

THE STRUGGLE OVER CLASS

SBL Press

WRITINGS FROM THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD
SUPPLEMENT SERIES

Clare K. Rothschild, General Editor

Number 19

SBL Press



THE STRUGGLE OVER CLASS

Socioeconomic Analysis of Ancient Christian Texts

Edited by

G. Anthony Keddie, Michael Flexsenhar III, and Steven J. Friesen

SBL Press



SBL PRESS

Atlanta

Copyright © 2021 SBL Press

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by means of any information storage or retrieval system, except as may be expressly permitted by the 1976 Copyright Act or in writing from the publisher. Requests for permission should be addressed in writing to the Rights and Permissions Office, SBL Press, 825 Houston Mill Road, Atlanta, GA 30329 USA.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2021946556

SBL Press

Contents

Abbreviationsix

Introduction: The Struggle over Class in the Study of
Early Christianity
G. Anthony Keddie 1

Part 1. Epistles and Assemblies

The Matter of Class: Assemblages, Networks, and the
Shape of the Pauline Collectives
Cavan W. Concannon53

“Wife, Pray to the *Lar*”: Wives, Slaves, and Worship in
Roman Households
Caroline Johnson Hodge73

Complicating Class in the Letter to Philemon:
A Prolegomenon
Alan H. Cadwallader95

Class-ifying the Gods: The Christ Commodity
in Philippians 3
Jennifer Quigley.....123

Response to Part 1: Theoretical Perspectives on the
Stratification of Wealth, Power, and Status in the
Ancient Mediterranean World
Philip F. Esler149

Part 2. Synoptic Traditions

Class Conflict and Galilee at the Time of Jesus James Crossley	163
Reading Mark through the Lens of Class Alicia J. Batten	187
Exhuming Class: Syrian Mortuary Practices and Class Differences in the Gospel of Matthew G. Anthony Keddie	209
Response to Part 2: Lessons I Learned Skipping Class Zeba Crook	237

Part 3: Gospel of John and Acts of the Apostles

Class of History and History of Class in John and Acts Christina Petterson	253
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

Part 4: Apocalyptic Literature

Class Consciousness, Group Affiliation, and Apocalyptic Speculation Lorenzo DiTommaso	277
Class, Classification, and Political Conflict in the Study of Apocalypticism: The Case of 1 Corinthians 1–2 Emma Wasserman	313
Class Analysis in the Book of Revelation: Intersections of Economy, Religion, and Gender Steven J. Friesen	347
Response to Part 4: Class, Intersectionality, and Apocalyptic Rhetoric Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza	365

Part 5: Patristic Literature

Unequally Yoked: Tertullian on Marriage and Class
 Michael Flexsenhar III.....377

How Level Is the Playing Field? Virtue and Socioeconomic
 Standing in the Works of Gregory of Nyssa
 Jaclyn Maxwell.....395

Response to Part 5: Reflections on Class in Late Antiquity
 Daniëlle Slootjes419

Contributors.....435

Ancient Sources Index.....437

Modern Authors Index.....449

SBL Press

SBL Press

Abbreviations

Primary Sources

1 En.	1 Enoch
1QM	Milḥamah or War Scroll
1QS	Serek Hayahad or Rule of the Community
4QMyst ^a	Mysteries ^a
<i>Agr.</i>	Philo, <i>De agricultura</i>
<i>A.J.</i>	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates judaicum</i>
<i>Amic.</i>	Cicero, <i>De amicitia</i>
<i>Ann.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i>
<i>Ant. rom.</i>	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>Antiquitates romanae</i>
<i>Att.</i>	Cicero, <i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>
<i>Aug.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i>
<i>Beat.</i>	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>Orationes viii de beatitudinibus</i> (<i>On the Beatitudes</i>)
<i>Bell. civ.</i>	Appian, <i>Bella civilia</i>
<i>B.J.</i>	Josephus, <i>Bellum judaicum</i>
<i>Cod. theod.</i>	<i>Codex theodosianus</i>
<i>Cult. fem.</i>	Tertullian, <i>De cultu feminarum</i>
<i>Dig.</i>	Digesta
<i>Ep.</i>	Horace, <i>Epistulae</i> ; Pliny, <i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Epigr.</i>	Martial, <i>Epigrammata</i>
<i>Epit.</i>	Florus, <i>Epitome rerum romanorum</i>
<i>Exh. cast.</i>	Tertullian, <i>De exhortatione castitatis</i> (<i>Exhortation to Chastity</i>)
<i>Geog.</i>	Strabo, <i>Geographica</i>
<i>Gos. Thom.</i>	Gospel of Thomas
<i>Hist.</i>	Dio Cassius, <i>Historia Romana</i>
<i>Hist. rom.</i>	Appian, <i>Historia romana</i>
<i>Idol.</i>	Tertullian, <i>De idolatria</i>

Inst.	Justiniani Institutiones
Leg.	Plato, <i>Leges</i>
Macr.	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>Vita sanctae Macrinae</i>
Nat.	Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis historia</i>
Noct. att.	Aulus Gellius, <i>Noctes atticae</i>
Oec.	Philodemus, <i>De oeconomia</i>
Or.	Dio Chrysostom, <i>Orationes</i>
Pall.	Tertullian, <i>De pallio</i>
Pol.	Aristotle, <i>Politica</i>
Prob.	Philo, <i>Quod omnis probus liber sit</i>
Quint. frat.	Cicero, <i>Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem</i>
Rep.	Cicero, <i>De republica</i>
Res gest. divi Aug.	Res gestae divi Augusti
Rosc. com.	Cicero, <i>Pro Roscio comoedo</i>
Rust.	Columella, <i>De re rustica</i>
Sat.	Horace, <i>Satirae</i>
Scap.	Tertullian, <i>Ad Scapulam</i>
Thaum.	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi</i>
Ti. C. Gracch.	Plutarch, <i>Tiberius et Caius Gracchus</i>
Trall.	Ignatius, <i>To the Trallians</i>
Ux.	Tertullian, <i>Ad uxorem</i>
Vita	Josephus, <i>Vita</i>

Secondary Sources

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
AcT	<i>Acta Theologica</i>
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium

BGU	Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BIWK	Petzl, Georg, ed. <i>Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens</i> . Bonn: Habelt, 1994.
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BR	<i>Biblical Research</i>
BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CH	<i>Church History</i>
CIIP	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae</i> . Berlin, 2011–.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin, 1862–.
CIQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
<i>CurBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EC	<i>Early Christianity</i> . Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010–.
ECL	Early Christianity and Its Literature
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
ESEC	Emory Studies in Early Christianity
FC	Fathers of the Church
FD 3.2	Colin Georges, ed. <i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> , vol. 3: <i>Épigraphie</i> , fasc. 2: <i>Le trésor des Athéniens</i> . Paris: Boccard, 1900–1913.
GNO	<i>Gregorii Nysseni Opera</i> . Edited by W. W. Jaeger et al. Leiden, 1960–1996.
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
HBT	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
IAA Reports	Israel Antiquities Authority Reports

<i>IGR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes.</i> Edited by R. Cagnat et al. Paris, 1906–1927.
IK	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien.
I.Knidos	Blümel, W., ed. <i>Die Inschriften von Knidos I.</i> IK 41. Bonn: Habelt, 1992.
I.Laodikeia	Corsten, T., ed. <i>Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos.</i> IK 49. Bonn: Habelt, 1997.
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
I.Priene	Gaertringer, F. Hiller von, ed. <i>Die Inschriften von Priene.</i> Berlin: Reimer, 1906.
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>JAJ</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism.</i> Leiden: Brill, 2010–.
<i>JANER</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JDS</i>	Judean Desert Studies
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JIWE</i>	Noy, David. <i>Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe.</i> 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993–1995.
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRASup</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplements
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSHJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus.</i> Leiden: Brill, 2003–.
<i>JSJSup</i>	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KST	Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon.</i> 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies

MAMA	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua. Manchester and London, 1928–1993</i>
NDIEC	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i>
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NEAEHL	<i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land.</i> Edited by Ephraim Stern. 4 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993.
Neot	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NIB	<i>The New Interpreter's Bible.</i> Edited by Leander E. Keck. 12 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1994–2004.
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTL	New Testament Library
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OGIS	Dittenberger, Wilhelm, ed. <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.</i> 2 vols. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903–1905.
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
P.Oxy.	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri.</i> London, 1898–.
P.Turner	<i>Papyri Greek and Egyptian Edited by Various Hands in Honour of Eric Gardner Turner.</i> London, 1981.
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RIC 4.1	Mattingly, Harold, and Edward A. Sydenham. <i>Pertinax to Geta.</i> Vol. 4.1 of <i>Roman Imperial Coinage.</i> London: Spink, 1968.
RIDA	<i>Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité</i>
RRA	Rhetoric of Religious Antiquity
RStB	<i>Ricerche storico bibliche</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCH	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
SEÅ	<i>Svensk exegetisk årsbok</i>
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTW	Studies of the New Testament and Its World

SP	Sacra Pagina
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPatr	Studia Patristica
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WGRWSup	Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplement Series
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

SBL Press