian, *Val.* 7) attesting to their presence in the city.[132] While we must not play down the

128. Peter Oakes, *Reading Romans in Pompeii: Paul's Letter at Ground Level* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2010).

129. Ibid., 1–97. See also James Packer, "Inns at Pompeii: A Short Survey," *Cronache Pompeiane* 4 (1978): 5–53; Andrew D. Wallace-Hadrill, "Elites and Trade in the Roman Town," in *City and Country in the Ancient World*, ed. John Rich and Andrew D. Wallace-Hadrill (London: Routledge, 1991), 241–72; Marisa Ranieri Panetta, ed., *Pompeii: The History, Life, and Art of the Buried City* (Vercelli: White Star, 2004); John Joseph Dobbins and Pedar William Foss, eds., *The World of Pompeii* (London: Routledge, 2007); Mary Beard, *Pompeii: The Life of a Roman Town* (London: Profile, 2008); Gregory S. Aldrete, *Daily Life in the Roman City: Rome, Pompeii and Ostia* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009).

130. Oakes, *Romans in Pompeii*, 98–126. Note Oakes's comment (91): "Jewett is undoubtedly correct that most of the groups met in apartment blocks rather than houses. Apartment blocks were too prevalent at Rome for this to be otherwise."

131. Amanda Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 262–64 fig. 110.

132. Lawrence Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 208.

unequivocal New Testament evidence for the *domus* of socially advantaged believers being initially the primary site for house church meetings, Robert Jewett's argument that the early Christians at Thessalonica and Rome also met in *insulae* merits consideration.[133] Moreover, there were other options for meeting places for the early Roman believers.[134] Given the presence of slaves—including some from the *familia Caesaris* (Phil 4:22)—in the early Christian community at Rome, an inscription (*CIL* 6.6215, 6216) from a socially prominent Julio-Claudian family in the city helps us to imagine how Christian slaves in a well-off *domus* might have had access to apartment blocks for their meetings.[135] In a tombstone from the Statilius household at Rome, we hear of slaves such as "Cerdo, caretaker (ins[ul(arius)]) of the apartment block" and "Eros, the other caretaker (ins(ularius)) of the apartment block."[136] Would a trusted believing slave (see Eph 5:5–8; Col 3:22–25; 1 Pet 2:18) have been able to persuade his master about the use of a room for a "meeting place" in an apartment block, or would the use of a space by a non-Roman "cult" have been socially unthinkable for a Roman apartment owner? What would have happened if the master were a Christian? While this scenario is speculative and the social ramifications are unclear, this type of evidence allows us to see that, as the early Christian movement grew rapidly, alternatives to the *domus* as a meeting place must have been required. This is now confirmed by the important new work of Edward Adams on the issue, referred to above.[137] He has set out all the evidence for the wide range of nonhouse meeting places adopted by Christians in the early centuries for their worship and teaching, placing in question

133. Robert Jewett, "Tenement Churches and Communal Meals in the Early Church: The Implications of a Form-Critical Analysis of 2 Thessalonians 3:10," *BR* 38 (1993): 23–43; Jewett, "Are There Allusions to the Love Feast in Rom 13:8–10?," in *Common Life in the Early Church: Essays Honoring Graydon F. Snyder*, ed. Julian Victor Hills (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998), 265–78; Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007).

134. Edward Adams, *The Earliest Christian Meeting Places: Almost Exclusively Houses?* (London: T&T Clark, 2013).

135. See, however, Oakes's cautionary comments about not overstating the case for the "upward social mobility" of slaves from a limited sample of slaves in the *family Caesaris* (*Romans in Pompeii*, 78–79).

136. Brian K. Harvey, trans., *Roman Lives: Ancient Roman Life as Illustrated by Latin Inscriptions* (Newburyport MA: Focus, 2004), 89 §55.

137. Adams, *Earliest Christian Meeting Places*, 138–97.

the scholarly assumption that the *domus* remained the primary (or only) meeting place for believers. The issue acutely raises the question of the social location of believers at Rome. Readers are referred to the different conclusions of Peter Lampe and Edwin Judge on the topic, each appealing to the Latin inscriptional evidence.[138]

In terms of the capital itself, many scholars have meticulously discussed the archaeological sites of Rome and its harbor town Ostia,[139] with others collecting the inscriptions and primary-source literature relating to

138. Peter Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus: Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 153–95; Edwin A. Judge, "The Roman Base of Paul's Mission," in *The First Christians in the Roman World*, 553–67.

139. For Rome, see especially Margareta Steinby, ed., *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, 5 vols. (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1993–2000). Additionally, see Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929); Ernest Nash, *A Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1968); James E. Packer, "Housing and Population in Imperial Ostia," *JRS* 57 (1967): 80–99; Packer, *The Insulae of Imperial Ostia* (Rome: Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, 1971); Russell Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973); Giovanna Vitelli, "Grain Storage and Urban Growth in Imperial Ostia: A Quantitative Study," *World Archaeology* 12 (1980): 54–68; Claridge, *Rome: An Archaeological Guide*; Richardson, *Topographical Dictionary*; Jan Theo Bakker, *Living and Working with Gods: Studies of Evidence for Private Religion and its Material Environment in the City of Ostia (100–500 AD)* (Leiden: Brill, 1994); Bakker, *The Mills-Bakeries of Ostia: Description and Interpretation* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1999); Jon Coulston and Hazel Dodge, *Ancient Rome: The Archaeology of the Eternal City* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 2000); Birger Olsen, Dieter Mitternacht, and Olof Brandt, eds., *The Synagogue of Ancient Ostia and the Jews of Rome: The Building and Its History from the First to the Fifth Century* (Stockholm: Åström, 2001); Catharine Edwards and Greg Woolf, eds., *Rome the Cosmopolis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Filippo Coarelli, *Rome and Environs: An Archaeological Guide* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Aldrete, *Daily Life*; Hannah Stöger, "Roman Ostia: Space Syntax and the Domestication of Space," in *Layers of Perception. CAA 2007. Proceedings of the 35th International Conference on Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology, April 2–6, 2007, Berlin, Germany*, ed. Axel Posluschny, Karsten Lambers, and Irmela Herzog (Bonn: Habelt, 2007), 322–27; http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/516/1/10_03_stoeger_ostia.pdf; Stöger, "Clubs and Lounges at Roman Ostia: The Spatial Organisation of a Boomtown Phenomenon," *Proceedings of the Seventh Space Syntax Symposium*, ed. Daniel Koch, Lars Marcus, and Jesper Steen (Stockholm: KTH, 2009), http://hdl.handle.net/1887/14297; Björn Christian Ewald and Carlos F. Norêna, eds., *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). On the epigraphic and archaeologi-

the various buildings of the city.[140] While the imperial context of Romans has been well covered in New Testament studies,[141] the symbolic messages conveyed by the sacred space of monuments at Rome, their relation to each other, and their ideological significance in relation to the motifs of Romans need to be discussed, especially in terms of "audience reception" of Paul's message.[142]

In sum, this intersection of the inscriptional evidence with the archaeological record at Rome helps us to venture into largely untraveled territory in scholarship on Romans, a journey that would perhaps help us hear Paul's text with the ears of a resident of early imperial Rome.

3. Conclusion

The series The First Urban Churches comes at an important stage for New Testament scholars. Significant strides have been made in the archaeological exploration of our biblical cities, with the lamentable exception

cal evidence for associations in Ostia, see Ascough, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, 199–202 §§317–18, 228–36 §§B11–B21.

140. Donald Dudley, *Urbs Romana: A Source Book of Classical Texts on the City and Its Monuments* (London: Phaidon, 1967); Peter J. Aicher, *Rome: A Source-Guide to the Ancient City*, vol. 1 (Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2004). On the epigraphic and archaeological evidence for associations in Rome, see Ascough, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, 205–15 §§319–29, 238–40 §§B25–B28.

141. Jewett, *Romans*; Neil Elliot, *The Arrogance of the Nations: Reading Romans in the Shadow of Empire* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008); Harrison, *Paul and the Imperial Authorities*; Harrison, "More Than Conquerors"; Harrison, "Augustan Rome and the Body of Christ: A Comparison of the Social Vision of the *Res Gestae* and Paul's Letter to the Romans," *HTR* 106 (2013): 1–36. See also Peter Oakes, ed., *Rome in the Bible and the Early Church* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2002).

142. James R. Harrison, "Paul among the Romans," in *All Things to All Cultures: Paul among Jews, Greeks and Romans*, ed. Mark Harding and Alanna Nobbs (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 143–76, esp. 143–47. See, however, the excellent work of Jenkyns, *God, Space and City*. More generally, see Peter Richardson, *City and Sanctuary: Religion and Architecture in the Roman East* (London: SCM, 2002). The restoration of Augustus's mausoleum, gated off in the 1960s, was recently commenced with government funding in 2014 for a 2016 opening. See Tom Kington, "Augustus Rules Again as Rome Acts to Restore Lost Mausoleum," *The Guardian*, March 29, 2014, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/29/augustus-rome-lost-mausoleum/. For photographs of the mausoleum from 1921 to 1941, see Fabio Betti et al., ed., *Mausoleo di Augusto Demolizioni e scavi* (Rome: Electa, 2011).

of Colossae, as well as in the collection of the inscriptional texts in various translated volumes (French, German, modern Greek, and English) for most of the cities. The time has come for New Testament exegetes to listen more closely than they have ever before to the early Christian writings in their first-century urban context. The exegetical dividends will be rich and unexpected.

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