DAVID L. BALCH

Contested Ethnicities and Images

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
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Mohr Siebeck

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Contested Ethnicities and Images

Studies in Acts and Art

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

Collecting these essays written over past decades stimulates me again to thank teachers, two of them originally at Abilene Christian University. Chapter 7 was first published in a volume to honor Everett Ferguson, and chapters 3 and 9 in volumes to honor Abraham Malherbe (1930–2012),[1] which I now republish for Abe in memoriam. In the doctoral program at Yale, Abe taught us how to relate New Testament texts to contemporary Greek and Latin texts, which sheds startling new light on their meaning, often no longer the same as the traditional interpretation.

The Introduction below introduces the essays themselves; this Preface is more personal. Still, chap. 2 below I wrote originally in a dissertation for Prof. Malherbe, and the relationships I describe between Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Josephus – I later added Luke-Acts – became an agenda that has informed my professional life. I add that my later fascination with Roman domestic art was a total surprise and is a continuing delight.

Before doing doctoral work at Yale, I was studying German at a Goethe Institute in Lüneburg, not far from the (former) East German border, when Russian tanks rolled into Prague, Czechslovakia (summer 1968), setting in motion events that led to the fall of the Berlin wall; I watched history change before my eyes. That fall I moved to Tübingen, historically one of the most important centers of theological education in the world, where Ernst Käsemann and Jürgen Moltmann were teaching in the Protestant faculty, Hans Küng and Josef Ratzinger in the Catholic faculty. I cannot express how exciting Tübingen was in those days. Events revolutionized the political world; so also those teachers metamorphosized my theological world. I would not be a New Testament scholar without that training and experience.

In a seminar that first semester, Käsemann asked the class, maybe 15 German students and 15 foreigners sitting in the back trying to understand the language, to translate and interpret some verses. A young German woman opened her Greek Testament, translated, and interpreted, very impressive to me. Käsemann then spent what seemed like an eternity telling her emphatically what was wrong with her exposition, "not personal" he said. To this North American,

[1] Abraham J. Malherbe, *Light from the Gentiles: Collected Essays, 1959–2012* (eds. C. R. Holladay, J. T. Fitzgerald, G. E. Sterling, J. W. Thompson; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 2 vols.

having been raised in a largely passive-aggressive religious culture to be nice, to say nothing if you cannot say something complimentary, that experience was shocking. The German, Hegelian style of setting out a thesis, another attacking it with an antithesis, and working toward the truth in a synthesis was new to me, not comfortable. The German word for such debate is *Auseinandersetzung*, far stronger than the English term. Käsemann said "Nein!" far more often than he said "Ya." I grew to admire Käsemann and absorbed some of the style, hopefully also his passion for truth. Whether that is simple irascibility or rather is a passion for being clear and finding truth in our revelatory texts, perhaps both, I leave for readers to decide.

Decades later I took a sabbatical in Rome and studied, now in Italian, with Frederick Brenk at the Pontifical Biblical Institute, a school of the Jesuit Gregorian University. Fred opened up the world of Roman archaeology and Roman domestic art to me. The libraries to which Fred introduced me in Rome are priceless treasures, libraries of the German Archaeological Institute, the British School, the American Academy, and of the Pontifical Biblical Institute. (I add the libraries of the University of California at Berkeley, sacred places to me.) I pay grateful tribute to Fred in the final chapter (20) of this book.

In Rome I also came to know Andrew and Jo Wallace-Hadrill; it is commonly agreed that he knows more about Roman housing that anyone else alive. He and Jo surprised me by agreeing to come to a conference that Carolyn Osiek and I organized at Brite Divinity School in Fort Worth, Texas (2000). Andrew's understanding of Roman housing, of *domus* and *insulae*, differs radically from what has been a virtual consensus among New Testament scholars, an occasion for an *Auseinandersetzung* – among friends, I hope (chap. 16). Later, John R. Clarke became another mentor in Roman domestic architecture and art; his critical suggestions have improved, for example, chap. 16.

Through the past two decades in Rome I have also repeatedly experienced the hospitality of the Lay Centre, founded and directed by Dr. Donna Orsuto, assisted for the past decade by Robert White, the Associate Director; for the vespers services, conversations at dinner, special lectures, and for their consistently warm reception, I am utterly grateful.

I am deeply grateful to former colleagues at Brite Divinity School, especially for the Dean and President emeritus, Leo Perdue, a great Hebrew Bible scholar, who transformed the faculty, e. g. by calling Eugene Boring, Carolyn Osiek, and Stephen Sprinkle, the latter a gay man, to be the Director of Contextual Education in Fort Worth, relating Brite students to the churches. With Leo as Dean and Steve as colleague, we learned not only to talk about Nieburian theology in conflict, but to practice doing it.

Now at Pacific Lutheran Theological Seminary (PLTS), which has just merged with California Lutheran University (CLU) and is related to the nine seminaries of the Graduate Theological Union (GTU) in Berkeley, California, I experience

other exciting colleagues, especially my friend, Prof. Annette Weissenrieder; collaboration with her keeps generating new ideas and essays, e. g. chap. 13 below.

I thank two colleagues / friends in Jewish Studies, Alan F. Segal (1945–2011), with whom I studied at Yale, and Susannah Heschel, who taught nearby at Southern Methodist University when I taught at Brite Divinity School / TCU. I learned much from both, although neither is responsible for the views I express in this book on the relationships between early Judaisms and early Christianities. I am deeply grateful to Prof. Erich Gruen (University of California at Berkeley, Ancient History), for critical conversations on Luke-Acts and historiography / biography, which are reflected in chap. 10.

Two doctoral students, who wrote dissertations I chaired, were and are outstanding scholars, Aliou Niang from French Senegal and Israel Kamudzandu from formerly British Zimbabwe. They taught me valuable lessons on diversity in postcolonial approaches to reading the Bible. I remain grateful to Aliou as well as to Carolyn Osiek for co-editing a Festschrift for me.[2]

For retyping the early essays, I thank Anthony Scoggins. For help proofreading this book I am grateful to Dr. Gary Pence, and especially to Dr. Claus-Jürgen Thornton, both of whom have saved me from significant errors. I thank Dr. Henning Ziebritzki and Ms. Jana Trispel for guiding this third book with a CD through the publication process at Mohr Siebeck. I thank Dr. Jason T. Lamoreaux for the first index.

In a more personal mode, I add gratitude to a counselor, Rod Seeger, whose sage observations have helped me navigate my complex life in our increasingly diverse culture. Finally, I dedicate this book to my three adult children, Alison Elaine Hopkins, Christina Irene Balch, and Justin Jeremiah Balch. Over the past forty years, my relationship with each of them has unimaginably deepened my experience of what mutual human love, support, and respect might mean. As I grow older (not old), I find that the direction of who teaches whom in our family is reversing itself, a lovely experience.

David L. Balch

[2] A. C. Niang and C. Osiek, *Text, Image, and Christians in the Graeco-Roman World: A Festschrift in Honor of David Lee Balch* (Princeton Theological Monograph Series; Eugene: Pickwick, 2012).

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This book contains a CD with ancient images / visual representations.

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 volumes. New York: Doubleday, 1992
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
AR	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
ASNU	Acta seminarii neotestamentici Upsaliensis
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BCom	Bullettino della commissione archeologica communale di Roma
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BMCR	*Bryn Mawr Classical Review*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CPh	*Classical Philology*
CPJ	*Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum.* Edited by V. A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks. 3 volumes. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CurTM	*Currents in Theology and Mission*
CW	*Classical World*
DictArt	*The Dictionary of Art*. Edited by Jane Turner. 34 volumes. New York: Grove, 1996
EBib	Études bibliques
EKKNT	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
FGH	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Edited by Felix Jacoby. 4 Parts. Leiden: Brill, 1954 ff.

fig. / figs.	figure / figures[1]
Fs.	Festschrift
FZPhTh	*Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*
GR	*Greece & Rome*
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
inv.	inventory number
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JEA	*The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JFSR	*Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JRASup	Journal of Roman Archaeology. Supplements
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism: Supplement Series
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
Künstlerlexikon	*Künstlerlexikon der Antike*. Edited by R. Vollkommer and D. Vollkommer-Glökler. 2 volumes. Munich: K. G. Saur, 2001
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio divina
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Redaktion H. C. Ackermann. 9 parts plus indices and supplements. Düsseldorf: Artemis, 1981–2009
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th edition with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996
LTUR	*Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*. A cura di E. M. Steinby. 6 parts plus supplements. Rome: Quasar, 1993–2009
LXX	Greek Septuagint
MAAR	*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
MANN	Museo Archaeologico Nationale di Napoli
MH	*Museum Helveticum*
NedTT	*Nederlands theologisch Tijdschrift*
NETS	New English Translation of the Septuagint
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements

[1] In English "plate" is not the best term for an image on a CD; therefore, I refer to images on the CD published with this book as "figures." I do not change the terminology of authors whom I quote, of course, but continue to use "plate," the most common designation for images printed in a book. This results in some inconsistency in my footnotes, in which both terms appear.

NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, N. F.
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OCD	*Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Edited by S. Hornblower. 3d edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar
PitPom	*La pitture pompeiana.* Edited by I. Bragantini and V. Sampaolo. Naples: Electa, 2009
pl. / pls.	plate / plates[2]
PPM	*Pompei: pitture e mosaici*. Edited by I. Baldassarre. 10 volumes. Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. Rome: Arti Grafici Pizzi, 1990–2003
PPMSup	*La documentazione nell'opera di disegnatori e pittori dei secoli XVIII e XIX*. Edited by I. Baldassarre. Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. Rome: Arti Grafici Pizzi, 1995 [= Supplement to *PPM*]
PW	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Edited by Georg Wissowa. Stuttgart: Druckenmüller, 1893 ff.
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RAr	*Revue archéologique*
REA	*Revue des études anciennes*
RelSRev	*Religious Studies Review*
RM	*Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Institutes, Römische Abteilung = Römische Mitteilungen*
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study
SBLSP	*Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SHAW	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra Pagina
Spengel	L. Spengel, ed., *Rhetores Graeci*. 3 volumes. Leipzig: Teubner, 1853–1856
SSEJC	Studies in Early Judaism and Christianity
SSN	Studia semitica neerlandica
StPB	Studia Post-Biblica
SVTP	Studia in veteris testamenti pseudepigrapha
SwJT	*Southwestern Journal of Theology*
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 volumes. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*

[2] In English authors who publish images in printed articles and books typically refer to these images as "plates." See "fig." with n. 1.

TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum / Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*
VCSup	Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

Introduction

The first group of essays in this book focuses on the contested movement in Rome, Athens, and Jerusalem toward a citizenship of multiple ethnicities, a development that was intensely debated, a major social/political process unfolding in Rome itself and in other ethnic groups and countries conquered by Rome. Most of the essays republished in Part One below (Chapters 1–11) revolve around aspects of this contested social/political change. Since this conflict lies behind Acts 10–15 and informs my essays, I have written an introductory chapter (Chapter 1) observing that a century earlier than Luke, Dionysius of Halicarnassus[1] constructs debates between a Greek general on the one hand, and a Roman king on the other, which prefigure the debates in Acts between orthopraxic, separatist believers on the one hand, and the originally separatist apostle Peter on the other, whose visions move him toward baptizing Cornelius, an ethnic other, into the people of God. Stated in one sentence, the eleven essays in Part One interpret the contested, political, plural ethnic origins of Christianity as narrated by Luke-Acts[2] in the context of political debates around a citizenship of multiple ethnicities in the early Roman Empire.

Second, I am also republishing several essays on visual representations and the New Testament (Chapters 13–18); I introduce this second section (Part Two) by giving one example, Jesus' ascension, in which Roman visual images are related to Luke-Acts (Chapter 12).

Immediately below I have written brief paragraphs on each of the essays that I am republishing, citing some important, more recent bibliographical items in the footnotes. The additional bibliography is not comprehensive, but simply points to further, recent research. Chapters 1, 12, 14, 18, 19, and 20 are new.

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[1] The most important book on Dionysius is the recent dissertation by N. Wiater, *The Ideology of Classicism: Language, History, and Identity in Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 105; Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2011), which I review in Chapter 19 below. I recommend reading the review and/or Wiater's book itself along with my essays.

[2] Ethnicity and race are extraordinarily difficult to define. See E. D. Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations: The Function of Race and Ethnicity in Acts 16* (WUNT 2.294; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), chs. 1–2, who surveys scholarship, cautioning against essentializing; ethnicities are socially constructed, but nevertheless powerful categories. E. Gruen, "Did Ancient Identity Depend on Ethnicity? A Preliminary Probe," *Phoenix* 67/1–2 Spring/Summer 2013): 1–20, raises critical questions.

Part One: Luke-Acts

Chapter 1. "The Contested Movements in Rome, Athens, and Jerusalem toward Citizenships / Memberships of Multiple Ethnicities (Introducing Chapters 2–11)."

Chapter 2. "Two Apologetic Encomia" is an early article that set an agenda for me. Dionysius' encomium of Rome (late first century B. C. E.) is 185 pages in Greek (ed. Cary), Josephus' encomium of the Jews (ca. 100 C. E.) 31 pages (ed. Thackeray), and the rhetorical pattern in Menander (third century C. E.) 24 pages (ed. Russell and Wilson). Stretching over four centuries, these three encomia follow the *same outline for many pages of Greek text*. Originally, I was researching domestic ethics in 1 Peter (2:18–3:7),[3] following which the author exhorts the readers (3:15), "always be ready to make your defense (ἀπολογίαν) to anyone who demands …" I quickly found Josephus' "defense," and then also read his model, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, noticing close similarities, which helped me locate Petrine domestic ethics in a larger political, civic context.

Beyond interpreting 1 Peter, I learned that a Greek from Asia Minor living in Rome in the final decade B. C. E., Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and a Jewish priest from Jerusalem living in Rome in the final decades of the first century C. E., Josephus, accepted the same long list of core civic / political values, although they differed and debated rhetorically with respect to specific topics, e. g. how to love God and how to relate to foreigners. Subsequently, reading both Dionysius and Josephus, it became very clear that whether an ethnic / civic group (Romans, Greeks, Jews) relates to and "accepts" foreigners was a very sensitive topic, so sensitive that the rhetorical outline bulges at just that point. Also outside their encomia, accusations from others inform how both Dionysius and Josephus write their larger, twenty-volume biographical / historical works on Rome and the Jews. Forty years ago in a dissertation at Yale (completed in 1974 working with Abraham Malherbe), I concluded that political tensions and social changes around ethnicity – customs, laws, languages, gods / goddesses – were major, divisive cultural / religious issues in first century B. C. E. and first century C. E. Rome, Greece, Asia Minor, and Judea.[4]

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[3] D. L. Balch, *Let Wives Be Submissive: The Domestic Code in 1 Peter* (SBLMS 26; Chico: Scholars, 1981). Now see D. G. Horrell, *Becoming Christian: Essays on 1 Peter and the Making of Christian Identity* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013), esp. ch. 7.

[4] For discussion of the purpose of *Contra Apionem*, especially 2.145–295 (after publication of my article [1982]), see S. Mason, "The *Contra Apionem* in Social and Literary Context: An Invitation to Judean Philosophy," in *Josephus' Contra Apionem: Studies in Its Character and Context with a Latin Concordance to the Portion Missing in Greek* (ed. L. H. Feldman and J. R. Levison; AGJU 34; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 187–228, who argues that it belongs to *logoi protreptikoi*, "discourses and dialogues intended to promote 'conversion' to a philosophical community." "This is not primarily an exercise in forensic rhetoric, debating the truth about the past, but it hovers between epideictic (confirming shared ideals) and deliberative (requiring further action)." (Mason, 216)

Chapter 3. "The Areopagus Speech" was published in a Festschrift that I edited for my mentor at Yale, Abraham Malherbe, who had suggested to students in a seminar that study of the first century B. C. E. philosopher / historian Posidonius would shed light on the Lukan Paul. This Stoic philosopher argued for divine providence in nature, and he narrated divine providence in history, I argue, strengthening Conzelmann's exegetical argument that the Lukan Paul's philosophical conclusion in Acts 17:31 ("he has fixed a day on which he will judge the world in righteousness …") is the goal and climax of the speech, not "a foreign body within Acts," as Jervell had argued.[5]

Further, Posidonius was one of the few philosophers in antiquity to stress that God is "without form," on the basis of which opinion he criticized representing the divine with images of animals or humans, a true philosophical opinion according to Acts 17:25 and 29. The Lukan Paul guards the legitimate, philosophical, Stoic tradition against the Athenians, who delight in novelties (Acts 17:21).

Chapter 4. Against scholars who see *1 Enoch* as a primary source of economic ethics in Luke-Acts, "Rich and Poor, Proud and Humble in Luke-Acts" argues for sources in Greco-Roman rhetoric and politics. Alexander Fuks of Hebrew University in Jerusalem examined texts in Isocrates, the primary influence on Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that emphasize the problem of poverty versus riches, the deep gulf between the "haves" and the "have nots." Following Isocrates, Dionysius narrates the first open conflict between poor and rich, humble and proud in Rome, Greek terms that reappear in Luke's Magnificat (Luke 1:48, 52–53).

Isocrates and Dionysius are not the only writers who employ this language; Plutarch reports similar concerns among Stoic teachers in Sparta and by Tibe-

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On the other hand, J. W. van Henten and R. Abusch, "The Jews as Typhonians and Josephus' Strategy of Refutation in *Contra Apionem*," also in *Josephus' Contra Apionem* (ed. Feldman and Levison), 271–309, esp. 295–309 (with bibliography), perceive a shift from refutation (forensic) to panegyric (epideictic) at *C. Ap.* 2.145, which however remains, they argue, within the bounds of forensic rhetoric. J. M. G. Barclay, *Against Apion: Translation and Commentary* (Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary; ed. S. Mason; Leiden: Brill, 2007), xvii, xix, xxxiii, agrees that *C. Ap.* 2.145–286 is encomium, but insists (xix–xxi) that this concluding section is part of the whole, which is "defensive apologetic," "the refutation of slanders."

Now see S. Price, "Religious Mobility in the Roman Empire," *JRS* 102 (2012): 1–19.

For "theocracy" and "aristocracy" in Josephus, see P. Spilsbury, "*Contra Apionem* and *Antiquitates Judaicae*: Points of Contact," in *Josephus' Contra Apionem* (ed. Feldman and Levison), 348–68. For translation of several rhetorical exercises mentioned in this chapter (Hermogenes, Aphthonius), see G. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata; Greek and Roman Textbooks in Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[5] For more recent study of Posidonius see K. Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), ch. 3: "Posidonius: Geography, History, and Stoicism." She emphasizes (185–92) his Stoicism and concludes (192): "Posidonius' contribution to rewriting the late Hellenistic world was twofold. The new world of Rome, stretching to the Ocean, also involved the conquest of many peoples, a historical process which must itself be outlined, and which brought with it the need to depict recently encountered peoples, places, and cultures."

rius Gracchus, consul in Rome. The chapter gives specific examples in Ephesus and Alexandria where the forgiveness of debts called for in Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer (11:4) was actually practiced.[6]

Chapter 5. "Paul in Acts: 'You Teach All the Jews … To Forsake Moses, Telling Them Not to … Observe the Customs' (Acts 21:21)" quotes Josephus more than other articles in this collection. Josephus, like Dionysius and Luke-Acts, is concerned about maintaining traditional ethnic / religious "customs," one of which is the philanthropic treatment of foreigners. In a Roman international world, diverse ethnic groups wanted to be perceived as philanthropic, not misanthropic in relation to others, a topic rhetorically available to accuse another group. Josephus, Dionysius, and Luke-Acts were all concerned that their particular ethnic and religious customs not be "forbidden" by the Romans, e. g. Josephus, *Ant*. 16.41–45, and Acts 28:31, the final word of the two volumes. Customs in relation to (the) God(s) were among the most important and disputed, e. g. Dionysius (*Ant. rom*. 2.20) criticized the "myths" of the Greeks while praising the "theology" of the Romans. Josephus (*C. Ap.* 2.139) ridicules Egyptian animal gods, while defending the laws given by God through Moses. The Lukan Paul also claims that he is simply proclaiming "the God of the Fathers" (e. g. Acts 22:14; 24:14; 26:5), not changing or abolishing traditional customs.

Chapter 6. "Political Friendship" outlines four legends that Dionysius narrates, which are contests and debates that involve difficult decisions between friendships understood and practiced differently, all four of which assume that love of country is primary. The first of the four is a long, painful narrative of a David and Goliath battle between three Alban cousins, the Curiatii, fighting their three Roman cousins, the Horatii, to the death for the rule of their city over the other.[7]

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[6] For innovative study of poverty in the Roman world see B. W. Longenecker, *Remember the Poor: Paul, Poverty, and the Greco-Roman World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), and C. Bakker Wilson, *For I Was Hungry and You Gave Me Food: Pragmatics of Food Access in the Gospel of Matthew* (Foreword by Warren Carter; Eugene: Pickwick, 2014). For Isocrates' rhetoric, later the decisive influence on Dionysius of Halicarnassus, see J. Walker, *The Genuine Teachers of This Art: Rhetorical Education in Antiquity* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011), chs. 2–3.

[7] Subsequently I discovered that these bloody contests employ gladiatorial vocabulary and imagery: S. P. Oakley, "Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy on the Horatii and the Curiatii," in *Ancient Historiography and Its Contexts: Studies in Honour of A. J. Woodman* (ed. C. S. Kraus, J. Marincola, and C. Pelling; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 118–38, at 123–24, 128–30, with n. 47. Compare R. von den Hoff, "Horror and Amazement: Colossal Mythological Statue Groups and the New Rhetoric of Images in Late Second and Third Century Rome," in *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic* (ed. B. E. Borg; Millennium-Studien 2; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 105–24, with 12 figures. However, both the Laocoon sculpture (see D. L. Balch, *Roman Domestic Art and Early House Churches* [WUNT 228; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008], ch. 3) and Dionysius' narrative discussed in this chapter demonstrate that such "horror and amazement" began more than a century earlier than the Second Sophistic.

The second pair of friends in tension are Roman patricians and plebeians, who inhabit the city like wild beasts, without community. Fascinating speeches are given on both sides of the conflict between rich and poor, proud and humble. The plebeian Brutus demands magistrates for protection of the poor, that is, tribunes, granted by the senate, which also promises forgiveness of debts, language reappearing in the Lord's Prayer (Luke 11:4).

The third conflict among friends is between Coriolanus, the greatest general of his age, and the poor plebeians. Tribunes of the plebeians bring this haughty lover of his country to trial and banish him for denying the poor the necessities of life by keeping the price of corn high. Tyranny against the poor, it is persuasively argued, destroys the commonwealth.

Fourth, Coriolanus, wanting to avenge himself on his Roman enemies, leads an army against them, which results in his mother, Veturia, becoming his suppliant, asking forgiveness for Rome. Dionysius places some of his most amazing ideas on friendship in the mouth of this woman, a mother addressing her son:

> For the gods themselves, who in the first place instituted and delivered to us these customs, are disposed to forgive the offenses of men and are easily reconciled. … Unless you think it fitting, Marius [Coriolanus], that the anger of the gods should be mortal, but that of men immortal! You will be doing, then, what is just and becoming both to yourself and to your country if you forgive her her offences, seeing that she is repentant and ready to be reconciled.[8] (*Ant. rom*. 8.50.4, trans. Cary in LCL)[9]

Chapter 7. "Attitudes toward Foreigners in 2 Maccabees, Eupolemus, Esther, Aristeas, and Luke-Acts," – against some who have assumed that Judaism (in the singular) had a negative attitude and that Christianity (also in the singular) had a positive, missionary attitude toward foreigners – demonstrates that there was considerable variety in Maccabean Jerusalem. In the Hebrew Esther, to give one example, the possibility of extermination had been an historical accident, the result of an all-powerful despot who agrees to the wish of an advisor without even knowing the victims. The Greek Additions to Esther dramatically increase the emphasis on slander, threatened holocaust, and denial of more generalized, anti-Jewish accusations, not ones focusing on symbolic actions such as the Maccabean martyrs' refusal to eat pork. But according to Bickerman, when Lysimachus made these Additions to Esther under Alexander Jannaeus, "the simple dichotomy of his book was already out of fashion" (see Chapter 7, n. 49). Other

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For a rhetorical analysis of the speeches in Dionysius' narrative, books 3–7, see Walker, *Genuine Teachers* (see n. 6), 266, 271–72, 275–79.

[8] Walker, *Genuine Teachers*, 279, quotes Dionysius, *Ant. rom*. 7.45.4, "Drag yourself down, wretched man [Coriolanus], from that overbearing, tyrannical haughtiness to an attitude more populist, and make yourself at last like other people." Walker asserts, "This would seem to be the heart of Dionysius' political-philosophical lesson in the *Roman Antiquities*."

[9] In a forthcoming Festschrift, I do a close reading of this fourth friendship story: "Two Mothers: Veturia and Mary; Two Sons: Coriolanus and Jesus," in *Bodies, Borders, Believers: Ancient Texts and Present Conversations*, to be published by Wipf & Stock (2015).

examples: Eupolemus, Judas Maccabaeus' ambassador to Rome in 161 B. C. E., wrote of king Solomon's friends the kings of Egypt and of Tyre, both of whom sent skilled workers to help build the Temple in Jerusalem. Likewise the *Letter of Aristeas* represents the high priest in Jerusalem as a true friend of king Ptolemy, Queen Arsinoe and the children (41), who cherish piety for "our God" and recognize the "holy words of Torah" (31, 177). Analogously, Acts (6–7) presents disputes in Jerusalem between Hebrews and Hellenists who believe in Jesus. Finally, I follow a former classmate at Yale, Alan Segal, who observes that in early Judaism, election differs from salvation, and on this point, Aristeas is closer to 2 Maccabees: both are observant, as Lukan Gentile Christians are not.[10]

Chapter 8. "ἀκριβῶς … γράψαι (Luke 1:3)" documents that Luke writes "fully," usually mistranslated "accurately"; that is, the task of a historian is not simply to narrate action, as Mark had done, but rather to construct speeches explaining not only what, but also who, how, where and why the events happened. Speeches are the adverbs of Hellenistic historical narrative. Both Dionysius and 2 Macc 2:28 use this Greek root with a similar meaning. Readers then would know whether they have reason to follow the characters' successful actions or to avoid their failures.

The speeches in Luke-Acts repeatedly encourage the churches to accept foreigners, and our Gentile historian writing decades later from Ephesus or Rome correctly perceives that this social issue was a focus of major debate in the earliest church in Jerusalem, as indeed it actually was historically in Judean society from the second century B. C. E. (2 Maccabees and Eupolemus) through the first century C. E. (Josephus).

Chapter 9. Assuming changing values with respect to a citizenship of multiple ethnicities, "The Cultural Origin of 'Receiving All Nations' in Luke-Acts: Alexander the Great or Roman Social Policy?" inquires about the social origins of this value, Hellenistic Alexander or Rome, beginning by distinguishing sources for Alexander. The most reliable source, Arrian, because he depended on the most reliable witnesses, verbalizes Alexander's goals as becoming Lord of Europe and Asia, not of "all nations." The two times Arrian uses more universal language seem to be later Roman formulations, employing Eratosthenian (later) geographical conceptions.

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[10] In addition see the essays on *Jewish Identities in Antiquity: Studies in Memory of Menahem Stern* (ed. L. I. Levine and D. R. Schwartz; TSAJ 130; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

For more on Maccabean Jerusalem see F. E. Brenk, "Jerusalem-Hieropolis: The Revolt under Antiochos IV Epiphanes in the Light of Evidence for Hierapolis of Phrygia, Babylon, and other Cities," in *Relighting the Souls: Studies in Plutarch, in Greek Literature, and Philosophy, and in the New Testament Background* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998), 354–93, and also R. Doran, "The Persecution of Judeans by Antiochus IV: The Significance of 'Ancestral Laws'," in *The "Other" in Second Temple Judaism: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins* (ed. D. C. Harlow, K. M. Hogan, M. Goff, and J. S. Kaminsky; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 423–33.

In contrast, the "Clitarchian Vulgate", that is, Diodorus and Plutarch, typically employ universal language of Alexander's aims, which seems more appropriate in Plutarch's biography of a Roman, Caesar. Quintus Curtius wrote under Nero or Vespasian, and the speeches of Alexander in his work seem to reflect intense debates in the first century C. E., reflected in a speech of Emperor Claudius to the Roman senate in 48 C. E., the very same year that Acts narrates a similar debate in Jerusalem among early believers (Acts 15).

Chapter 10. "ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ[11]: Jesus as Founder of the Church in Luke-Acts: Form and Function" is the most important and longest of the essays relating Dionysius and Luke-Acts. Erich Gruen in one lunch conversation (July, 2002, in Berkeley) changed my mind on the genre of Luke-Acts. I had argued for more than a decade that those two volumes are history, not biography or novel; however, in this paper to be given in Berlin, I had not only recounted Dionysius' stories of Romulus and Numa, kings of Rome, but for comparison I had added Plutarch's biographies of the founders of Athens, Sparta, and Rome. Gruen asked me to explain the difference between Dionysius' "history" and Plutarch's "biography" of Romulus; two hours later, I had failed to clarify differences. My first response was not gratitude, but eventually I came to think that focusing on the political issues at stake, not on genre, was / is a significant advance. I remain astounded by Erich's vast knowledge as well as by his generosity and kindness.

The first section of the essay focuses on rethinking the significance of genre. I argue that Dionysius writes seven "biographies" of Roman kings within his "history" of Rome. In the biographies the verbs focus on the individual kings (section 1.1), and these seven biographies compare in length to the Gospels in the New Testament (see esp. n. 10). The Gospel of Luke is a biography within the history of Luke-Acts, just as Dionysius wrote biographies of Roman kings within his history of Rome.

The second section of the essay (#2) collects sixteen Greek terms shared in common by Dionysius, Plutarch, and Luke-Acts, not minor terms, but sixteen contested values that these three authors share, eulogizing and / or criticizing their own ethnic / cultural / political groups, as well as evaluating other groups. Dionysius eulogized Rome, but on a few crucial, contested points – including ethnocentricity, he criticizes his own Greeks / Athenians. Plutarch's "biographies" always compare Greeks and Romans, including e. g. Theseus and Romulus, founders of Athens and Rome. Luke narrates the biography of Jesus in his history of the origin of the church in order to persuade the churches to acculturate in Roman society, to open the doors of their houses / churches to foreign others; and Luke criticizes Pharisees, inside and outside the churches, for their separatism.

[11] Now compare P. Liddel, "*Metabole Politeion* as Universal Historiography," in *Historiae Mundi: Studies in Universal History* (ed. P. Liddel and A. Fear; London: Gerald Duckworth, 2010), 15–29.

The final section (3) examines how founders, e.g. Romulus and Numa of Rome, Lycurgus of Sparta, and Jesus in Israel, change constitutions, change a people's way of life, even though typically they must argue that this is not change, but rather reinstitutes the policies of an ancient founder or prophet. A citizenship of multiple ethnicities was new in Rome until the Social War. Augustan authors then begin claiming that it had been instituted by the founder, Romulus. Luke, acculturating in Roman society, claims that this does not change the customs of Moses, because accepting multiple ethnicities into the people of God was prophesied long ago by Amos and Isaiah.

Chapter 11. The editors of a Lutheran journal asked me to write an essay clarifying what my research on Luke-Acts means for the contemporary church, for pastors and lay persons. I had just attended (2009 in Minneapolis) the Church Wide assembly of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA), in which I am an ordained pastor. I had only voice, not vote, but the thousand delegates, a majority of them lay, had voted to encourage bishops to ordain qualified Lesbian/Gay/Bisexual/Transgender (LGBT) persons as pastors. Ernst Käsemann had taught me (1968–1970 in Tübingen) that the question of continuity/discontinuity is crucial in interpreting the New Testament and the history of the church. The delegates in Minneapolis who quoted the Bible while contending with each other agreed that ordaining LGBT persons would be a change!

My interpretation of Luke-Acts, books in the New Testament canon, emphasizes *dis*-continuity in the history of the church while claiming continuity with the Founder as well as with ancient sacred texts. In the third generation of the church in a context of internal and external disputes, Luke-Acts, quoting Isaiah, Jesus, James, Peter, and Paul (the society was patriarchal), urged a political change toward a membership of multiple ethnicities. These two books provide a parallel to the church in later centuries changing toward a more moral stance on social/political issues, an argument against one-sidedly stressing continuity, against recreating Roman, anti-democratic, hierarchical, patriarchal, misogynist, homophobic political institutions in twenty-first century churches.

Part Two: Roman Domestic Art and the New Testament (Chapters 12–18)

My turn toward seeing and interpreting visual representations in Roman houses in relation to the New Testament remains a mystery to me. However, I vividly remember sitting in the Pontifical Biblical Institute library in Rome and reading *1 Clem* 6:2 again ("women persecuted … as *Dircae*, suffering terrible and unholy tortures …"), after I had seen numerous frescos in Pompeii of *Dirce* (my italics) being tied to a bull. Instantaneously, I realized what the author meant, although

the passage has puzzled many textual commentators. Since then, reading New Testament and patristic texts while viewing Roman domestic art has given me deep excitement and pleasure.[12]

Chapter 12. "Image and Text in Luke-Acts: Subverting Roman Imperial Images (Introducing Chapters 13–18)."

Chapter 13. "Women Prophets / Maenads Visually Represented in Two Roman Colonies: Pompeii and Corinth" (with 12 figures). Annette Weissenrieder, a colleague at the Graduate Theological Union and a friend, asked me to contribute to a symposium in honor of her predecessor, Antoinette Wire, who had written a crucial book on women in Corinth. Since both Pompeii and Corinth were Roman colonies, and since they both had early, first century B. C. E. amphitheaters, I argue that we may learn more about early Christian charismatic women in Corinth by viewing Roman domestic art of Dionysian maenads, who are often visually represented dying as Dircae. I observe many similarities between the Dionysian and the Christian women, but notice crucial differences in the mythology of the two cults and their social meaning.

Chapter 14. "Artists in Pre-Roman Corinth and Sicyon." Pliny observed, "Some say painting was discovered at Sicyon, others in Corinth"! (*Nat.* 35.15, trans. Rackham in LCL) This article names thirteen famous artists over several centuries B. C. E. from these two neighboring cities, observing, for example, that the earliest visual representation of Dionysus is on a *Corinthian* vase.

Chapter 15. "Values of Roman Women Including Priests Visually Represented in Pompeii and Herculaneum" (with 20 figures). To honor Carolyn Osiek, a former President of the Society of Biblical Literature, also a co-author and former colleague at Brite Divinity School, I wrote on visual representations of women who were priests. She and a colleague at Harvard had collected and published all the texts on ordained women in the early church. I enjoyed adding visual images of feminine priests from Roman domestic painting and sculpture. Lyn has emphasized the role of older women teaching younger women, and one of these images visually represents just that cultural / religious role (fig. 20). I conclude by hoping that these images of women priests encourage feminist writers who realistically imagine expanded roles for early Christian women such as Euodia (Phil 4:2), Nympha (Col 4:15–16), and Grapte (Hermas, *Vis.* 2.4.3).[13]

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[12] Since these articles are more recent, I have fewer suggestions on subsequent bibliography, with the exception of Chapter 13, to which I have added a whole section (1.1.1) on the date of the Corinthian amphitheater.

[13] The Corinthian *atrium* (37) in Casa dei Dioscuri has a crowd of monumental divine images. After publishing this article, I discovered another such series of images of gods / goddesses in the Casa del Naviglio (VI 10,11; PPM IV: 1072–1101), *atrio* (2): #10 Zeus, #19 Aphrodite Urania, #22 Dionysus, #23 Cerere, #24 Apollo and the dragon of Delphi; oecus (22): #37 Dionysus as a baby; oecus (24): #41 Romulus and Silvia.