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Jewish Acts in the polis: ethnic reasoning and the Jewishness of Christians in Acts of the Apostles

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JEWISH ACTS IN THE POLIS: ETHNIC REASONING AND THE JEWISHNESS OF CHRISTIANS IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

by

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To Amy, my best friend,

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ABSTRACT

This project examines the depiction of Jewish and Christian identity in Acts of the Apostles by placing the writer's ethnic claims within a broader material and epigraphic context. Scholarship on Jewish identity in Acts has often emphasized Jewish and Christian religious difference, an emphasis that has tended to mask the intersections of civic, ethnic, and religious identifications in antiquity. Such identity categories did not exist as distinct, stable entities. Rather, as discussions of identity in antiquity demonstrate, they were contested, negotiable, and ambiguous. Bringing Acts into conversation with recent scholarly insights regarding identity as represented in Roman era material and epigraphic remains shows that Acts presents Jews and Jewish identity in multiple, complex ways, rather than as a simple foil for "Christianity."

The dissertation argues that when the modern distinctions between ethnic, religious, and civic identities are suspended, the innovative ethnic rhetoric of the author of Acts comes into focus. The underlying connection between ethnic, religious, and civic identities provided him with space to present non-Jewish Christians as converted Jews and therefore to identify all Christians as Jews. On the basis of this identification, he marked Christians as a unified Jewish community that enhanced the stability of the city, contrasting them with other Jewish communities. By creating an internal distinction

between Christians and other Jews, he privileged Christians as the members of an ideal, unified Jewish community and contrasted them with what he identified as factious, local Jewish associations.

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LIST OF JOURNAL AND SERIAL ABBREVIATIONS

ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBR	Currents in Biblical Research
CR	Classical Review
CTR	Criswell Theological Review
CW	Classical World
EvT	Evangelische Theologie
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
Int	Interpretation
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JAJ	Journal of Ancient Judaism
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JBR	Journal of Bible and Religion
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSNTS	Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series
JSOTSSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies

KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio Divina
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
RB	Revue Biblique
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
SEÅ	Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Monograph Series (Society for New Testament Studies)
SR	Studies in Religion
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
TynBul	Tyndale Bulletin
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Chapter One: Introduction—Jews and Christians in the *Polis*

Introduction

Spreading out from the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, the cities of the Roman Empire were filled with gods and the citizens who honored them with festivals, processions, buildings, and benefactions. The followers of Jesus—later Christians[1]—lived and moved in these cities, navigating avenues lined with statues honoring various deities, organizing their days and months around the feast days that structured civic calendars, and wandering past (and through) the many temples and shrines that populated the busy urban landscape. The importance of this urban context should not be overlooked: civic, ethnic, and religious identities were intertwined with these visible, material, and practical signs of communal life, wherever one was placed within the city's bustling (and hierarchical) topography. Connections between life in the city and daily religious practices were therefore fundamental to the development of Christian identity. A primary focus on literary sources has tended to mask this broader religious, cultural, and civic setting, however, leaving the impression that categories like "Christian," "Jew" and "pagan" were recognizably bounded groups, fixed identities known to those who

[1] Throughout this project I use the term "Christian" to identify those who honored the God of the Jews and Jesus as his messiah. The author of Acts did not use the term "Christian" in this way, but it remains heuristically useful for this project.

held them and also visible to outsiders.[2] As this study shows, identities were highly contested and negotiable. They were enacted by writers with distinctive rhetorical goals who operated within this broader culture of civic-religious engagement.

This project compares the literary construction of Jewish and Christian identity in Acts of the Apostles with the material construction of various ethnic and civic identities by inhabitants of Roman era cities. From this comparison, it argues that the writer of Acts, like other actors within these urban, environments, negotiated ethnic similarities and differences in light of preconceptions about god(s), ancestry and tradition, and geography. It contends that this writer uses the gods-people-place connection to strategically represent Jewish identity as hybrid in order to identify all Jesus followers, both Jews and non-Jews, as Jewish. At the same time, the writer creates an internal distinction between Jesus followers and other Jews, which privileges "Christians" as the members of an ideal, unified *Jewish* community and contrasts them with what are identified as factious, local Jewish associations.[3]

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[2] The terms "Christian," "Jew," and "pagan" are, of course, problematic. See discussion of "Christian" and "Jew" below and discussion of "pagan" and "paganism" in James J. O'Donnell, "The Demise of Paganism," *Traditio* 35 (1979): 45–88.

[3] Throughout this project, I strategically use the term "association" as identification for local Jewish communities rather than the term "synagogue." The modern term "synagogue," which is a transliteration of the Greek term συναγωγή, can mean both the building where a Jewish community gathers and the Jewish community itself. I use "association," in part to distinguish Jewish communities from their places of meeting and in part to highlight the similarities between Jewish communities and other associations that gathered in the ancient *polis*. In antiquity other associations also used the Greek term συναγωγή. See discussion in Philip A. Harland, *Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians: Associations, Judeans, and Cultural Minorities* (New York: T & T Clark, 2009), 25–26, 40.

This work seeks to intervene in the all-too-common scholarly reception of first- and second-century Christian identity as non-ethnic.[4] On the one hand, the work argues that Acts attempts to identify all Jesus followers as Jews in order to place them in the hierarchical, gods-infused urban landscape. Jesus followers are now urban Jews. On the other, it contends that the author of Acts endeavors to differentiate his Jesus-following Jews from other Jews in cities. Being a Jesus follower is a better way of being Jewish, the author claims. This double deployment of Jewishness by Luke pushes against interpretations that take Acts to be anti-Jewish rather than intra-Jewish while at that same time instilling an incipient supersessionist impulse in the author's description of Christian origins. Ancient and modern Christians have deployed such an impulse in anti-Jewish ways.[5] An examination of the long and tragic history of anti-Jewish interpretations of Acts is beyond the scope of this project, but it is my hope that juxtaposing the representation of Jewish and Christian identity in Acts with material remains from contemporaneous environments will highlight the centrality of ethnic claims for both early Christians and inhabitants of first and second century cities. Such ethnic claims not

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[4] See discussion in Denise Kimber Buell, "Challenges and Strategies for Speaking about Ethnicity in the New Testament and New Testament Studies," *SEÅ* 49 (2014): 39–44; *idem,* "Early Christian Universalism and Modern Forms of Racism," in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin H. Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 109–31; *idem*, *Why This New Race? Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity*, Gender, Theory, and Religion (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), esp. 138–165.

[5] Shelly Matthews has observed that by embracing Jewish scriptures, Acts also appropriates them, thus allowing Christians to supersede Jews as the "true" Israel. See Shelly Matthews, *Perfect Martyr: The Stoning of Stephen and the Construction of Christian Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 34–36.

only shaped contemporaneous contexts but also have had lasting impact on overt and hidden racial and racist theories that litter Western history and are still perpetuated today.

This project offers three contributions to the study of Acts, and in turn, the study of ancient Christianity more broadly. First, it brings the study of Acts into conversation with recent contributions to the study of Roman era civic religious activity, with a particular focus on material evidence. Scholars have long noted that the narrative of Acts revolves around urban centers,[6] but much more can be said both about the ways that the veneration of civic and ancestral gods classified populations and how the writer of Acts worked within these classificatory systems to define the contours of "Jew" and "Christian." Second, it demonstrates that Acts identifies Jews in multiple, complex ways throughout Acts rather than as a unified stereotyped entity, "the Jews." These representations of Jewish identity are not tangential to the larger discursive program of the writer; as this project argues, they are significant for understanding the way that Acts frames Christian identity. Finally, using Paul's interactions with Jewish communities in three cities as an example, the project shows that Acts arranges Paul's movements through Roman civic landscapes in ways that privilege Christians as a unified and legitimate embodiment of Jewishness within the *polis*—the idealized urban and cultural centers of the Roman era.[7] This study therefore recontextualizes the interpretation of Acts

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[6] Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), 245. See also Laura Salah Nasrallah, "The Acts of the Apostles, Greek Cities, and Hadrian's Panhellenion," *JBL* 127 (2008): 533–66.

[7] Throughout this work, the terms *polis/poleis* and city/cities are used interchangeably.

and Jewish identity within larger Roman era discourses that configured the relations between gods and humans along ancestral and civic lines.[8]

Religious, Ethnic, and Civic Identity

In recent decades, scholars of ancient Christianity have noted the importance of ethnicity and ethnic rhetoric to the formation of ancient Christian identity.[9] This project argues that Acts represents Jewish identity as hybrid and multiple in order to situate the earliest Christians within the Greco-Roman city as members of an ideal *Jewish*

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[8] See now Cavan W. Concannon, *When You Were Gentiles: Specters of Ethnicity in Roman Corinth and Paul's Corinthian Correspondence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), xi–xii.

[9] For ancient Christian literature see, e.g., Denise Kimber Buell, "Producing Descent/Dissent: Clement of Alexandria's Use of Filial Metaphors as Intra-Christian Polemic," *HTR* 90 (1997): 89–104; "Rethinking the Relevance of Race for Early Christian Self-Definition," *HTR* 94 (2001): 449–76; *Why This New Race*; "Christian Universalism"; Denise Kimber Buell and Caroline E. Johnson Hodge, "The Politics of Interpretation: The Rhetoric of Race and Ethnicity in Paul," *JBL* 123 (2004): 235–51; Jennifer Wright Knust, *Abandoned to Lust: Sexual Slander and Ancient Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Caroline E. Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs: A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Aaron P. Johnson, *Ethnicity and Argument in Eusebius' Praeparatio Evangelica*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Laura Salah Nasrallah and Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, eds., *Prejudice and Christian Beginnings: Investigating Race, Gender, and Ethnicity in Early Christian Studies* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2009); Eric Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations: The Function of Race and Ethnicity in Acts 16*, WUNT 2/294 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010); Aaron Kuecker, *Spirit and the "Other": Social Identity, Ethnicity and Intergroup Reconciliation in Luke-Acts*, Library of New Testament Studies 444 (New York: T & T Clark, 2011); Coleman A. Baker, "Early Christian Identity Formation: From Ethnicity and Theology to Socio-Narrative Criticism," *CBR* 9 (2011): 228–37; Michael Kok, "The True Covenant People: Ethnic Reasoning in the Epistle of Barnabas," *SR* 40 (2011): 81–97; Concannon, *When You Were Gentiles*.

community; according to this writer becoming a Christian enacted an ethnic change among non-Jews similar to that of proselyte Jews.[10] This argument develops out of two theoretical assumptions. First, ethnicity and civic identity are flexible categories that are rhetorically and practically constructed in strategic ways in a given work or piece of evidence.[11] Second, what is commonly called "religion" was connected with, and in fact central to, the maintenance of ethnic and civic identity.

Sociologists and anthropologists—along with many archeologists, classicists, ancient historians, and scholars of Hellenistic Judaism and ancient Christianity—now view ethnicity as socially constructed rather than given or essential. Sociologist Rogers Brubaker calls ethnicity "relational, processual, dynamic, eventful, and disaggregated" rather than primordial or unchanging.[12] Anthropologist Richard Jenkins defines ethnicity as a "collective identification that is socially constructed in the articulation of purported cultural similarity and difference."[13] Classicist Jonathan Hall comments, "[e]thnic identity is not a 'natural' fact of life; it is something that needs to be actively proclaimed,

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[10] See discussion of the term "proselyte" in chapter three.

[11] See e.g., Knust, *Abandoned to Lust*, esp. 143–163.

[12] Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 11. The so-called "instrumentalist" view was advocated by Fredrik Barth (*Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* [Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1969]). This differs from the "primordial" view of ethnicity commonly associated with Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973). However, see Richard Jenkins who notes the problems with associating these views with Barth and Geertz (*Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations* [Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997], 44–45).

[13] Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity*, 9–15, 41–51, quote from 50.

reclaimed and disclaimed through discursive channels."[14] Shaye Cohen, scholar of ancient Judaism, agrees with sociologists who say that "ethnic or national identity is imagined; it exists because certain persons want it to exist and believe it exists."[15] Scholar of ancient Christianity Denise Buell observes, "changes in how races and ethnicities are defined over time indicates that they are in fact social creations and not eternal realities."[16] Ethnic identities, including Greek, Roman, and Jewish identities, are socially constructed.

Yet modern scholars also differ in their understanding of how ethnic identities are socially constructed. Some, like Anthony D. Smith, have focused on common features in the articulation of ethnic difference, such as a shared name, myth of common ancestry, elements of shared culture, link to a homeland, or sense of solidarity.[17] On this view, ethnicities are constructed in relation to the putative "core" of a given people group. Other scholars, notably Fredrik Barth, have emphasized the role that differences and

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[14] Jonathan M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 182.

[15] Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 5. Cohen uses the language of "imagined communities" developed in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. ed. (New York: Verso, 2006).

[16] Buell, *Why This New Race*, 6.

[17] Of Smith's numerous publications on nationalism see Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987); Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991); John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, "Introduction," in *Ethnicity*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), esp., 6–7.

group boundaries play when determining ethnic identity.[18] From this perspective, ethnicities are fashioned in relation to and with outsiders who serve as the backdrop or background against which insiders can recognize and perform their own difference. Others still have paid close attention to how discourses of ethnicity "rely upon the notion of fixity or primordiality even while they are always under negotiation and flux."[19] On this view, ethnicities are continually formed and re-formed through appeals to a fixed "core" and set boundaries, yet they remain flexible in practice and in representation.[20] They are continually "negotiated" and "renegotiated" by both insiders and outsiders in a given context. As postcolonial theorists have long noted, however, the putative "core" and supposed boundaries of ethnic identifications change as rhetorical situations change.[21] Viewing ethnicities as both flexible and rhetorically fixed in specific situations provides a means of analyzing ethnic identifications that moves beyond discussion of various definitions of the "core" and boundaries of given people group to an examination of how ethnic identity is used in a given rhetorical situation.

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[18] Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*.

[19] Buell, *Why This New Race*, 7. See also Ann Laura Stoler, "Racial Histories and Their Regimes of Truth," *Political Power and Social Theory* 11 (1997): 183–206; Irad Malkin, "Introduction," in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, ed. Irad Malkin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 1–28.

[20] See discussion in Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity*, 40–51.

[21] On the ways that the core and boundaries of ethnic identifications can change, see Ann Laura Stoler's work on Dutch identity in colonial Indonesia (*Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002]).

Ethnic Reasoning and the Rhetoric of Identity

Denise Buell has proposed one helpful way to navigate this complex topic in her book on ancient Christian self-definition: *Why This New Race? Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity*.[22] Buell observes that ancient Christians regularly identified themselves in ways similar to ethnic groups. This fact contradicts the still pervasive scholarly view that ancient Christian identity was a religious identity that somehow transcended ethnic categorization.[23] The Christian use of ethnic language raises an important question: if ancient Christians used language typically associated with ethnic groups, how can Christians, relative newcomers, compare with people groups that existed for generations, like Jews? Buell's concept of "ethnic reasoning" helps answer this question.

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[22] Buell, *Why This New Race*. Stanley Stowers has critiqued Buell's constructivist view of ethnic identity and argued that ancient Christians' "claim that [their] recently formed group is an ancient ethnicity is not the same as a population that has lived for hundreds of years on land passed down with practices that form the belief that these people inherently belong to this land" (Stanley K. Stowers, "Review of Why This New Race? Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity," *JAAR* 75 [2007]: 727–30, quote from 730). However, generations of work on ethnicity and national identity demonstrate that the claim to be "a population who has lived for hundreds of years" is rhetorical and "imagined" in ways similar to the claims of a more recent group. On "imagined" ethnicities see Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

[23] Craig Keener, for example, writes about the "Gentile mission" in Acts: "While maintaining Judaism's theological exclusivism, the Christians rejected ethnic exclusivism and hence could combat negative perceptions attached to many other Jews" (*Acts: An Exegetical Commentary*, vol. 1 [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012], 509). See also Ernst Haenchen who commenting on Acts 15:35 ("Whoever fears God and does what is right is acceptable to him") writes, "there is no racial barrier to Christian salvation" (*The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971], 351).

"Ethnic reasoning" refers to the rhetoric of peoplehood that ancients used to communicate and convince others about identity.[24] Moreover, it describes the various and varying ways that ancients used the rhetoric of peoplehood to assert and negotiate identity in specific rhetorical situations.[25] Though Buell focuses her attention on the use of ethnic reasoning by ancient Christians, the concept extends to discussion of other populations that are not usually associated with ethnicity, like Romans or Corinthians,[26] and to the ways they also used the rhetoric of ethnicity to make claims about their identities. Ancients employed what Buell calls ethnic reasoning to assert what are now classified as ethnic, religious, civic, and cultural identities.

Ethnic reasoning thus provides a way to read evidence and compare ethnic rhetoric that extends beyond "ethnic groups" to include religious, civic and ethnic designations. An examination of ethnic reasoning also invites a careful account of how people groups use other populations rhetorically to maintain their own identities. Greeks and Romans famously depicted other ethnic groups as uncivilized "barbarians" in order

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[24] Buell, *Why This New Race*, 2.

[25] Buell, *Why This New Race*, 1–5. On my reading, "rhetorical situation" not only includes the rhetorical or literary context of a specific use of language of peoplehood but the larger discourses from which such uses arise. That is to say, the rhetorical situations extend beyond texts and into larger cultural and material contexts.

[26] On ethnicity and Roman identity see Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3–37; on Corinthian identity see Concannon, *When You Were Gentiles*.

to support their imperial expansions.[27] These "barbarians" then used education and culture to claim to be Greeks or Romans and to distinguish themselves from their fellow "barbarians."[28] Likewise, ancient Christians could distinguish themselves from Jews while at the same time claiming the Jewish God,[29] Jewish history, and the Jewish scriptures as their own. Jews also used ethnic rhetoric in the way that they asserted multiple, ethnic identities. Jews in Alexandria, for example, could claim to be simultaneously Alexandrians and Jews, while other inhabitants of the city could assert that Jews were not Alexandrians but were, in fact, outcasts like the despised Egyptians.[30] Reading each of these situations as a form of ethnic reasoning provides a means of moving between discrete modern categories like "ethnicity," "religion," civic identity,

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[27] See the important works Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); and Woolf, *Becoming Roman*.

[28] See, e.g., Tim Whitmarsh, "Reading Power in Roman Greece: The Paideia of Dio Chrysostom," in *Pedagogy and Power: Rhetorics of Classical Learning*, ed. Yun Lee Too and Niall Livingstone, Ideas in Context 50 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 192–213; Rebecca Preston, "Roman Questions, Greek Answers: Plutarch and the Construction of Identity," in *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*, ed. Simon Goldhill (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 86–119; Irene Peirano, "Hellenized Romans and Barbarized Greeks. Reading the End of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Antiquitates Romanae," *JRS* 100 (2010): 32–53.

[29] Throughout this project, I use Jewish God, God of Israel, God of the Jews, and God interchangeably to identify the deity that the author of Acts calls θεός in order to highlight the ethnic connection between god's and their peoples in antiquity. When the author of Acts speaks of θεός, he refers to the deity of the Jewish scriptures and venerated by Jews (and those others who wished to worship the God of Israel).

[30] On the issues surrounding claims about the identity of Jews in Alexandria see John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE - 117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 48–81 esp., 60–71.

and cultural identity in ways that take into account the hybrid ethnic rhetoric already inscribed in ancient texts and material remains.

Buell observes four ways that ancient Christians strategically used ethnic reasoning to make claims about Christian identity. First, ancient Christians used the connection between what we now call "ethnicity" and "religion" to make ethnic claims about Christianity. Second, they capitalized on the ascribed and mutable nature of ethnic identity. Third, they juxtaposed these dual natures to make universalizing claims about the category "Christian." Finally, they deployed ethnic language to compete with other Christians.[31] As mentioned above, Buell's description of ethnic reasoning is not only helpful for discussion of Christian identity, but also for considering ancient Greek and Roman identity as well.

"Religion" and the Production of Ethnic and Civic Identity

Central to ancient Christian uses of ethnic reasoning was the widely held ancient perception that "religion," "ethnicity," and civic identity are inextricably connected.[32]

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[31] See Buell, *Why This New Race*, 2–3. There Buell outlines her four strategic uses of ethnic reasoning more fully.

[32] Paula Fredriksen has pointed out on numerous occasions that in the ancient world, "gods run in the blood" ("'Mandatory Retirement': Ideas in the Study of Christian Origins Whose Time Has Come to Go," *SR* 35 [2006]: 232). Cf. Paula Fredriksen, "Judaizing the Nations: The Ritual Demands of Paul's Gospel," *NTS* 56 (2010): 235. See also Steve Mason who writes, "An ancient *ethnos* normally had a national cult…, involving priests, temples, and animal sacrifice. This cannot be isolated from the *ethnos* itself, since temples, priesthood, and cultic practices were part and parcel of a people's founding stories, traditions, and civic structures" ("Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History," *JSJ* 38 [2007]: 484). Buell writes, "the

Affiliation with a particular god or cult was one important means of asserting and maintaining identity and the veneration of god(s) established commonalities that allowed ancients to define populations in both ethnic and civic terms. In the words of Arthur Darby Nock, "[t]he gods of a people were one of its attributes" and "a city honoured certain deities to whom it looked for the satisfaction of its need."[33]

In antiquity, religious activities were not only used in the maintenance of ethnic and civic identity, but they were central to their production.[34] Buell writes,

> By the first century C.E., religion was well established as a public discourse that was especially useful for asserting, contesting, and transforming ethnoracial as well as civic identities across the Mediterranean basin. How and who one worshipped could indicate or create one's ethnoracial and/or civic membership, even as it was viewed as a product of that membership.[35]

Buell highlights four ways that religious identity was useful for the production of ethnic and civic identity in the ancient world:

> (1) to mark differences between groups, helping to produce a collective civic or ethnoracial identity—especially under conditions of colonialism and diaspora; (2)

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boundaries between religion, ethnicity, civic identity and philosophy were often blurred in antiquity" (*Why This New Race*, 37).

[33] Quotations from Arthur Darby Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), 19, 17 respectively. Nock refers to religions in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. However, the same can be said of the connection between religion, ethnicity, and civic identity in the Roman era. See also the discussion of the importance of civic religion in Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, "What Is Polis Religion?," in *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, ed. Simon R. F. Price and Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 295–322.

[34] Buell, *Why This New Race*, 2, 41–49.

[35] Buell, *Why This New Race*, 49.

> to enable ethnoracial transformations; (3) to establish connections between otherwise distinctive groups; and (4) to assert and regulate differences within groups.[36]

Buell goes on to state, "While these functions cannot always be neatly distinguished and are often intertwined in a given text, it is useful to note how religion gets defined in ways that make it suitable for both asserting fixity and enacting and negotiating ethnoracial fluidity."[37]

Buell's claim is useful for analysis of Acts in a number of ways. For example, in Acts 7, the author of Acts presents a speech of the disciple Stephen which he composed and that recounts a selective Jewish history and shifts from the first person ("we"/"our") to the second ("you"/"your") at a particularly prominent point. The sudden change from "our ancestors" (πατέρες ἡμῶν) to "your ancestors" (παρέρες ὑμῶν) constructs and regulates a difference among Jews. "Our ancestors" support the Holy Spirit and the prophets, while "your ancestors" always (ἀεί) oppose the former and persecute the latter (7:51-52). This contrast does not mark a difference in ethnic identity—all are still Jews. Rather, it uses specific aspects of Jewish religiosity, the work of the Holy Spirit and the

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[36] Buell, *Why This New Race*, 41.

[37] Buell, *Why This New Race*, 41–42. By fluidity, Buell and other ethnic theorists do not suggest that ethnic and racial identities are all fluid in the same way or to the same extent. For example, an identity may be deployed in fluid ways (emphasizing one of multiple ethnic identities in a given situation) or it may be changed through adaption and appropriation of ethnic identifier. The "fluidity" in each case is determined in negotiation with the "borders" of the ethnic identity and the "core" identifiers of a relevant ethnic classification.

role of the prophets, to make an ethnic distinction among Jews.[38] Moreover, what, at the beginning of the speech was a shared, fixed identity, has become in the context of this speech a divided identity.[39] As this example shows, paying attention to how religious activities function in the production of ethnic identity—focusing on the use of ethnic reasoning—offers a helpful way of examining Jewish identity in Acts. Using ethnic reasoning as a theoretical frame also provides a helpful way of comparing the negotiation of Jewish identity in Acts with similar negotiations of identities that were taking place in cities across the Roman world. Civic elites used religious ideology to negotiate civic identity by proclaiming ethnic fixity and by negotiating ethnic fluidity in ways similar to Acts.

This project understands ethnic and civic identities to be constructed, central to the negotiation of who makes up "the core" and where boundaries are located. By paying attention to the specific ways that these identities are represented as fixed, fluid, and/or hybrid in a given situation, the construction of ethnicity and civic identity is highlighted, illuminating the specific strategies of a given writer while also refusing the notion that

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[38] On the implications of this move see Matthews, *Perfect Martyr*. Matthews argues that the narrative of Stephen's stoning (Acts 7:1-8:3) is important for Acts' construction of early Christians as legitimate and distinct from Jews. See my discussion of Matthews in chapter two.

[39] Jacob Jervell famously argued that the varying responses to the (Christian) gospel divided people of the God of Israel (*Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts* [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972], 41–74). See also Matthews, *Perfect Martyr*, 71–72. Matthews argues that Stephen's speech and subsequent stoning mark a significant shift in the separation of Christianity from Judaism. "The Jews" are guilty for Jesus' and Stephen's deaths and are no longer the people of God. See my discussion of Matthews in chapter two.

ethnicity signals a "real" essence. Denise Buell's concept of "ethnic reasoning" is therefore helpful for investigating evidence that uses ethnic language to negotiate what moderns would consider non-ethnic identities, like religious or civic identities. Rather than existing as a discreet category, what is commonly termed "religion" played a significant role in the negotiation of ethnicity and civic identity in the ancient world. Careful attention to the way religious ideology was used in the production of these identities is needed in the reexamination of many well-worn topics in the study of the New Testament and ancient Christianity, like Jewish and Christian identities in Acts.[40]

Reading Acts and Reading the City

The place of composition and the location of the intended audience of Acts are unknown.[41] It is nonetheless probable that Acts was written in the context of a *polis*. Cities and civic life play an important role in the development of the narrative generally,[42] and, as argued in chapter five, Acts constructs Jewish and Christian identity according to recognizable civic norms and practices. Moreover, the author of Acts, like most ancient Christians, likely lived in a gods-filled city of the Roman Empire. This means that his (the writer was most likely a he) "religious world" would have been shaped by religious

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[40] As Buell notes, scholars also must acknowledge how racist readings of these texts "haunt" their interpretation in ways that do not allow for their separation. See Buell, Denise Kimber, "Challenges and Strategies"; Buell, "Christian Universalism."

[41] On the date, audience, and location of composition of Acts see chapter two.

[42] Scholars have long noted the importance of cities and civic life for the narrative of Acts. See Nasrallah, "Acts."

activity in the city.[43] Thus, my analysis of Acts will emphasize a comparison with material evidence from Roman era cities. It will "read" Acts and material remains together in order to better understand the historical, social, and cultural contexts from which the representations of Jews in Acts arose. By reading Acts and material remains together, the project will be able to better examine how Acts is similar to and differs from its surrounding, urban context in its use of ethnic reasoning.[44]

Many scholars have employed archeological evidence in their interpretation of Acts.[45] However, much of this work has sought either to validate the historicity of Acts or to shed some insight on specific details in the text. For example, Acts depicts a disturbance in Ephesus, which developed because of Paul's preaching (19:23-41). According to the writer, members of the local guild of silversmiths became frustrated with the decline in sales of their statues because people were persuaded by Paul's claim that "things made with hands are not gods" (οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοὶ οἱ διὰ χειρῶν γινόμενοι) (19:26). As a result of the disturbance, a riotous mob rushed to the city theater (19:29).

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[43] "Religious worlds" is a concept developed by scholar of religion, William Paden. Paden contends that religions create worlds and that the concept of religious worlds facilitates comparison of religious beliefs and practices. See William Paden, *Religious Worlds: The Comparative Study of Religion* (Boston: Beacon, 1994), esp., 51–65.

[44] For a similar "reading" of ancient Christian literature and material remains see Laura Salah Nasrallah, *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture: The Second-Century Church Amid the Spaces of Empire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Concannon, *When You Were Gentiles*.

[45] Mattill and Mattill's 1966 bibliography of Acts lists 210 entries stretching 15 pages on "Archeology and Geography" (Mary Mattill and A. J. Mattill, *A Classified Bibliography of Literature on the Acts of the Apostles* [Leiden: Brill, 1966], 193–208).

Alexander, a local Jew, tried to speak to the crowd but his words were drowned out by the shouts of the gathered mass: "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!" (μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων) (19:34). A city clerk (γραμματεύς) finally calmed the assembly and reassured them that Paul's claims did not threaten the glory of Artemis (19:35-41). Nothing could diminish the glory of the great goddess.[46]

This vivid narrative has provided commentators with ample opportunity to discuss archaeological evidence like the historical theater in Ephesus, even if their actual interest is this story as depicted in Acts.[47] Paul Trebilco, for example, writes,

> The theatre in Ephesus was built into the western slope of Mt. Pion, and was 154m in width with an auditorium 38m in height. The seating capacity was perhaps 20,000. The theatre was constructed in the first half of the third century B.C., enlarged under Claudius (41-54 A.D.), other changes were made under Nero (54-68 A.D.), and Trajan (98-117 A.D.), *so the riot may well have occurred while the theatre was undergoing alterations*.[48]

Trebilco provides an accurate description of the historical theater in Ephesus, his historicizing claim about the riot notwithstanding,[49] and the author of Acts, of course,

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[46] C. Kavin Rowe understands this claim to be ironic: the author of Acts knew that the glory of Artemis was surpassed by Christ (*World Upside Down: Reading Acts in the Graeco-Roman Age* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009], 41–49).

[47] See, e.g., F. F. Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, NICNT (Grand Rapid, MI: Eerdmans, 1988), 399.

[48] Paul R. Trebilco, "The Province of Asia," in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, ed. David W. J Gill and Conrad H. Gempf, The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994), 348–49, emphasis added.

[49] John Turtle Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus: Including the Sites and Remains of the Great Temple of Diana* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1877), 68–96; Rudolf Heberdey, Wilhelm Wilberg, and G. Niemann, *Das Theater in Ephesos* (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1912).

would have known about the grand theater in Ephesus, but Trebilco's goal is not to describe the theater so much as to provide a plausible historical context for the specific (and possibly wholly imagined) story of Paul in Ephesus. If Richard Pervo's suggestion that Acts was written in Ephesus or its environs is correct, the author of Acts would certainly have known this theater well.[50] However, descriptions like Trebilco's do not provide comparative material for analysis of the rhetoric of Acts; instead archeology serves as a kind of "proof text" capable of verifying the historicity of Acts.[51] Acts' descriptions are thought to correlate with archeological data and archeological description provides a means of demonstrating the verisimilitude of Acts' narrative with what are understood to be actual events. This project approaches the relationship between Acts and archeology differently, understanding both literary and archaeological evidence as representational and strategic rather than "real." Thus, it does not present archaeology as a privileged site of the "real" that can be employed to verify a literary account; instead, it views both the story of Paul in Ephesus and the theater in Ephesus as products of human ingenuity shaped by human intentions in specific social and cultural contexts.

Rather than describing the archeological features of a monument mentioned in Acts, such as the theater of Ephesus, the project describes material evidence and demonstrates that material and texts (like Acts) share a similar complex of ideas, strategies, and practices for navigating claims of peoplehood. Unlike other interpretive

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[50] Richard I. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008), 5–6.

[51] A paradigmatic example of the use of archeology as a "proof text" of Acts is found in John McRay, "Archaeology and the Book of Acts," *CTR* 5 (1990): 69–82.

studies that engage archeology, by reading Acts and material remains together it does not imply that the author directly interacted with or even knew of the archeological material discussed. Adopting the approach developed by Laura Nasrallah, the project draws literary and material evidence together so that "we can overhear and glimpse the discursive world in which literature, images, and architecture were produced, and among which both Christians and non-Christians formulated their arguments."[52] The writer's discursive world is the same as that of the producers of material culture, and both engaged and interacted with their larger social, cultural and discursive contexts. In order to better appreciate and understand the construction of Jewish identity in Acts, this project compares how religious and ethnic rhetoric are employed in the negotiation of Jewish identity in Acts with how religious and ethnic rhetoric are used in the negotiation of civic identity in material remains. It does so while reading both texts and material evidence as representational artifacts. The concept of "ethnic reasoning" provides a way to explore the use of religious activities and imagery in the construction of ethnic and civic identities within a world of texts and objects; it also provides a theoretical justification for this methodological decision to regard archaeology and literary works as human products that can be read side-by-side. They participate in the same ethnic discourse.

This project is, of course, selective in the use of material evidence. Therefore, it focuses on two examples that are particularly illuminating when comparing the ways that

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[52] Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 12.

Jewish identity is delimited in Acts and in the context of the Greek cities in Asia Minor: the Sebasteion (imperial temple complex) in Aphrodisias of Caria and the Salutaris Foundation Inscription from Ephesus. These two pieces of evidence are valuable for this project for a number of reasons. First, as argued in subsequent chapters, both the temple complex and the inscription employ each of Buell's four observed uses of religious activity in ethnic reasoning. They: (1) mark difference and produce a collective civic identity, (2) negotiate ethnic change, (3) form connections between previously distinct groups, and (4) establish and manage differences between groups.[53] Second, both pieces of evidence were created within a generation or two of the composition of Acts, assuming a late first/early second century CE date for Acts.[54] Third, both pieces of evidence are from the Greek East and the Roman province of Asia, in particular. This geographical parameter is useful because a number of scholars point to Asia as a likely location for the composition of Acts, thus narrowing the discursive overlap.[55]

By comparing literary and material remains in this way, this project offers an analysis of the ways Jewish identity in Acts is culturally informed in order to delineate the author's discursive contributions both to Jewish identity and Christian identity. As

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[53] See discussion above and Buell, *Why This New Race*, 41.

[54] The original construction of Sebasteion in Aphrodisias is dated to the reign of Tiberius (14-37 CE). However, there was a significant renovation under Claudius (41-54 CE). The Salutaris Inscription is dated to 104 CE. On the dating of Acts see chapter two.

[55] See Pervo, *Acts*, 5–6. However, see the caution in Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 31 (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 54–55.

subsequent chapters will demonstrate, a comparison of Acts with the Sebasteion and Salutaris Foundation Inscription provides a new contextual framework for understanding the negotiation of religious, ethnic, and civic identities in Acts and the formation of Christian identity.

Jews and Non-Jews

In recent years, some scholars of Acts have begun using the term "Judean" rather than "Jew" to translate the Greek term Ἰουδαῖος.[56] This reflects a lively scholarly debate that has arisen around the translation of "Ἰουδαῖος" among scholars of Hellenistic Judaism and ancient Christianity.[57] Scholars proposing that "Judean" is a better

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[56] See e.g., Bruce J. Malina and John J. Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008); Coleman A. Baker, *Identity, Memory, and Narrative in Early Christianity: Peter, Paul, and Recategorization in the Book of Acts* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011).

[57] For a thorough discussion of the translation of Ἰουδαῖος in scholarship see David Miller's three essays: "The Meaning of Ioudaios and Its Relationship to Other Group Labels in Ancient 'Judaism,'" *CBR* 9 (2010): 98–126; "Ethnicity Comes of Age: An Overview of Twentieth-Century Terms for Ioudaios," *CBR* 10 (2012): 293–311; "Ethnicity, Religion and the Meaning of Ioudaios in Ancient 'Judaism,'" *CBR* 12 (2014): 216–65. Early discussions surrounding the translation of Ἰουδαῖος developed in the study of the Fourth Gospel. See for example Terry Schram, "The Use of IOYΔAIOΣ in the Fourth Gospel: An Application of Some Linguistic Insights to a New Testament Problem" (Dissertation, Utrecht University, 1974); Malcolm F. Lowe, "Who Were the 'Ioudaioi'?," *NT* 18 (1976): 101–30; John Ashton, "The Identity and Function of The Ἰουδαῖοι in the Fourth Gospel," *NT* 27 (1985): 40–75. More recent discussion has surrounded the translation of Ἰουδαῖος in Josephus. On the one hand, Steve Mason argues that "Judaean" is a better translation ("Series Preface," in *Judean Antiquities*, Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary [Leiden: Brill, 2000]; "Jews"). On the other hand, Daniel Schwartz contends that "Jew" is a better translation ("'Judaean' or 'Jew'? How Should We Translate Ioudaios in Josephus," in *Jewish Identity in the Greco-*

alternative to "Jew" claim that Ἰουδαῖος was a geographic and ethnic term; "Judean" therefore preserves the connection between geography and ethnicity better than "Jew," which is a religious term anachronistically applied to what was in fact an ethnic, geographical, and political, as well as a religious, designation.[58]

Those who defend "Jew" as a better translation, however, contend that the term is both an ethnic and a religious word that best reflects the range of meaning of the ancient Greek word Ἰουδαῖος. This was a religious term, they insist, and the category can contain ethnic as well as political overtones.[59] The distinction between the two English terms hinges on the separation between religion and ethnicity common in much modern scholarship, but unknown in antiquity. As Caroline Johnson Hodge observes, "the debates about translating [Ἰουδαῖος] illustrate just how entrenched the religion/ethnicity dichotomy is in our thinking."[60] Thus, the problem rests not in translation but in the

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Roman World, Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity [Leiden: Brill, 2007], 3–28; see also Seth Schwartz, "How Many Judaisms Were There? A Critique of Neusner and Smith on Definition and Mason and Boyarin on Categorization," *JAJ* 2 [2011]: 208–38).

[58] So Mason, "Jews."

[59] Amy-Jill Levine, *The Misunderstood Jew: The Church and the Scandal of the Jewish Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper, 2006); Schwartz, "'Judaean' or 'Jew'?"; Anders Runesson, "Inventing Christian Identity: Paul, Ignatius, and Theodosius I," in *Exploring Early Christian Identity*, ed. Bengt Holmberg, WUNT 226 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 59–92; Schwartz, "How Many?"

[60] Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs*, 12. Johnson Hodge opts to transliterate, rather than to translate Ἰουδαῖος. Johnson Hodge explains that she revised her previous translation of Ἰουδαῖος with "Judean" and opted instead for the transliterated term, *Ioudaios* because of the modern implications of removing "Jews" from ancient texts (*If Sons, Then Heirs*, 11–15). For Johnson Hodge's previous position see Buell and Johnson

modern categories of religion and ethnicity, which separate religious activities from political activities and ethnic identity from cultural identity. Acknowledging that both "Judean" and "Jew" have specific weaknesses, this study uses the terms "Jew" and "Jewish" throughout.[61]

Related to this decision, the term "non-Jews" is used to identify those whom ancient Greek-speaking Jews usually termed ἔθνη. Unlike the issues surrounding Ἰουδαῖος, the choice to use "non-Jews" is *not* primarily an issue of translation. Rather, there are a number of other factors that influence this decision. First, the Greek word ἔθνη is usually translated with "Gentiles."[62] Ἔθνη is the plural form of ἔθνος, which is usually translated "nation" or "people." The singular form of ἔθνος is a general category used to identify various people groups, while the plural (in Jewish and Christian literature) is a contrasting term used to distinguish "everyone else" from one people group, Jews.[63] When ancient Jewish and Christian texts use ἔθνη, the word (frequently)

Hodge, "Politics"; Caroline E. Johnson Hodge, "Apostle to the Gentiles: Constructions of Paul's Identity," *BibInt* 13 (2005): 270–88.

[61] See Schwartz, "How Many?," esp., 221–30.

[62] "Gentile" is from the Latin *gentilis,* a term used in the Latin Vulgate to translate ἔθνη. See "Gentile, Adj. and N.," *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/77647.

[63] The distinction between Jews and Gentiles is comparable to the distinction between ancient Greeks and barbarians. However, the Greek word βάρβαρος is transliterated as barbarian in both the singular and plural forms while ἔθνος is not. On the creation of barbarians in Greek tragedy see Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*. In Jewish literature see Tessa Rajak, "Greeks and Barbarians in Josephus," in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, ed. John J. Collins and Gregory E. Sterling (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 244–62.

distinguishes between those who are Jews and those who are not, that is, non-Jews.[64] Luke regularly uses ἔθνη in this way in Acts.[65]

Second, in the study of ancient Christianity, "Gentile" often carries supersessionist, Christian meaning.[66] In the second century CE and beyond, ancient Christians began formalizing distinctions between Christians and Jews based, in part, on the claim that Christianity made the salvation of the God of Israel available to "Gentiles" (ἔθνη and *gens*).[67] Justin Martyr, for example, claims that the ἔθνη who have come to God through the crucified Christ are the *genos* ("lineage"; γένος) of Abraham (*Dial.* 11.5). Moreover, he argued, these Christians are actually the "true spiritual Israel"

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[64] Paul is ambiguous in his use of ἔθνη to identify non-Jews who are "in Christ." In some cases he identifies them as ἔθνη and in others he distinguishes them from ἔθνη. See e.g., Gal 2:14-15; 1 Thes 4:3-5; 1 Cor 5:1; 12:3; Rom 1:5-6, 13; 11:13. See discussion in Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs*, 55–56; Joshua D. Garroway, *Paul's Gentile-Jews: Neither Jew nor Gentile, but Both* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); and Concannon, *When You Were Gentiles*.

[65] See Acts 4:27; 9:15; 10:45; 11:1, 18; 13:46–48; 14:2, 5, 27; 15:3, 7, 12, 14, 17, 19, 23; 18:6; 21:11, 25; 22:21; 26:17, 20, 23; 28:28

[66] Concannon, *When You Were Gentiles*, xi.

[67] Some, like Valentinus (fl. 130 CE) and in a different way, Marcion (fl. 140 CE), contended that *Ioudaioi* worshiped an inferior deity while Christians worshiped the one high God. Others, like Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, asserted that Jews misunderstand their own scriptures: Christians interpret Jewish scriptures more accurately than *Ioudaioi* through allegory. See Paula Fredriksen and Oded Irshai, "Christian Anti-Judaism: Polemics and Policies," in *The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period*, ed. Steven T. Katz, vol. 4 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 979–83.

(Ἰσραηλιτικὸς ὁ ἀληθινός, πνευματικός).[68] Justin and others like him mined the depths of the Septuagint (LXX), especially the prophets, and routinely equated ἔθνη with Christians.[69]

Such claims are, of course, both highly rhetorical and part of a developing Christian anti-Judaism that took shape from the middle of the second century CE,[70] but they remain entrenched in some modern scholarship on this literature.[71] In the study of the New Testament, for example, scholars have often depicted Jesus and Paul as transcending the supposed ethnic particularity of Judaism by offering salvation to

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[68] Justin, *Dial* 11.5. Cf. also *Dial*. 26.1: τὰ δὲ ἔθνη τὰ πιστεύσαντα εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ μετανοήσαντα ἐφ' οἷς ἥμαρτον, αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι μετὰ τῶν πατριαρχῶν καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν δικαίων ὅσοι ἀπὸ Ἰακὼβ γεγέννηνται· εἰ καὶ μὴ σαββατίζουσι μηδὲ περιτέμνονται μηδὲ τὰς ἑορτὰς φυλάσσουσι, πάντως κληρονομήσουσι τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ θεοῦ κληρονομίαν ("But the ἔθνη, who have trusted in him [Christ], and have repented of the sins which they committed, they will receive the inheritance along with the patriarchs and the prophets and the just ones who have descended from Jacob, even though they neither keep the Sabbath, nor are circumcised, nor observe the feasts, they will in every way receive the holy inheritance of God") (translation mine). Denise Buell argues that for Justin, Christianness and Jewishness are both flexible and fixed categories (*Why This New Race*, 94–115). Similarly, Knust, *Abandoned to Lust*, 143–163.

[69] See e.g., Justin, *Dial*. 26, 28-29. Fredriksen and Irshai, "Christian Anti-Judaism," 4:981–82. In the next chapter, I suggest that though Luke does present non-believing Jews in a negative light, his rhetoric is not one that presents Christians as "true Israel." Rather he seeks to identify non-Jewish Christians as Jewish.

[70] On Christian anti-Judaism see David P. Efroymson, "The Patristic Connection," in *AntiSemitism and the Foundations of Christianity*, ed. Alan T. Davies (New York: Paulist, 1979), 98–117; Fredriksen and Irshai, "Christian Anti-Judaism.""

[71] See discussion in Buell, "Christian Universalism"; Buell, *Why This New Race*, 1; Concannon, *When You Were Gentiles*, xi.

Gentiles.[72] In studies of Acts, scholars have taken the "Gentile mission" as a universalizing Christian mission that differed significantly from previous or contemporaneous Jewish interactions with Gentiles.[73] Thus, "Gentile," particularly in the context of the study of Christianity and of Acts, continues as a category of *religious* distinction, and implicit in this distinction is the contrast between Gentiles who make up an ethnically "universal" Christianity and Jews who constitute an ethnically "particular" Judaism.[74] Such a contrast is precisely what this project intends to question, and therefore

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[72] A host of scholars have opposed such dichotomous readings in the study of Jesus and Paul. Krister Stendahl famously proposed that Paul did not "convert" to Christianity, but was "called" by God ("The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," *HTR* 56 [1963]: 199–215). And, E. P. Sanders (and others) shifted the discussion about the historical Jesus toward a Jewish context (*Jesus and Judaism* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985]). Cf. also the work of Paula Fredriksen on both fronts ("Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles, and Apocalyptic Hope: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2," *JTS* 42 [1991]: 532–64; *Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews: A Jewish Life and the Emergence of Christianity* [New York: Knopf, 1999]).

[73] See e.g., Craig Keener, who makes the connection between a Gentile mission and universalism explicit. Keener writes, "Most scholars recognize that the Gentile mission (i.e., more accurately, a "universal" mission) is one of the central themes (if not *the* central theme) in the book of Acts" (*Acts*, 1:505, emphasis original). See also Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 316; Stephen G. Wilson, *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[74] See e.g., Thomas Philips who writes, "In Luke-Acts, [godfearers, i.e., Gentiles attracted to Judaism] could find all the themes that drew them to Judaism—monotheism, a rejection of idolatry, a just ethic, and an alternative to the Roman Empire—without any of the practices that repelled them from Judaism—circumcision, dietary and ritual laws, and *Jewish exclusivism*. Luke-Acts offered reflective godfearers an opportunity to locate everything they admired about Judaism within the prophetic (and Christian) tradition and to locate everything they disdained about Judaism within the priestly (and Jewish) tradition" ("Prophets, Priests, and Godfearing Readers: The Priestly and Prophetic

the translation "Gentile" undermines rather than serves the larger discussion of Jewish identity and the formation of Christian identity in Acts.[75]

Chapter Overview

Each chapter of this dissertation focuses on how Jewish identity was employed to delimit Christian identity in Acts. The second chapter discusses the uses of Ἰουδαῖος in Acts and examines previous scholarship on the topic of Jewish identity. The remaining chapters "read" a selection from Acts alongside material remains to compare the ways ethnic reasoning is used to negotiate identities in both contexts.

Chapter two situates Acts historically and examines previous scholarship on Jewish identity and Acts. Much has been written on the author, date, and genre of Acts, but a consensus on these topics has yet to emerge. The chapter argues that, even given these ambiguities about authorship, date, and genre, it remains clear that someone living under Roman rule wrote Acts. What Buell describes as ethnic reasoning was therefore central to this writer's work, an observation that is highly significant when examining the use of Jewish identity to construct a Christian identity in Acts. Scholars who discuss

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Traditions in Luke-Acts," in *Contemporary Studies in Acts*, ed. Thomas E. Phillips [Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009], 238, emphasis mine). On the implication of such readings see Buell, "Christian Universalism."

[75] As is already clear, I have chosen to use the term "Christian" to describe the members of the Jesus communities that the author of Acts most frequently identifies with the phrase ἡ ὁδός ("the Way"; 9:2; 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14, 22) (See note 1 above). The term Χριστιανός does appear two times in Acts (11:26; 26:28), but the author only uses it in the mouth of outsiders indicating that he knows of the term but may not be entirely comfortable with its use. I recognize the limitations of the term "Christian" but have decided to use it in this project because it remains a heuristically useful shorthand for those individuals who honored Jesus as Christ.

representations of Jewish identity in Acts often remain focused on determining the writer's stance toward Jews and Judaism. Such studies regularly defend one of two positions: Acts is pro-Jewish or Acts is anti-Jewish. One common feature among scholars on both sides of this debate is the view that Acts presents Jews as an essential entity, "the Jews," developing a sharp contrast between "the Jews" and Christians. This project departs from this approach, concluding that Acts uses Ἰουδαῖος as a hybrid ethnic designation that can be both fluid and fixed. Thus, the multiple meanings of Ἰουδαῖος do not contribute to the construction of an essential category such as "the Jews." Rather, these meanings are strategically employed by the writer as he sets about to define Christian identity in "Jewish" terms.

Chapter three tests this conclusion in relation to a specific passage, Acts 2:5-13, and develops it in comparison with sculpted reliefs from the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias. This chapter focuses on religious activities and the construction of ethnic and civic identities more broadly, placing Acts within a wider material and cultural framework. Acts 2 lists Jews from various locations, ethnicities, and lineages. In this passage, the writer of Acts leverages the multiple meanings of Ἰουδαῖος in order to privilege the power of religious ideology—interpreted here as proper worship of the God of the Jews—as a mark of ethnic identity. In a similar way, reliefs from the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias created a visual list of *ethnē* that privileged religious imagery in the indexing people groups. The reliefs use religious ideology—the veneration of Aphrodite and Roman Emperors, for example—to indicate Aphrodisian identity and its relation to Roman identity, to affirm some ethnic changes while denigrating others, and to

distinguish between ethnic groups. When "read" together, Acts 2 and the Sebasteion's reliefs offer comparable ways of leveraging lists of ethnic groups in the negotiation of an identity. Acts 2 depicts Jews from various ethnicities in ways that highlighted ethnic fluidity, while the Sebasteion represents various ethnicities as conquered in ways that emphasized their fixity in contrast with Aphrodisian fluidity.

Chapter four compares Acts with the Salutaris Foundation from Ephesus. It pays attention to how religious imagery provides a way to enact changes in ethnic and civic identities, examining the ethnic reasoning in Acts' narrative surrounding the so-called Jerusalem council (15:1-21) in relation to the depiction of Salutaris and the religious procession he sponsored. In both Acts and the Salutaris Foundation, the mythic past, ancestral customs, and gods are used to delimit ethnic identity, even while individuals and councils negotiate and manipulate ethnic identities. By juxtaposing the past, traditions, and power of gods with the decisions of councils, both Acts and the Salutaris Foundation authorize their respective councils to determine legitimate ethnic change through religious means. This occurs even as they link these decisions to a distant, imagined past. More than this, they authorize individuals—namely, James and Salutaris—as agents fit to determine how and when ethnic change takes place.

Chapter five builds on the discussion of Acts and the Salutaris Foundation inscription and compares how each text uses ethnic reasoning together with civic and imperial space to produce unified identities. Focusing on Paul's visits to Jewish civic associations in Acts 15:30–18:23, it shows how the repeated representation of civic space constructs a Jewish identity that included proselyte non-Jews and, at the same time,

makes an internal distinction between two Jewish identities: Christians and other Jews. It then compares this to the ways that the Salutaris Foundation regulates movement through the Ephesian cityscape in ways that both reimagined Ephesian identity and distinguished between "true" Ephesians and others. Finally, it examines how Acts' literary representation of Paul's journeys throughout the Roman Empire also constructed a unified Christian identity that could be contrasted with the disunity of other Jewish civic associations.

This dissertation concludes with a summary of the findings followed by a brief reflection on the use of ethnic reasoning and the challenge of anti-Judaism in the interpretation of Acts.

Chapter Two: Recontextualizing Acts—Religious, Ethnic, and Civic Identity

Introduction

> Ὡς δὲ ἐπληροῦντο ἡμέραι ἱκαναί, συνεβουλεύσαντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν·
>
> After some time had passed, the Jews plotted to kill him. (Acts 9:31)
>
> εἶπόν τε αὐτῷ· θεωρεῖς, ἀδελφέ, πόσαι μυριάδες εἰσὶν ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῶν πεπιστευκότων καὶ πάντες ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου ὑπάρχουσιν·
>
> Then [the apostles in Jerusalem] said to [Paul], "You see, brother, that there are many thousands of believers among the Jews and they are all zealous for the law." (Acts 21:20)

Ἰουδαῖοι, "Jews," play multiple roles in Acts. On the one hand, Luke's Christian heroes are Law-observant Jews. On the other, the staunch opponents of Christians and their message are also Jews. Some Jews rejoice after hearing the Christian's preaching while others plot to kill them. Between these two extremes, Jews interact with Christians and their message in various ways. It is no wonder that scholars have adopted divergent opinions about Luke's portrayal of Ἰουδαῖοι, regularly interpreting the same verse in opposing ways. Even so, their diverse interpretations often revolve around determining whether Luke was pro- or anti-Jewish. Such an approach, however, is hampered by a static definition of "the Jews" (as the writer understood it) and ethnicity, categories which are hybrid and multiple rather than fixed and classifiable states of being. Thus, the issue is not Luke's (pro- or anti-Jewish) "attitude" toward "the Jews," as if Jewishness was (and is) a distinctive and separate bundle of characteristics and practices that can be identified and pinned down, but rather Luke's constructions of Jews (both those whom he

agrees with and those whom he does not agree), and how such constructions fit in his rhetoric. By attending to the ethnic rhetoric present in the Lukan construction of Jewish identity in Acts, this project demonstrates that Luke constructs "Jewishness" in ways that produce "Christian" as a distinctive kind of Jew, a discursive and definitional project that legitimated the place of Christian assemblies within the Greek *polis*.

This chapter situates the project within previous scholarship on Acts and argues that Lukan ethnic reasoning—as mediated by the cultural context of Greek cities under Roman rule—sought to create an alternate construal of Jewish and Christian identity that sought to integrate Christian non-Jews into a civic hierarchy. The chapter accomplishes this task in three parts. First it sketches the historical context of Acts and addresses the text's authorship, date, purpose, and context. Next, it provides a survey of scholarship on Jews and Judaism in Acts and attends to recent developments in interpretation that have emphasized the author's rhetoric rather than "attitude." Then it turns to Acts and discusses four texts that highlight the value of ethnic reasoning and Buell's discussion of four uses of religious rhetoric in ethnic reasoning. It contends that Acts leverages the connection between gods, people, and places in its depiction of Jewish identity, arguing that Acts employs ethnic rhetoric in order to present all Christians as Jews and to privilege Christians as an ideal embodiment of Jewishness for the Roman era *polis*. These claims form the basis of the subsequent chapters of this project.

Author, Date, Purpose, and Location

Acts[1] is an anonymous text, which was written near the beginning of the second century CE in order to legitimate Christians' place in the cities of the Roman Empire, and in those cities of the Greek East in particular. This project follows scholarly convention and uses "Luke" as a shorthand designation for the anonymous author of Acts. Although Acts is anonymous, scholars traditionally identify the author as the same person as the author of the Gospel of Luke, for a number of reasons.[2] Both the prefaces of the Gospel of Luke and Acts are addressed to the same patron, a certain Theophilus, and the preface of Acts situates the narrative in relation to "the previous volume" (ὅ πρῶτος λόγος),

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[1] On the title of Acts see Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 47–49; Jacob Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte: Übersetzt und erklärt*, 17th ed., KEK 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 56–58. The transmission history of Acts is complicated. Luke Timothy Johnson notes that "Acts presents a particularly acute form of a problem found everywhere in the New Testament, namely establishing the Greek text that is the basis for any interpretation" (*The Acts of the Apostles*, SP 5 [Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2006], 2). For a list of papyri and MSS of Acts see Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 65. To Fitzmyer's list of papyri add the small fragment $\mathfrak{p}^{112}$ (P.Oxy. 4496) and the 5th century $\mathfrak{p}^{127}$ (P.Oxy. 4968) that contains portions of Acts 10-17. See Peter M. Head, "P127 = POxy 4968," *Evangelical Textual Criticism*, December 16, 2009, http://evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspot.com/2009/12/p127-poxy-4968.html.

[2] The Gospel of Luke is also anonymous. See also the thorough discussion of the literature on the authorship of Acts in Keener, *Acts*, 1:402–16. Keener contends that Luke "may have been a Gentile God-fearer who spent time with Paul especially during part of all of his Roman custody" (*Acts*, 1:403). I, however, follow Pervo who argues that the author was not a companion of Paul and wrote the after the end of the first century CE (*Acts*, 5–7).

presumably, the Gospel of Luke (see Lk 1:1-4; Acts 1:1).[3] The connection between the two texts is therefore internally explicit.[4] In addition to the internal connection between the two works, there is also evidence that ancient authors associated Acts with the Gospel of Luke as early as the last third of the second century CE.[5] In recent years, however, a few scholars have questioned the value of the formal connections between the works for determining joint authorship, arguing instead that these are separate and distinctive works that were joined by a later editor for his (or her) own purposes.[6]

Determining whether the same author wrote both the Gospel and Acts is not necessary for the purposes of this project. The particular focus here is Acts, not the Gospel. The Gospel simply does not address Jewish identity in the same way that Acts

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[3] On the identity of Theophilus see C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, 2 vols., ICC (Edinburgh: Clark, 1994), 1:65–66. On the literary character of the preface see Loveday Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel: Literary Convention and Social Context in Luke 1.1-4 and Acts 1.1* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Alexander argues that Luke's prefaces were similar to Hellenistic scientific and technical manuals.

[4] A majority of scholars take this connection as proof of shared authorship. See Craig Keener who claims that, "almost all scholars acknowledge that Luke and Acts share the same author" (*Acts*, 1:402).

[5] Irenaeus (130-202 CE) is the first known author to identify Luke as the author of Acts. He based his assessment, in large part, on the "we" passages in the latter half of Acts. See *Haer*. 3.14.1.

[6] For views emphasizing the difference between the two works see Mikeal C. Parsons and Richard I. Pervo, eds., *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993); Patricia Walters, *The Assumed Authorial Unity of Luke and Acts: A Reassessment of the Evidence* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009). See also discussion of scholarship in Michael F. Bird, "The Unity of Luke—Acts in Recent Discussion," *JSNT* 29 (2007): 425–48.

does.[7] For example, the Gospel uses Ἰουδαῖος five times (four of which occur during Jesus' trial and crucifixion),[8] whereas Acts uses the term 79 times.[9] The prominence of Jews and claims about Jews in Acts suggest that the writer was particularly concerned with describing the contours of this group when composing his second volume. This is likely the result of differences in narrative contexts: the Gospel's narrative centers on Judea and Galilee, the Jewish homeland, while Acts' spans a broad section of the Roman world, the Jewish diaspora.[10] It is in this context that "Jewishness" appears to have been most contested.

Acts was written near the beginning of the second century CE but narrates events from the second third of the first century CE. Many scholars have sought support for an earlier date, ranging from 70 to 85 CE.[11] Still, an increasing number of scholars have

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[7] There is, however, value in reading these texts together for other themes. As Ward Gasque points out, one of the primary contributions of scholarship on Acts during the first half of the last century was the continuity of themes (*A History of the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975], 308). See also Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1991).

[8] See Luke 7:3; 23:3 (// Mark 15:2), 37-38 (// Mark 15:26), 51.

[9] See discussion of the uses of Ἰουδαῖος below.

[10] See discussion in Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 80–93.

[11] Adolf von Harnack, *The Acts of the Apostles* (New York: Putnam, 1909), 290–97; Haenchen, *Acts*, 86; James D. G Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Narrative Commentaries (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996), xi; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 54–55; Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 86.

persuasively argued for dates in the 90s and later.[12] Of scholars who support a date after 90 CE, Richard Pervo and Joseph Tyson are of particular interest for this project. Pervo agues that Acts was written "in the suburb of the apologists," and he dates Acts to 115 CE,[13] while Tyson, echoing John Knox, contends that Acts offered a response to the ideas of Marcion, an early second century Christian who was condemned as a heretic by Irenaeus.[14] More will be said about the connection between Acts and Marcion later in this

[12] One reason for the shift in date of Acts is a claim that Luke knew of a Pauline corpus and/or had knowledge of Josephus. For knowledge of a Pauline corpus, see Pervo, *Acts*, 12. For knowledge of Josephus scholars point to Acts 5:36-37 (Theudas and Judas); 11:28-29 (famine during Claudius' reign); 12:21-23 (death of Agrippa I); 25:13, 23; 26:30 (marriage of Agrippa II and Bernice); 24:24-26 (Drusilla). See Steve Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), 251–296; Richard I. Pervo, *Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and the Apologists* (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge, 2006), 149–200; 347–58. See John Townsend, who dates Acts to the 140s ("The Date of Luke-Acts," in *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar*, ed. Charles H. Talbert [New York: Crossroad, 1986], 47–62). Laura S. Nasrallah reads Acts in light of Hadrian's early second century Panhellenion ("Acts"). Also supporting a late date are Matthews, *Perfect Martyr*; Lawrence M. Wills, "The Depiction of the Jews in Acts," *JBL* 110 (1991): 631–54.

[13] So Richard I. Pervo, "Acts in the Suburbs of the Apologists," in *Contemporary Studies in Acts*, ed. Thomas E. Phillips (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009), 29–46; and *Acts*, 7. Cf. Pervo, *Dating Acts*.

[14] Joseph B. Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts: A Defining Struggle* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), xi, 76–77; John Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament* (New York: AMS Press, 1980). This view is also followed by Matthews, *Perfect Martyr*.

chapter, but for the present discussion, it is sufficient to say that in recent decades there has been a positive shift in support of a late first/early second century date for Acts.[15]

A central purpose of Acts is to offer a narrative legitimation of Christians' place in the city through the retelling (and creation) of Christian origins and civic ethics. Though Acts does not have a single purpose—rather it has a number of interconnected purposes[16]—scholars agree that one central goal of the writer was to defend Christian communities. Opinions about the intended recipients of this defense vary widely:[17] earlier historical critics argued that Acts sought to harmonize Jewish and Gentile Christianities in order to create a single "Christianity";[18] others have contended that Acts was written to defend a particular (proto-orthodox) form of Christianity against the theological claims of other Christian groups or individuals;[19] and still others assert that Acts was intended as a

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[15] Contra Keener who states, "a smaller minority of scholars date Acts to the second century" (*Acts*, 1:395).

[16] Gasque, *History*, 308.

[17] In his introduction to scholarship on Acts, Mark Allan Powell groups previous scholarship on the purpose of Acts under six general headings: irenic, polemical, apologetic, evangelistic, pastoral, and theological (*What Are They Saying about Acts?* [New York: Paulist, 1991], 13–14). For a bibliography of previous studies on the purpose of Acts see Mattill and Mattill, *Bibliography*, 152–57.

[18] This view is most famously associated with the Hegelian views of F. C. Baur and the so-called Tübingen school.

[19] Some scholars thought that Acts was a defense against "Gnosticism" (Charles H. Talbert, *Luke and the Gnostics: An Examination of the Lucan Purpose* [Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1966]). More recently scholars have understood Acts to be a defense against outsiders including Jewish Christians (Jack T. Sanders, *The Jews in Luke-Acts* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987]); and Marcion (Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament*; Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts*). See discussion below.

legal defense of a new religious movement before Rome.[20] The target audience for this defense is also a subject of debate. A number of scholars argue it was aimed at Christians rather than outsiders; from this point of view, Acts offered a legitimizing script for Christians rather than an apologetic designed to convince outsiders. Philip Esler, for example, contends that early Christians desired assurance that their decision to "adopt a different life-style had been the correct one" and Luke sought to provide this reassurance.[21] Building on this perspective, subsequent chapters argue that Acts not only offers assurance to assuage Christian readers but also a way to identify Christians' place in the city based on the way that they honored the God of Israel and the prevalent relationships between gods and humans in antiquity. The writer of Acts does this, it is argued, through the way that he represents Jewish identity.

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[20] Ernst Haenchen thought that Acts offered a legal defense before Rome (*Acts*). See also H. W. Tajra, *The Trial of St. Paul: A Juridical Exegesis of the Second Half of the Acts of the Apostles* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989); Paul W. Walaskay, *And So We Came to Rome: The Political Perspective of St. Luke* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Marianne Palmer Bonz argues that Acts mimic Virgil's *Aeneid* in order to give Christianity social legitimacy with Romans (*The Past as Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000]).

[21] Philip F. Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology*, SNTSMS 57 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987); cf. Robert L. Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation*, SBLMS 33 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987). See also Malina and Pilch who write Luke and Acts "are not documents for outsiders. They were not composed to be shared with non-Jesus group members to read… On the contrary, they are documents to be read within specific groups to maintain those groups in their loyalty to the God of Israel as revealed in the experience of Jesus and those change agents commissioned by him" (*Acts*, 10).

We do not know where Acts was written,[22] and scholars have not paid as much attention to the provenance of Acts as they have to authorship and to date.[23] Recently, however, Richard Pervo has placed Acts in Ephesus. As he points out, an important block of the narrative takes place in the famous Greek city and the writer provides "local color," suggesting that he had some direct familiarity with it.[24] Pervo's proposal cannot fully settle the question of Acts' provenance, which cannot be known with any certainty. But even if Acts was not written in Ephesus, other evidence suggests that it was likely written from a Greek city under Roman rule. The emphasis of the narrative is overwhelmingly urban and cosmopolitan, for example, and the majority of Acts' action

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[22] Given the length and complexity of the narrative, Acts was likely written and edited from multiple locations over a period of time. On writing and publication in the Roman era see William A. Johnson, *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). Johnson argues that writing and publication were activities of (elite) communities and involved multiple drafts and presentations of works in preparation. See also Steve Mason, "Of Audience and Meaning: Reading Josephus' Bellum Judaicum in the Context of a Flavian Audience," in *Josephus and Jewish History in Flavian Rome And Beyond*, ed. Joseph Sievers and Gaia Lembi (Boston: Brill, 2005), 71–100. Mason argues that Josephus' elite Roman audience influenced the way that he retold the story of the war in Judea.

[23] E.g., Fitzmyer, *Acts*; Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*. See discussion in Pervo, *Acts*, 5–7.

[24] Pervo (*Acts*, 6) observes that Acts discusses a significant amount of Ephesian local flavor, and he points out that seventy verses (approximately 7 percent of the narrative of Acts) take place in Ephesus. The narrative of Acts takes place in Pisidian Antioch, the city that receives the next most discussion, only a third as much as Ephesus (*Acts*, 6). As similar assumption guides those who assume the Greek novelist Longus was from Lesbos because his tale Daphnis and Chloe was set on the island. See as a counter example Chariton's *Callirhoe*. Chariton was from Aphrodisias, yet a majority of his novel is set in Syracuse. Though, see also *An Ephesian Tale* by Xenophon of Ephesus, which is set in Ephesus.

focuses on Greek cities.[25] Also, Rome is both suspiciously present and curiously absent throughout the narrative, which fits a Greek urban setting. Greek writers regularly engaged Rome in this way, acknowledging Rome's presence even as they defended Greek prestige over and against Roman hegemony.[26] Finally, the narrative revolves around interactions between central characters and civic associations within cities,[27] specifically focusing on diaspora Jewish communities. Christian communities, the writer presumes, are rooted in cities and develop within a context of Jewish civic associations.[28] As many have pointed out, Acts is urban.[29]

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[25] See e.g., Acts 9:2 (Damascus); 13:1 (Antioch); 13:5 (Paphos); 14:6 (Derbe); 16:1 (Lystra); 16:12 (Philippi); 17:1 (Thessalonica); 17:10 (Berea); 17:16 (Athens); 18:1 (Corinth); 19:1 (Ephesus); 20:15 (Miletus); 28:16 (Rome). Jerusalem, of course, plays a central role in Acts. Though not a traditional "Greek" city, Jerusalem was a Hellenizing city. See also discussion of the how the cities depicted in Acts contribute to the construction of a unified Christian identity in Nasrallah, "Acts."

[26] The juxtaposition of Rome's narrative absence and rhetorical presence is a significant feature of the Greek novels. See Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[27] See e.g., the frequency that Paul and other Christians interact with Greco-Roman civic authorities (including those in Jerusalem). See Acts 4:1 (Sadducees and temple guards in Jerusalem; cf. 5:17; 6:12; 7:1; 12:2-3); 13:7 (Roman proconsul on Cyprus);13:50 (devout women and leading men in Antioch); 14:13 (priest of Zeus in Lystra); 16:22 (chief magistrates in Philippi); 17:22 (philosophers in Athens); 18:12 (Roman proconsul in Corinth); 19:35 (town clerk in Ephesus).

[28] The connection between Christians and Jewish civic associations from Greek cities spills into Jerusalem as well. See Acts 2:5-13; 6:9, 21:27 where some Jews are explicitly identified as from diaspora locations.

[29] Nasrallah, "Acts," 534; see also Loveday Alexander, "Mapping Early Christianity: Acts and the Shape of Early Church History," *Int* 57 (2003): 163–73; James M. Scott,

As a Greek literary text as well as a document written by a Jesus follower ("Christian"), Acts addresses a number of broader concerns facing elites who lived in Greek cities under Roman rule.[30] The arrival of Rome precipitated a significant change in the power structures of Greek cities, applying new pressures to old institutions, which could no longer function in quite the same way. As scholars of the "second sophistic" have shown, literary elites (like the author of Acts) responded to and aligned themselves with Roman authority by asserting a reimagined past and separate Greek identity while, at the same time, positioning themselves on a new imperial map.[31] Referencing the perceived value of "Greekness," elite writers and leading Greek citizens asserted ethnic connections between Greeks and Romans even as they defended the distinctive (and superior) qualities of "being Greek.[32]

The writer of Acts, like other Greek speaking elites, also used practices and discourses associated with honoring gods to navigate and negotiate a place in the Roman world. In the ancient Mediterranean world, religious activity—the protocols and activities

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"Luke's Geographical Horizon," in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting 2 (Grand Rapid, MI: Eerdmans, 1994), 483–544.

[30] See e.g., the essays collected in David L. Balch, *Contested Ethnicities and Images: Studies in Acts and Art*, WUNT 345 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), especially "Part One: Luke-Acts."

[31] On this phenomenon more generally see the essays collected in Simon Goldhill, ed., *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[32] Greekness was viewed as a quality of proper, elite education or *paideia*. Some Romans, however, viewed Greek *paideia* as effeminate; it made Romans soft. See this and other claims in Benjamin Isaac's illuminating discussion in *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 381–405.

that regulated interaction with gods—was inherited. Populations had specific, ancestral gods and practices; they may (or may not) have considered these activities to be expressions of inward dispositions, but the emphasis in ancient literary and material evidence was on proper performance rather than on some sort of inner state, which is not available for analysis.[33] Peoples honored their gods according to specific ancestral customs/laws, and in return, gods protected and provided for their peoples.[34] Honoring the gods was therefore a matter of ethnicity as well as piety. During the Roman era, especially in Hellenized cities, interaction with gods was a constant part of life, and the veneration of the appropriate gods was a prerequisite for citizenship and membership on the city council (βουλή).[35] Honoring the gods was a way of establishing and enhancing piety in the *polis* and thereby, "Greekness." Inhabitants worshiped gods throughout the

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[33] For this and following discussion see Fredriksen, "Judaizing the Nations," 235. See also Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (New York: HarperCollins, 1988), esp., ch. 2: "Pagans and Their Cities."

[34] Richard Lim writes, "The Romans were not always victorious on the battlefield and, given their belief that each community had its own protective gods, they saw defeat as a sign that the enemy's patron deities were simply too powerful" ("The Gods of the Empire," in *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Roman World*, ed. Greg Woolf [Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003], 262–63).

[35] Jews, including Jews who were citizens of various cities, were famously exempt from venerating non-Jewish gods, but as long as they lived in the Greek πόλις they still interacted with gods on a regular basis. See discussion below and Seth Schwartz, "The Rabbi in Aphrodite's Bath: Palestinian Society and Jewish Identity in the High Roman Empire," in *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*, ed. Simon Goldhill (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 335–61. Exemptions from participation in civic cult by Jews continued into the fifth century. See e.g., *Code of Theodosius* 16.8.3-4 in Amnon Linder, *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 120–24.

city—at temples, altars, festivals, city council meetings, association gatherings, guild meetings, and domestic meals. Honoring gods through public and private sacrifices, processions, votive offerings, and benefaction was a regular *and* regulating part of life in the city.[36] Religious activity was, among other things, a civic designation and the proper reverence toward civic gods was a central part of ensuring the prosperity of the city.

The writer of Acts was deeply informed by each of these features of urban life. Religious activity provided him (and other Greek writers at the time) a way to enact changes in ethnic and civic identities. Moreover, it provided other writers and citizens with a way to connect the mythic past, reaffirm and reformulate traditions, and legitimate authority.[37] These dynamics are present in other, non-literary sources as well, like epigraphy, architecture, and in the honorific statuary that lined the processional ways in and out of the city center. As Laura Nasrallah has observed, both text and material served as a type of "memory theater" where the contemporary and the ancient were juxtaposed, thus "giving the appearance of mutually affirming religious values, ethnic identity, and

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[36] On civic aspects of "religion" see James B. Rives, *Religion in the Roman Empire*, Blackwell Ancient Religions (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2007), 105–131; Guy MacLean Rogers, *The Mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos: Cult, Polis, and Change in the Graeco-Roman World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 18–32. See also James B. Rives, "Graeco-Roman Religion in the Roman Empire: Old Assumptions and New Approaches," *CBR* 8 (2010): 240–99.

[37] E. L. Bowie, "Greeks and Their Past in the Second Sophistic," in *Studies in Ancient Society*, Past and Present (London: Routledge, 1974), 166–209. See also Whitmarsh, "Reading Power"; Simon Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World AD 50-250* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), esp., 65–100. On the use of the past in Acts see Bonz, *Past as Legacy*. Bonz contends that Acts used Virgil's *Aeneid* as a model for crafting his narrative.

certain ideas of aesthetics and *paideia*."[38] The implications of Acts' urban environment should therefore not be underestimated: not only is the narrative of Acts embedded in the Greek city, but the rhetoric of Acts is also firmly rooted in the rhetoric of the *polis*.

Interpreting Acts from within the discourses of the Greek *polis* is central to understanding the construction of Jewish and Christian identity in the text not only because the *polis* was a nexus of identity construction in the first and second centuries CE, but also because Acts negotiates Jewish identity from within the *polis*. Acts works within and out of the Jewish associations that formed throughout the cities of the Mediterranean world. As the next section shows, many scholars have made important contributions to understanding Jewish identity in Acts, but there remains room for further consideration of the ethnic rhetoric and the civic context of Jewish identity in Acts.

"The Jews" and Judaism in Acts

Previous scholarship on Jews in Acts has often sought to locate "Luke's attitude" toward Jews and Judaism and has focused on whether Luke thought that "Christian" salvation remained available to Jews.[39] This scholarship falls into one of two broad

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[38] Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 89. For the concept of "memory theater" see Susan E. Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments, and Memories* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 54 n. 29; cited in Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 89. Alcock proposes that the Roman era Greeks used the buildings and images of the reconstructed Athenian agora to "conjure up specific and controlled memories of the past." The agora thus served as a type of civic museum or "memory theater."

[39] For a review of scholarship on Jews and Judaism in Acts see Joseph B. Tyson, *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars: Critical Approaches to Luke-Acts* (Columbia, SC: University

camps: Acts is anti-Jewish or Acts is pro-Jewish.[40] In what follows I argue that this dichotomy is problematic for understanding Acts because it masks the nuanced and complex way that Luke navigates Jewishness and relates Jewish and Christian identities. At the same time, it emphasizes a religious dichotomy between Jews and Christians while minimizing the civic, ethnic, political, and cultural aspects of ancient religious activities.[41]

When examining "Luke's attitude" toward Jews and Judaism, many scholars have argued that Acts is essentially anti-Jewish.[42] Those who take this view acknowledge that

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of South Carolina Press, 1999). See also Jon A. Weatherly, *Jewish Responsibility for the Death of Jesus in Luke-Acts*, JSNTS 106 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 13–49; François Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Fifty-Five Years of Research (1950-2005)* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 364–86.

[40] These two general interpretations developed during a flurry of scholarship on "the Jews" in Acts that appeared from the mid-eighties to early nineties. Important for this discussion are the essays collected in Joseph B. Tyson, ed., *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988); Sanders, *Jews in Luke-Acts*; Brawley, *Luke-Acts*; Wills, "Jews in Acts"; Joseph B. Tyson, "Jews and Judaism in Luke-Acts: Reading as a Godfearer," *NTS* 41 (1995): 19–38. On this resurgence of interest in Jews in Luke-Acts see Tyson, *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars*, 110–33. See also the discussion in François Bovon, "Studies in Luke-Acts: Retrospect and Prospect," *HTR* 85 (1992): 186–90.

[41] This is not to minimize the anti-Jewish interpretations of Acts perpetuated by Christians and others. See discussion in Tyson, *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars*, 1–12.

[42] That Acts is anti-Jewish is early and pervasive in scholarship. See Adolf von Harnack who views the rejection of the gospel by Jews as indicative of the divine rejection of Jews. He writes, "[t]he Jew is in a sense the villain in this dramatic history, yet not—as in the Gospel of St. John and the Apocalypse—the Jew in the abstract who has almost become an incarnation of the evil principle. But the real Jew without generalisation and exaggeration in his manifold gradations of Pharisee, Sadducee, aristocrat, Jew of Palestine or of the Dispersion. Where St. Luke knows anything more favourable

the images of Jews in Acts are complex but they consistently emphasize the writer's portrayal of Jewish opposition to the Christian gospel. They contend that in Acts the term "οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι" functions like a *terminus technicus* meaning "the Jews." "The Jews," on this reading, identify not only those Jews who oppose Christians, but also signify all Jews who do not become Christians.

Scholars of this view have made a number of important observations about the representations of Jews in Acts. In his still-influential book *Theology of St. Luke*, for example, Hans Conzelmann saw a certain "hardening" of "The Jews" as the narratives of Luke and Acts unfolds.[43] Luke, according to Conzelmann, divided the history of salvation into three phases: the period of Israel, the period of Jesus, and the period of "the Church."[44] With this division, Luke explained why it is "that Jews and Christians are in fact not distinguished," and at the same time, "that they are sharply opposed to one

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concerning particular sections or persons among the Jews he does not keep silence, and so sacrifice the truth to his theology of history." (*Acts*, xxiv; cf. Tyson, *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars*, 41–42).

[43] Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, trans. Geoffrey Buswell (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1961). The original German title, *Die Mitte der Zeit* ("The Middle of Time"), highlights Conzelmann's emphasis on redemptive history.

[44] See Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 16–17. On the problems with this model see Paul S. Minear, "Luke's Use of the Birth Stories," in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1966), 111–30. Minear points out that Conzelmann does not address the image of Judaism presented in Luke 1-2. If he had, Minear argues, Conzelmann would have needed significant changes to his model of redemptive history.

another." As he then suggested, "Both statements are the outcome of the view that the Church represents the continuity of redemptive history, and to this degree is 'Israel.'"[45]

This construction of redemptive history in turn informed Conzelmann's understanding of Jews. Conzelmann claimed:

> In the very usage of Ἰουδαῖος we can trace a certain hardening…. That the starting-point [of the gospel message] is in the synagogue is of course required by redemptive history…. [T]here is at the same time a reference to the cutting off of the Jews from redemptive history. We can say that the Jews are now called to make good on their claim to be 'Israel.' If they fail to do this, then they become 'the Jews.'[46]

For Conzelmann, Luke's Jews must legitimate their claim to "be Israel" by accepting the message of salvation from Paul and other disciples. In effect, Conzelmann understood Acts as identifying "the Church" as *verus* Israel and all non-Christian Jews as "the Jews."[47] In Conzelmann's reading of Luke-Acts, the writer viewed Christians as supplanting the Jews' place as the people of God.

Though a number of scholars have questioned Conzelmann's model of redemptive history for reading Luke and Acts,[48] his observations about the increasing

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[45] Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 146. Conzelmann writes, "Both the outline of the attitude of the Jews to the Christian mission and also the thesis of Luke xxi, that the judgement of history has fallen upon the Jews, are based on an understanding of the principles involved in the problem of the Jews" (*Theology of St. Luke*, 145 n.1).

[46] Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 145. See also Walter Gutbrod, "Ἰουδαῖος," *TDNT* (Grand Rapid, MI: Eerdmans, 1966), 3:379–80.

[47] Conzelmann acknowledges that Luke does not use the term "true Israel," but implies that Luke does have this concept (*Theology of St. Luke*, 146 n. 6).

[48] See the early critiques of Conzelmann's model of redemptive history in H. H. Oliver, "The Lucan Birth Stories and the Purpose of Luke-Acts," *NTS* 10 (1964): 202–26;

"hardening" against "the Jews" remain important in subsequent scholarship on the construction of Jewish identity in Acts.

Ernst Haenchen developed Conzelmann's work and focuses his attention on how Jews fit into the purpose of Acts. Haenchen contended that Luke was "wrestling, from the first page [of Acts] to the last, with the problem of the *mission to the Gentiles without the law*."[49] According to Haenchen, this mission was both a theological and a political problem for Luke. Haenchen wrote:

> By forsaking the observance of the Jewish law Christianity parts company with Judaism; does this not break the continuity of the history of salvation? That is the theological aspect. But in cutting adrift from Judaism Christianity also loses the toleration which the Jewish religion enjoys. Denounced by the Jews as hostile to the state, it becomes object of suspicion to Rome. That is the political aspect. Acts takes both constantly into account.[50]

For Haenchen, Luke's narrative attempts to create a theological and political bridge between Judaism and Christianity. Theologically, Luke needed this bridge because most Jews had rejected the claims of Christianity thus calling into question Christian assertions of continuity with Judaism.[51] Acts emphasized an initial Jewish acceptance of the Christian message in order to demonstrate a past connection between Judaism and Christianity.[52] According to Haenchen's interpretation, Jewish rejection caused Christians

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Minear, "Birth Stories." More recently, see Tyson, *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars*, 84–85.

[49] Haenchen, *Acts*, 100, emphasis original.

[50] Haenchen, *Acts*, 100.

[51] Haenchen, *Acts*, 116.

[52] Haenchen, *Acts*, 100–101.

to "turn" from Jews (Acts 13:46, 18:6; 28:28).[53] Haenchen writes, "it was to the Jews that salvation was first offered, and offered again and again. It was not until they refused it by their vilification of Jesus that the emissaries of Christianity turned to the Gentiles."[54] Taken individually, these "turning" passages represent local situations, but taken together, Haenchen contends Luke had "written the Jews off."[55] By emphasizing the Jewish rejection of the Christian message, Acts justified the current (in Luke's day) separation between the two religions.

For Haenchen, Luke needed to connect Christianity with Judaism because of Roman views of religion. Romans tolerated Judaism because it was a "legal religion."[56] Judaism was a so-called *religio licita* and Christians required a connection with Judaism in order to perpetuate a claim to be legal religion in the Roman Empire.[57] With this

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[53] Martin Dibelius sees the threefold renunciation of "the Jews" by Luke in Acts as a conscious redaction of the author (*Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Heinrich Greeven, trans. Mary Ling [London: SCM Press, 1956], 149–50). David Tiede and David Moessner understand them as a (temporary) rejection of "Israel" in order to offer salvation to non-Jews. See David P. Moessner, "The Ironic Fulfillment of Israel's Glory," in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988); David L. Tiede, "'Glory to Thy People Israel': Luke-Acts and the Jews," in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988).

[54] Haenchen, *Acts*, 101.

[55] Ernst Haenchen, "The Book of Acts as Source Material for the History of Early Christianity," in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert*, ed. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1966), 278.

[56] Haenchen, *Acts*, 100.

[57] Haenchen does not use "*religio licita*" in the later editions of his commentary. However, he does support, without critique, those who do. See Haenchen, *Acts*, 100 n. 12.

connection established, Luke could claim that Christianity "had committed no πονηρά, nor crimes against Roman law."[58] Thus, Luke emphasized a theological connection between Judaism and Christianity for political and apologetic ends.[59]

In response, in part, to Haenchen's thesis, Philip Esler conclusively demonstrated that Romans did not have a concept of *religio licita* during this period, a fact that seriously undermines Haenchen's interpretation.[60] There was no category of Roman law that made religions legal or illegal. Rather, the worship of gods was ancestral and traditional.[61] Since worship was ethnic and proper worship placated ancestral gods, as

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[58] Haenchen, *Acts*, 692–93.

[59] Haenchen writes that by solving the theological problem Luke "had also at the same time done most of the work necessary for the solution of the political problem" (*Acts*, 102).

[60] The concept of *religio licita* likely derives from the third century CE author Tertullian. See *Apol*. 4.4; 21.1. This observation was made in Henry J. Cadbury, "Some Foibles of New Testament Scholarship," *JBR* 26 (1958): 215–16; see further discussion in Esler, *Community and Gospel*, 205–14 (esp. 211–14). Esler writes: "We may begin by scotching the idea that Rome had some process for licensing foreign religions. There is no historical support for this whatsoever; it was always the Roman way to treat foreign religions on an *ad hoc* basis, and there never was a juridical category of *religio licita*" (*Community and Gospel*, 211). Cf. Tessa Rajak, "Was There a Roman Charter for the Jews?," *JRS* 74 (1984): 107–23.

[61] Esler, *Community and Gospel*, 212–15. Ancestral practices commonly shaped veneration of deities. Summing up the situation nicely, the second-century Christian apologist, Athenagoras, writes οἰκουμένη ἄλλος ἄλλοις ἔθεσι χρῶνται καὶ νόμοις, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν νόμῳ καὶ φόβῳ δίκης, κἂν γελοῖα ᾖ, μὴ στέργειν τὰ πάτρια εἴργεται ("different inhabitants have different customs and laws; and no one is hindered by law or fear of punishment from following his ancestral usages, however amusing these may be") (*Legato,* 1). Greek text from *TLG*; quoted in Fredriksen, "Judaizing the Nations," 235.

Paula Fredriksen argues, Romans operated under a model of "pragmatic pluralism."[62] Variation in religious activities was permitted because "if *any* god is more powerful than *any* human, then such a posture simply made good sense."[63] Haenchen's claim that Acts emphasizes a connection between Jews and Christians, so that Christianity can be portrayed as a "legal religion" is no longer viable. However, scholars continue to understand the representation of Jews in Acts as contributing to the formation of Christian identity in terms of Rome.

Moving beyond Conzelmann's and Haenchen's view that Acts depicts a hardening of "the Jews," Jack Sanders offered another forceful argument in defense of

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[62] Paula Fredriksen writes, "Mediterranean empires, whether Hellenistic or Roman, were in consequence extremely commodious in terms of what we think of as 'religion.' To label all of this religious breathing space as 'religious tolerance' is to misdescribe it with a word drawn from our own later civil societies. *Ancient empire embodied pragmatic pluralism*." ("Paul, Practical Pluralism, and the Invention of Religious Persecution in Roman Antiquity" [forthcoming]).

[63] Fredriksen, "Practical Pluralism." Roman practical pluralism did have its limits. Tiberius is said to have expelled the Druids from Rome (Pliny, *NH* 30.13). See also Suetonius, *Claudius* 25.5. Jews were expelled from Rome multiple times. Evidence for the earliest expulsion of Jews from Rome in 139 BCE, is late. See Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* 1.3.3 epitome of Nepotianus (Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* [Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974], no. 147a). See also epitome of Iulius Paris (*GLAJJ*, no. 147b). More secure is an expulsion in 19 CE (Josephus, *Ant*. 18.81-84; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 36; Dio Cassius, *Hist*. *Rom*. 57.18.5a; Tacitus, *Ann*. 2.85.4). Another occurred under Claudius in either 41 or 49 CE. See Suetonius, *Claudius* 25.4; Cassius, *Hist*. *Rom*. 60.6.6; Acts 18:2. See also discussion in Barclay, *Jews*, 303–306.

the view that the writer expresses an anti-Jewish attitude.[64] In multiple works, Sanders argues that Luke sees Jews, in their essence, as intransigent, opposed to God, hostile to the gospel, and murderers of Jesus.[65] Sanders understands the repeated use of the term "οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι" to be Luke's constructing an essentialist category, *"THE JEWS,"* as he calls it. He argues that, though there are positive images of Jews throughout Acts, in the end Acts shows the author's true view. Acts "makes clear that Paul is done in, not by the religious authorities alone, not by Diaspora Jews alone, and not by Jerusalem [*sic*] alone, but by *THE JEWS*. Jewish opposition to Christianity is now universal and endemic."[66] This clear rejection of "*THE JEWS*" moves the narrative forward, Sanders claims, by means of a series of violent interactions between Paul and other Jews, each of which stem

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[64] The view that Acts is anti-Jewish throughout is also supported by Augusto Barbi, "The Use and Meaning of (Hoi) Ioudaioi in Acts," in *Luke and Acts*, ed. Gerald O'Collins and Gilberto Marconi (New York: Paulist, 1993), 123–42.

[65] Jack T. Sanders, "The Jewish People in Luke-Acts," in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives*, ed. Joseph B. Tyson (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988), 73, emphasis mine. Cf. Sanders, *Jews in Luke-Acts*; "The Salvation of the Jews in Luke-Acts," in *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature*, ed. Charles H. Talbert (New York: Crossroad, 1988), 104–28; "Who Is a Jew and Who Is a Gentile in the Book of Acts," *NTS* 37 (1991): 434–55.

[66] Sanders, "Jewish People," 72, emphasis original. The fact that Paul is not actually "done in" at the end of Acts creates problems for this interpretation. Elsewhere, Sanders takes his argument even further. He states that the conclusion of Acts indicates the arrival at a "final solution of the Jewish problem." ("Salvation," 115). Sanders' rhetoric situates Luke's perspective on Jews as comparable to Nazi Germany's concept of die Endlösung der Judenfrage ("the final solution of the Jewish question"). On uses of the New Testament in Nazi Germany see Susannah Heschel, *The Aryan Jesus: Christian Theologians and the Bible in Nazi Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

from Paul's gospel message.[67] Thus, Luke regularly uses the term οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι *in malam partem*.[68] Sanders writes:

> At the end of the Acts the Jews have *become* what they from the first *were*; for what Jesus, Stephen, Peter, and Paul say about the Jews—about their intransigent opposition to the purposes of God, about their hostility toward Jesus and the gospel, about their murder of Jesus—is what Luke understands the Jewish people to be in their essence. The narrative shows how existence comes to conform to essence, the process by which the Jewish people become "the Jews"[69]

Jewish resistance toward the message of Paul represents the essence of all Jews everywhere.

Sanders also contends that Acts has a consistently negative picture of Jews, despite an initially positive presentation in the opening chapters. Jews "*become* what they from the first *were*," and Acts discloses this "truth" step-by-step in the narrative. Sanders, of course, does not personally support Luke's "attitude" (as he has described it); rather, he sees this presentation of "the Jews" as deeply problematic, and therefore worthy of both detection and rejection by contemporary scholars.[70] Even so, a number of scholars have observed that Sanders' negative view does not adequately take into account the positive images of Jews and Judaism present in the work.[71] In an attempt to expose and

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[67] Sanders, "Jewish People," 72, emphasis on "THE JEWS" original.

[68] Sanders, "Jewish People," 70.

[69] Sanders, "Jewish People," 73, emphasis original.

[70] At the end of his monograph on "the Jews" in Luke-Acts Sanders writes, "The modern reader of Luke-Acts is now forced to ask whether Luke's polemic against 'Jews' has not become the leaven within Christianity—an within Western society—against which we must all and eternally be on guard" (*Jews in Luke-Acts*, 317).

[71] Brawley, *Luke-Acts*. On Brawley's views, see discussion below.

eliminate modern Christian anti-Judaism, Sanders appears to have exaggerated the scope of Lukan anti-Judaism.

Even so, Sanders' argument remains influential. Scholars have adjusted his claims, nuancing what Lukan anti-Judaism may mean, but the overwhelmingly anti-Jewish movement of the narrative continues to guide discussions. In his essay entitled "The Use and Meaning of (*Hoi*) *Ioudaioi* in Acts," for example, Augusto Barbi perceives "the Jews" as an essential category seeing no significant distinction between the uses of Ἰουδαῖος with the article or without the article.[72] He does, however, see a distinction between the way Ἰουδαῖος is used in passages which contain interactions with apostles and those that do not. Passages without an interaction with the apostles are "neutral" and Ἰουδαῖος "clearly signifies that the persons belong to a race or to the religion of that race."[73] In passages containing interactions with the apostles, Barbi sees an "adversarial meaning" for the term. He writes:

> [I]f even when the author is aware that preaching is addressed to the Jews is to some extent successful, he nonetheless uses (*hoi*) *Ioudaioi* without restriction, or other expressions even more indicative of a totality, to describe the opponents of the gospel and its preachers, then the term certainly does not have a neutral

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[72] Barbi, "Use and Meaning," 125; see Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Robert Walter Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), §262 (1). See, for example, the ways that scholars have emphasized the uses the phase: the "Jews" (Barbi), "the Jews" (Conzelmann), *THE JEWS* (Sanders), *the Jews* (M. Smith) (see below).

[73] Barbi, "Use and Meaning," 126.

> ethnico-religious meaning but refers to those members of Israel who have closed their minds to the preaching of the gospel.[74]

On Barbi's reading, Ἰουδαῖοι does not mean the Jewish people per se but is a term denoting otherness. "This depiction of the *Ioudaioi* as enemies of the Christian community," Barbi writes, is "a sign of a change in the mood of the Jewish people and of a growing rift between Christians and unbelieving Jews."[75] Barbi contends:

> When Jews accept the gospel they become simply "believers among the Jews" (21:20) and join the Christian community. When they reject the gospel, they become *Ioudaioi* in the adversarial sense. The community of disciples is forced to distance itself form these Jews and their synagogues. It is from this group that a more continuous threat to the community and its missionary activity seems to come.

Acts thus presents a "very sad and tragic" picture of the "Jews."[76]

Mitzi Smith has argued that Acts rhetorically constructs "the Jews" as Christians' "other," a fictive category produced by Luke for the purposes of rhetorical definition.[77]

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[74] Barbi, "Use and Meaning," 134. Barbi observes five ways that Ἰουδαῖοι is used that indicate sites of interaction: the phrase synagogue of the Jews, the phrase Jews and Hellenes, Paul's activity in relation to the "Jews," activity of the "Jews" in relation to preachers of the gospel, and interactions in direct discourse ("Use and Meaning," 126–33).

[75] Barbi, "Use and Meaning," 134. See also Sanders, *Jews in Luke-Acts*, 258–59.

[76] Barbi's conclusion that Acts offers a tragic picture of the "Jews" is similar to that in Robert C. Tannehill, "Israel in Luke-Acts: A Tragic Story," *JBL* 104 (1985): 69–85.

[77] Mitzi J. Smith, *The Literary Construction of the Other in the Acts of the Apostles: Charismatics, the Jews, and Women* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011). For a fuller treatment of the literary and narrative structure of Acts see Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*. As the title of his multivolume work indicates, Tannehill uses the narrative features of the Gospel of Luke and Acts to argue that the texts are two volumes of a single work. For Tannehill, Luke and Acts

Smith first distinguishes between the Jewish people and *the Jews*—as she identifies them. She, like Sanders, contends that the articular plural uses of the Greek term Ἰουδαῖος (οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) in the second half of Acts rhetorically construct an opponent of Christians, "*the Jews*."[78] Luke does this by presenting *the Jews* as active participants in conflicts with Christians—"*ekklēsia*" in Smith's terms.[79] *The Jews* "are the ideal negatively romanticized opponents of the *ekklēsia* and its gospel message."[80] Smith, like Sanders, does not see a "hardening" of *the Jews* as the narrative progresses. Rather, "[*t*]*he Jews* consistently act the same way, and this consistency gives the impression that they are a predictable and unified group with respect to their response to the Gentile mission as Paul preached it."[81] Luke, thus, "constructs *the Jews* so as to give the readers the impression that they are an authentically ubiquitous group that acts harmoniously, homogeneously, and violently to oppose the Gentile mission."[82] *The Jews* in Acts are the consistent and

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present the rejection of the gospel by Jews as a "tragic" turn of events in the history of Israel ("Israel in Luke-Acts").

[78] Smith, *The Other in Acts*, 61.

[79] Smith uses a theory of transitivity analysis to better understand *the Jews* in Acts. Transitivity analysis looks at the subject and objects of verbal actions to determine "active" and "passive" actors in narratives. Smith observes that Luke usually represents *the Jews* as the subjects (active) and Christians as objects (passive). See discussion in Smith, *The Other in Acts*, 8–9.

[80] Smith, *The Other in Acts*, 93–94.

[81] Smith, *The Other in Acts*, 71.

[82] Smith, *The Other in Acts*, 63–64 (emphasis original).

uniform "other." Acts also connects *the Jews* with the Jewish people more generally.[83] Smith writes:

> Luke's narrative discursively creates the illusion that *the Jews* in Acts are Jewish people in general. The only power in Acts that is able to transcend the hostility of *the Jews* is the power of God, which, according to the narrative, is on the side of the *ekklēsia* and not on the side of *the Jews*.[84]

Though she initially distinguishes between *the Jews* and the Jewish people, Smith eventually blends them together into one homogenous category; all Jews become *the Jews*.[85]

In the end Smith, like Conzelmann, Haenchen, and Sanders, interprets the writer's portrayal of those Jews who oppose Acts' Christians as categorically identical to the Jewish people. Yet this interpretation remains problematic because it does not adequately account for the continuing Jewishness of most of the Christians in Acts' narrative. Jews who are also Christians, like Peter, Stephen, and Paul, cannot remain Jewish if Luke discursively identifies *the Jews* with Jewish people more generally. When these Jews become Christians, their Jewishness is abandoned. As discussed below, Luke does not

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[83] For Smith this is an illusion of the text (*The Other in Acts*, 93–94).

[84] Smith, *The Other in Acts*, 94.

[85] At some points Smith differentiates the literary representation of these Jews as *the Jews* and other Jews, but at other points Smith seems to combine the uses of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι with other uses of Ἰουδαῖος in Acts. In a footnote Smith states, "From this point forward, when the term *the Jews* refers to the presence of the Greek plural with the definite article of *ho Ioudaios* (*hoi Ioudaioi*) in Acts, it is italicized (*The Other in Acts*, 58 n.2). However, two pages later, she claims, "The expression *the Jews* (*hoi Ioudaioi*) occurs seventy-nine times in Acts" (*The Other in Acts*, 60). The Greek word Ἰουδαῖος, in all its forms, occurs seventy-nine times in Acts, but the articular plural use of Ἰουδαῖος occurs forty-two times in Acts.

condemn or write off the Jewish people, but he does make a distinction between Christian Jews and non-Christians Jews.

Placing Acts in a different historical context allows a number of scholars to avoid this issue. With the exception of Smith, the scholars discussed above see Acts addressing a historical problem with the relationship between Jews and Christians.[86] Another group of scholars, however, argue that Acts addresses a problem of theological diversity in second century Christianity. On this view, Luke uses Jews to imagine Christian origins in a way that supports a vision of Christianity that is actually ambivalent toward Jews.

Joseph Tyson, for example, accentuates the "tension and ambivalence" of Luke's view of the Jewish people.[87] Building on the work of John Knox, Tyson reads Acts as participating in theological debates similar to those with the "arch-heretic" Marcion who claimed that the religion of Jesus and Paul differed completely from that of the Jewish scriptures.[88] Luke counters Marcion's claims with positive images of Jews and of Jewish traditions in this story of the origins of non-Jewish Christianity. Yet, Tyson argues, in spite of these positive images, Acts remains anti-Jewish. The writer acknowledges that some Jews accept Paul's message, but condemns the "Jews as a whole" for their rejection

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[86] Smith does not historically contextualize Act but prefers to focus on the texts as a literary whole (*The Other in Acts*, 8–9).

[87] Joseph B. Tyson, "The Problem of Jewish Rejection in Acts," in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988), 127; cf. Tyson, "Jews and Judaism in Luke-Acts"; Joseph B. Tyson, "The Jewish Public in Luke-Acts," *NTS* 30 (1984): 574–83.

[88] Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts*, 32.

of the gospel.[89] Tyson writes, "two facts seem clear: for Luke the mission to the Jewish people has failed, and it has been terminated."[90] Luke's battle against his (Christian) theological opponents results in the termination of the mission to the Jewish people.[91]

Shelly Matthews also argues that Acts responds to early second-century debates within Christianity.[92] Matthews writes: "Through the distinct coding of Jewish *symbols* as good and non-confessing Jewish *people* as bad, the rhetorical strategy of Acts aligns precisely with the *Adversus Judaeos* traditions of anti-marcionite Christians in the second century and beyond."[93] Its positive valuation of Jewish customs and symbols notwithstanding, Acts remains anti-Jewish because it identifies Jews by their hostility toward Christians. Matthews contends that "the proofs cited from Jewish Scripture and

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[89] Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts*, 32.

[90] Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts*, 137. Marcion—as he is reconstructed from the writings of his opponents—offers an interesting interlocutor for Luke and places more emphasis on theological discussions from the first quarter of the second-century CE than previous works. However, the push to read Acts in light of Marcion or "marcionite thinking" assumes that Luke begins with a developed theology of salvation history and then constructs a narrative of the spread of the Christian message to fit that message. That is to say, these views assume that there is a theologically robust "Christianity" that exists outside of the narrative.

[91] Joseph B. Tyson, *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1992); cf. Judith Lieu, *Image and Reality: The Jews in the World of the Christians in the Second Century* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996).

[92] Matthews, *Perfect Martyr*. Matthews' work builds on Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament*; and Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts*.

[93] Matthews, *Perfect Martyr*, 36, emphasis original. On the *Adversus Judaeos* tradition see Fredriksen and Irshai, "Christian Anti-Judaism"; Efroymson, "The Patristic Connection."

other positive coding of Jewish symbols, along with the highlighting of the Jewish credentials of its key protagonists, demonstrate that this community has the rightful claim on Israel's heritage."[94] Placing Acts within the historical context of the *Adversus Judaeos* traditions provides Matthews (and Tyson as well) space to explain the negative portrayal of Jews while at the same time allowing the positive images to exist. The Christian Paul can both be "ethnically" Jewish and condemn the Jewish people. Thus, Luke "thinks with" Jews in order to make a theological claim against his opponents.[95] Matthews' proposal that Luke "thinks with" Jews provides space to consider the positive and negative ways that Acts represents Jews, without making a totalizing claim about "Luke's attitude" toward "the Jews" as if both Luke's attitude is knowable and "the Jews" is a fixed category.

Other scholars have seen in Acts a more positive view of Jews. They bracket the conflicts between Christians and Jews that the writer portrays and emphasize the fact that Jews accept the gospel before non-Jews do. These scholars contextualize the representations of Jews historically as part of an intra-Jewish debate and thus soften the distinction between Jews and Christians (both Jewish and non-Jewish). As they argue, the Jewishness of the apostles mediates the anti-Jewishness of other aspects of the narrative, leaving the question of Luke's "attitude" unsettled.

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[94] Matthews, *Perfect Martyr*, 34.

[95] Cf. Knust's claim that Justin, Irenaeus, and others "thought with" their opponents (Knust, *Abandoned to Lust*). She argues that early Christians used sexual accusations to challenge those who opposed them and define their own movement(s).

In 1972, Jacob Jervell published a series of essays that challenged the existing consensus that Acts is anti-Jewish,[96] and thus ignited an enduring conversation about Jews in Acts.[97] Jervell contended that Luke goes to great length to depict many Jews as accepting the gospel; he did not represent the Jewish people rejecting the gospel but suggested that it is necessary for Jews to accept the gospel before the message could go to non-Jews.[98] However, Jervell still viewed "the church" as supplanting Israel over the course of Acts' narrative. Luke, according to Jervell, does not separate "the church" from Israel or Judaism, but rather separates the unrepentant, that is, non-Christian, portion of Israel from "true" Israel because it has "forfeited its membership in the people of God" through its rejection of the gospel.[99] Jervell therefore calls into question the scholarly consensus of his time that has understood "the Jews" in Luke-Acts as equal to all Jews.

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[96] See also Gerhard Lohfink, *Die Sammlung Israels: Eine Untersuchung Zur Lukanischen Ekklesiologie*, SANT 39 (Munich: Kösel, 1975). Lohfink argues that Luke views Jews and Judaism positively but that after Acts 5:42 the "Jerusalem springtime" ends and "Israel that still persists in rejecting Jesus loses any claim to be the true people of God—it becomes Judaism" (Lohfink, *Die Sammlung Israels*, 55; quoted and translated in Tyson, *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars*, 110).

[97] Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*. Jervell published four of the essays between 1962-71. The programmatic essay in this collection was originally published as Jacob Jervell, "Das Gespaltene Israel Und Die Heidenvölker," *Studia Theologica* 19 (1965): 68–96. Cf. discussion in Tyson, *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars*, 93–109.

[98] Jervell writes: "One usually understands the situation to imply that only when the Jews have rejected the gospel is the way opened to Gentiles. It is more correct to say that only when Israel has accepted the gospel can the way to Gentiles be opened. The acceptance of the message took place primarily through the Jewish Christian community in Jerusalem" (*Luke and the People of God*, 55).

[99] Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 43.

For Jervell, "the Jews" only represents those Jews who do not accept the gospel. Though this interpretation views Jewish identity in slightly more positive light, the category remains largely religious in Jervell's reading of Acts, distinguishing between two religions—Judaism and Christianity—based on their "beliefs." In Jervell's reading, it is only Jews who accept the gospel who are "true" Israel.

Robert Brawley has built on Jervell's work and also argued that Luke approaches Jews positively as a whole.[100] Brawley, however, contends that Jervell overemphasized theological issues and failed to give adequate attention to the representation of social dynamics in Acts. For Brawley, Luke does not give up on Jews but responds to "Jewish propaganda and schismatic anti-Paulinism."[101] Luke, according to Brawley, defended and legitimated Paul and Christianity. In doing so, he left the door open for Jews to accept the Pauline gospel.[102]

Both Jervell and Brawley have emphasized the positive ways that Luke interacts with Jews, but their work still interprets Jews as a religious "other" in Acts. For Jervell, Luke showed the success of the message of Christian salvation among Jews while for Brawley, Luke sought to legitimate Paul and his message, and did so by contrasting

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[100] Brawley, *Luke-Acts*. For Brawley, "The Jews in Luke-Acts play out their roles enmeshed in an intricate pattern of theme and plot development" (*Luke-Acts*, 155).

[101] Brawley, *Luke-Acts*, 83. See the more recent statements in Brawley, "Ethical Borderlines." There he sees the stand of Luke toward the Jews as "open-ended" (415).

[102] This is the view of Bovon, "Studies in Luke-Acts," 190. See also Raimo Hakola, "'Friendly' Pharisees and Social Identity in Acts," in *Contemporary Studies in Acts*, ed. Thomas E. Phillips (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009), 181–200.

Pauline Christians with "Jews." However, in the end, both Jervell and Brawley see Luke equating "the Jews" with a religion. For Jervell, "it is those Jews who are faithful to the law, *the real Jews*, the most Jewish Jews, who become believers," that is, trust in Jesus as God's messiah;[103] for Brawley, Luke uses the traditions of the early church and "draws what he considers to be *authentic* Jews toward Christianity and *authentic* Christians toward Judaism."[104] Jews, on these readings, must become believing Christians in order to be "true Jews."

Both those who interpret Acts as anti-Jewish and those who interpret Acts as (somewhat) pro-Jewish often make similar assumptions about Acts, Jewish identity, and the formation of Christianity. First, they assume that Jewish identity in Acts is (or should be) primarily a religious identity. Discussions about Jewish identity revolve around the availability of Christian salvation for Jews. Second, they argue that "the Jews" function as a clearly defined "other" throughout Acts. For Jervell, Brawley, and others who see Acts as pro-Jewish, Luke distinguished between *authentic* or *true* "Jews" and "the Jews." "The Jews" are an ethnically based religious group, and the distinction between "the Jews" and *authentic* Jews (i.e., Christians) lies in their "belief" or "non-belief" in Christ. The distinctions are more clear-cut for those who see Acts as anti-Jewish or ambivalent toward Jews. Luke distinguished between "the Jews" and "Christians." Of course, some

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[103] Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 46, emphasis mine. "Belief" and "believer" are problematic categories for describing the relations between ancient peoples and their gods. See below and discussion in Fredriksen, "Judaizing the Nations," 235–36.

[104] Brawley, *Luke-Acts*, 159, emphasis mine. Brawley does not distinguish between Jewish and non-Jewish Christians.

early Christians were Jews, but Acts constructs "the Jews" as an oppositional, ethnically based religious group, an opposition that transcends the individual ethnicity of a few Jewish Christians. Third, Acts depicts a religion, Christianity, which opposed another religion, Judaism. "The Jews" serve as Christianity's "other," a distinction that delimits both groups in theological terms. The opposition that Christians face from "the Jews" allows the formation of distinct, unified groups. In each of these views, Acts identifies "the Jews" with a particular ethnic religion, Judaism, and identifies Christians, "true Israel," with a universal, belief-based religion, Christianity.

A few scholars offer a different approach to the topic of Jewish identity in Acts. Marilyn Salmon, for example, asks whether Luke was an insider or an outsider in relation to Judaism.[105] If an outsider, then Acts is anti-Jewish and readings like Jack Sanders' are correct. However, if Luke understood himself to be a Jewish insider then Acts represents an intra-Jewish debate about how to best honor the God of Israel.[106] Salmon points to four aspects of Acts, which indicate to her that Luke was an insider, in other words that he perceived himself to be a Jew: he distinguishes between sects of Judaism, he devotes significant space to questions of Torah observance, he focuses on the "Gentile mission" which only makes sense as a Jewish concept, and he identifies Christians as members of a

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[105] Marilyn Salmon, "Insider or Outsider? Luke's Relationship with Judaism," in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives*, ed. Joseph B. Tyson (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988), 76–82.

[106] See also Terence L. Donaldson, *Jews and Anti-Judaism in the New Testament: Decision Points and Divergent Interpretations* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2010), 55–80. Donaldson acknowledges that understanding Acts as either pro- or anti-Jewish depends upon the author's relationship with Judaism.

sect of Judaism.[107] Acts therefore represents Jews in ways that remain consistent with intra-Jewish discussions. Her focus on how Acts relates to Judaism moves the discussion of Jewish identity forward by shifting questions away from issues of salvation toward Luke's perceived social location and his own claimed identity.[108]

Philip Esler has also focused on the social location of Luke, showing how Luke used "legitimation techniques" throughout Luke and Acts.[109] Building on the influential work of sociologists of religion Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, Esler defines legitimation as "the collection of ways in which an institution is explained and justified *to its members*,"[110] analyzing the relationship between theology and socio-political issues in Luke-Acts through the lens of social theory.[111] He contends that Luke "has shaped the gospel traditions at his disposal in response to social and political pressures experienced by his community."[112] This shift in focus also shifts the discussion of Luke's attitude toward "the Jews" to the way that Luke legitimated the separation between "Christian

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[107] Salmon, "Insider or Outsider?," 79–80.

[108] Bovon correctly observes a shift from theological methods to social-cultural approaches in many recent works ("Studies in Luke-Acts," 186).

[109] Esler, *Community and Gospel*.

[110] Esler, *Community and Gospel*, 17–21, quote from 17, emphasis mine. Cf. Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966).

[111] See also the work of Coleman Baker who uses social theory to argue that "the narrative of Acts attempts the recategorization of Judean and non-Judean Christ-followers and those on either side of the debate over non-Judean inclusion in the Christ movement into a common ingroup" (*Identity, Memory, and Narrative*, xv).

[112] Esler, *Community and Gospel*, 2.

sectarians" and Jewish communities.[113] Luke wrote with a Christian community containing both Jews and non-Jews in mind, he argues, and sought to show that "Christianity was a legitimate development of Judaism."[114] Esler's social legitimation model remains focused on two religions—Judaism and Christianity. However, by focusing on how Acts legitimated Christian communities rather than on Luke's attitude toward the salvation of "the Jews," he places Lukan rhetoric within a broader sociological framework. Jews are Luke's literary creation, Esler suggests, but they fulfill a social rather than theological role.[115]

Attending to Acts' social setting in the Greek city, Lawrence Wills has also shifted the discussion of Jews by the writer.[116] Wills interprets Acts' Jews in light of the fear of urban uprisings in the Roman Empire, a fear the writer shared. Luke, according to Wills, "manipulates the stigma of *stasis* or *seditio* in a way that is profoundly Roman,"

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[113] See Esler, *Community and Gospel*, 46–70, esp. 65–70.

[114] Esler, *Community and Gospel*, 30–70, quote from 69. Esler contends that Luke wrote so that he "could console his fellow-Christians with the message that it was not they but Jews still attending the synagogue who had abandoned the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, of Moses and of David" (*Community and Gospel*, 70).

[115] For Esler, legitimating table fellowship between Jews and non-Jews is a central concern of Acts. He writes, "One issue in Luke-Acts towers above all others as significant for the emergence and subsequent sectarian identity of the type of community for whom Luke wrote: namely, table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles" (*Community and Gospel*, 71–109, quote from 71).

[116] Wills, "Jews in Acts."

repeating a broader Roman preference for "peace" in a way that renders "the Jews" as a social (rather than a theological) threat.[117] Wills writes:

> The narrative method of Acts in regard to Jews is not to state the salvation-history dogma that their theology makes them wrong and lost—although the author probably believes this—but to *show* that Jews are every bit as disorderly and rebellious as one would expect from the fact that they were involved in three bloody rebellions in seventy years.[118]

Luke juxtaposes "the Jews," who are portrayed as "scandalously bad citizens," with "the Christians," who are portrayed as model, orderly citizens.[119] The emphasis Wills places on Luke's use of Jewish identity as a means of navigating Christians' place in the Greek *polis* comes close to the approach adopted in this project. In Wills' reading, Luke is more concerned with the social status of Christians in relation to the Roman Empire than with the theological status of Jews.

Salmon's and Esler's emphasis on Luke's relationship to a Jewish community and Wills' emphasis on Luke's depiction of Jews in relationship to the Roman fears of urban rebellion place Christians within their surrounding social context, shifting the discussion away from Luke's purported "attitude" toward Jews and toward Luke's use of fictive ethnic-theological categories ("Jew" and "Christian") in his construction of Christian difference. Discussions of Luke's position in relation to Jews and Jewish identity have therefore become more complex. Still, the tendency to discuss Jewish identity in Acts as

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[117] Lawrence M. Wills, *Not God's People: Insiders and Outsiders in the Biblical World* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 199.

[118] Wills, "Jews in Acts," 653.

[119] Wills, "Jews in Acts," 646.

a matter of "the Jews" versus Christians continues to imagine clear boundaries between two social groups, Jews and Christians.[120] The religious aspects of Jewish and Christian identity are therefore treated separately from the social and theological categories "Jewish" and "Christian."

Eric Barreto also challenges the view that Luke held a totalizing, negative view of "the Jews" and argues that scholars have fundamentally misunderstood the function and use of ethnic discourse in analyses of Acts.[121] Even "[a]sking whether Luke's use of Ἰουδαῖος is positive or negative eliminates the possibility that the term is used descriptively, ambiguously, or ambivalently."[122] Attention to ethnic discourse shows that "Luke constantly draws and redraws the referent of Ἰουδαῖος."[123]

Rather than emphasizing sites of opposition, as Barbi and many others have, Barreto catalogues the uses of Ἰουδαῖος under seven "heuristic headings" and highlights the variation and specificity of Ἰουδαῖος.[124] He argues that nearly all of the uses of

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[120] See the recent works: Eric Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations: The Function of Race and Ethnicity in Acts 16* (WUNT 2 294; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010); Hakola, "'Friendly' Pharisees and Social Identity in Acts"; Thomas E. Phillips, "Prophets, Priests, and Godfearing Readers: The Priestly and Prophetic Traditions in Luke-Acts," in *Contemporary Studies in Acts*, 222–39; Baker, *Identity, Memory, and Narrative*.

[121] Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 83.

[122] Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 97–98.

[123] Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 81.

[124] Barreto's seven categories are: naming individuals, Ἰουδαῖοι specified by place, references to the prerogatives and/or possessions of the Ἰουδαῖοι, pairings between Ἰουδαῖος and other groups, Ἰουδαῖος and the political powers, sites of contestation, wide ethnic appeals. See discussion in Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 88–91.

Ἰουδαῖος in Acts identify a specific referent.[125] He concludes, "[f]or Luke, there is no essentialist meaning of Ἰουδαῖος, only a wide meaning potential befitting the ethno-cultural complexities of the ancient world."[126] According to Barreto, using "the Jews" to identify a single, fixed entity in Acts does not accurately reflect Luke's uses of the term Ἰουδαῖος or the ambiguity of ethnic discourse.

Barreto's conclusion that Ἰουδαῖος does not have an essentialist meaning in Acts provides a helpful entry into discussion of ethnic reasoning and the use of religious activities in the production of Jewish identity.[127] As discussed in the introduction, ancient Christians (and many others populations) produced ethnic and civic identities, in part, through honoring ancestral gods. According to Buell's analysis, ancient Christians used "religion" in four ways: to identify populations ethnically and distinguish between ethnic and civic groups; to establish guidelines for ethnic and civic change; to construe connections between previously distinct ethnic and civic populations; and to mark internal distinctions within a given ethnic or civic group. When applied to Jewish identity in Acts, tending to ethnic rhetoric shifts the discussion of Jewish identity from Luke's attitude toward "the Jews" to how are religious activities used to produce Jewish identity

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[125] Barreto notes three verses that are "wide ethnic appeals" (2:5; 10:22, 28). He contends that these verses use Ἰουδαῖος generically ("the Jews") but they remain limited by their immediate context (*Ethnic Negotiations*, 90–91). See my discussion of Acts 2:5-13 in chapter three.

[126] Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 98.

[127] Barreto's view is also supported by L. Daniel Chrupcała, *Everyone Will See the Salvation of God: Studies in Lukan Theology*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Analecta 83 (Milan: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2015).

in Acts. What follows offers a few examples of how this approach enhances understanding of Jewish identity in the rhetoric of Acts.

Ethnic Reasoning and Jews in Acts

In the ancient world, religious activities were a means both of maintaining ethnic and civic identity and of creating ethnic and civic distinctions. Acts, of course, offers many examples of this dynamic. Throughout the work, Luke represents Jews constructing Jewish identity in ethnic and religious terms. Luke's Peter, for example, encourages a crowd of Jews to remember the oath that God made to "the ancestor David" (ὁ πατριάρχης Δαυὶδ), an oath, which still applied to the Peter's rhetorical audience (2:29-30; cf. 3:13, 17). The promise of God is transmitted ethnically. That is, it works through lineage and maintains Jewish identity. Elsewhere, Luke's Stephen connects the appearance of "the God of glory" (ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης) to "our ancestor Abraham" (ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν Ἀβραὰμ) with the current situation of his Jewish audience (7:2). The rhetoric of Acts assumes an ethnic tie between the Jewish God and the Jewish people past and present. More than a simple ethnic tie, God guides and rescues "his people" (7:33). Ethnicity determines how God interacts with humanity.

In a different way, Acts co-mingles religious and ethnic rhetoric in Paul's defense before Agrippa. Luke's Paul proclaims,

> Τὴν μὲν οὖν βίωσίν μου [τὴν] ἐκ νεότητος τὴν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς γενομένην ἐν τῷ ἔθνει μου ἔν τε Ἱεροσολύμοις ἴσασι πάντες [οἱ] Ἰουδαῖοι προγινώσκοντές με ἄνωθεν, ἐὰν θέλωσι μαρτυρεῖν, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην αἵρεσιν τῆς ἡμετέρας θρησκείας ἔζησα Φαρισαῖος. καὶ νῦν ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι τῆς εἰς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐπαγγελίας γενομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἕστηκα κρινόμενος, εἰς ἣν τὸ δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν λατρεῦον ἐλπίζει καταντῆσαι.

> All Jews know my way of life from my youth, a life spent from the beginning in my *ethnos* and in Jerusalem. They have known for a long time, if they are willing to testify, that, as a Pharisee, I lived according to the strictest sect of our ancestral cult. And now I stand on trial on account of the hope of the promise made by God to our ancestors, a promise that our twelve tribes hope to attain, as they earnestly worship day and night. (26:4-7)

Through Paul's claim, Acts ties Jewish identity to the continuing effect of God's promise to ancestors. In the narrative of Acts, Jews use the connection between their God, his people, and ancestral customs to mark Jewish identity.

Non-Jews also mark Jewish identity in ethnic and religious terms throughout the narrative of Acts. While in Philippi, the owners of a slave girl identify Paul and Silas as Jews. They then accuse them of stirring up the city by announcing customs that Romans could not accept (16:20-21). Jewish customs (including religious customs) were for Jews and were not lawful for Romans.[128] In Corinth, Paul is again accused of transgressing "the law."[129] However, this time leaders of the local Jewish community accuse him of acting contrary to Jewish laws and customs. The Roman proconsul Gallio, to whom these Jews appeal, would not judge such matters and dismissed the case (18:12-17). In Ephesus, a group of silversmiths were concerned that Paul would persuade Ephesians to stop honoring Artemis (19:23-31). Paul, a Jew, persuades non-Jews to worship in a Jewish way with his claim that gods made with hands were not gods (19:26). The head

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[128] See Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 158–160.

[129] The Jews who accuse Paul contend that he persuades people to worship God in ways that are contrary to "the Law" (19:13). Gallio responds that Jews, not Romans, should tend to questions about a word, names, and laws (19:14-15). See my discussion of Acts 18:12-17 in chapter five.

silversmith, Demetrius, claims that if this were left unabated the temple of Artemis would be scorned and the goddess would be deprived of her majesty (19:27). Jews worshipping according to Jewish customs did not raise Ephesian ire, but when Jews encouraged non-Jews to do the same, these Ephesians responded with a near-riot (19:38-41). In each of these three cases, Acts represents non-Jews connecting Jewish religious activity and ethnic identity.

Acts also used religious practices to mark ethnic change in a way that was common among Jews in the Greek and Roman eras. As modern historians know well, Jews accepted non-Jews as full members of the Jewish community as proselytes.[130] Modern scholars continue to debate how ancient Jews understood the ethnic identity of these "converts." Were they now Jews?[131] Did they remain non-Jews who simply

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[130] See my discussion of "proselyte" in chapter three. On Jewish proselytes generally see Terence L. Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism (to 135 CE)* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2008), 482–94. For an exhaustive study of the primary evidence for "godfearers" and "proselytes" see Bernd Wander, *Gottesfürchtige und Sympathisanten: Studien zum heidnischen Umfeld von Diasporasynagogen* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998). For additional discussion see I. A Levinskaya, *The Book of Acts in Its Diaspora Setting*, The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting 5 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996). See also discussion in Fredriksen, "Judaizing the Nations," 235–40, esp. 238–39. A still valuable collection on the topic of the Jewish identity of non-Jews is Cohen, *Beginnings* esp. "Part 2: The Boundary Crossed: Becoming a Jew."

[131] This was apparently the view of ancient non-Jews. See discussion in Cohen, *Beginnings*, 159–160. See *Gospel of Philip* (*NHC* 2.2–7) and *Acts of Pilate* 2.4; and primary texts in Stern *GLAJJ* nos. 254 (Epictetus); 515 (Life of Severus). Cf. Jdt 14:10; Josephus, *Ant*. 20.17-48.

practiced Judaism?[132] Or were they somewhere in between?[133] It is most probable that different communities accepted (or rejected) proselytes in different ways at different times. Because of this, it is important for the present argument to determine how Acts represents the ethnic identity of Jewish proselytes rather than to enter into the broader debate about the ethnic status of Jewish proselytes in the ancient world.

Acts identifies proselytes as Jews who simultaneously retain a distinction from those who are born Jews. In Acts 2:5-13, a passage discussed in the next chapter, this complexity comes to the fore. Acts includes proselytes in a list of Jews from various ethnic groups (2:5, 10). Therefore, proselytes are Jews. However, the same passage marks proselytes as distinct from born Jews (2:10) and later Acts distinguishes between

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[132] See Cohen, *Beginnings*, 109-139; Cohen sees proselytes as participating in a larger shift in Jewish identity from an ethnic and geographic identity to a cultural and religious one in the Hasmonean period. For other examples see Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew," *HTR* 82 (1989): 13–33; repr. in *Beginnings*, 140–174. Cohen sees three elements necessary to "become" Jewish: practice of Jewish laws, exclusive devotion to God, and integration to the Jewish community (see Jth. 14:10; Tacitus, *Histories* 5.5.2; Juvenal, *Satires* 14-96-106). However, he notes that most "conversion" stories do not entail each of these elements (e.g., Philo, *Vir*. 20.102-21.208). Matthew Thiessen has persuasively argued that in the LXX προσήλυτος does not usually mean "convert." Rather the term covers a range of ways of affiliating with the Jewish people. See Matthew Thiessen, "Revisiting the προσήλυτος in 'the LXX,'" *JBL* 132 (2013): 333–50. See also Malina and Pilch who contend that proselytes are merely "respectful" outsiders who "would be supportive of a forthcoming Israelite theocracy" but did not necessarily follow Jewish customs (*Acts*, 30). As I will argue in chapter 5, Luke uses the distinction between the translated meaning of προσήλυτος in the LXX and the contemporaneous concept of the proselyte (also προσήλυτος in Greek) to identify Christian non-Jews as proselytes according to the LXX.

[133] See Fredriksen who identifies proselytes as "Jews of a special kind" ("Judaizing the Nations," 242).

born Jews and "pious proselytes" (σεβομένοι προσηλύτοι; 13:43). In these cases, born Jews and proselytes make up two categories. As argued in the next chapter, however, Luke presents both categories as Jewish. Ethnic reasoning provides a way of navigating the ambiguous representations of the ethnic identity of proselytes and their relation to Jewishness.

Acts uses religious activity to make ethnic connections between Jews and non-Jews of a different type as well. In the narrative depicting Paul in Athens, for example, Acts portrays some Athenian philosophers asking Paul about the "foreign deities" (ξένα δαιμονία) who he proclaims because "all the Athenians and the resident foreigners would spend their time in nothing but telling or hearing something new" (Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πάντες καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες ξένοι εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ηὐκαίρουν ἢ λέγειν τι ἢ ἀκούειν τι καινότερον) (17:21).[134] These Athenians identify Paul's deities as foreign and non-Greek. Acts, however, uses Paul's response to turn this claim around.

Luke's Paul contends that he revealed "the unknown god" (ὁ ἄγνωστος θεός), a deity who was already worshiped in Athens (17:23). Paul's god is not foreign, just unknown. Paul then claims that his god is "the God who created world and everything in it" (ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ) and who "being master of heaven and earth does not live in hand-made temples" (οὗτος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς

[134] In an authorial aside, Luke makes it clear that he refers to Paul's proclamation of Jesus and resurrection (Acts 17:19).

ὑπάρχων κύριος οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ) (17:24).[135] Paul thus reveals the unknown god as the ancestral God of the Jews.

Luke's Paul then contends that the God of Israel made every *ethnos* of men from one man and determined the geographic boundaries of each ethnic population (17:26). Moreover, humans live and move and exist (ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν) through God (17:28a). "Indeed," Paul proclaims, "we are even [this God's] offspring" (τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν) (17:28b).[136] Each of these claims creates an *ethnic* link between the God of the Jews and *all* humans. The apparent ethnic distinctions between humans exist because God determined them. Thus, the God of the Jews is not a foreign deity. Rather, he is the ultimate ancestor of all humanity, in Acts' rhetoric at least.[137]

Acts uses religious traditions to demarcate ethnic boundaries, navigate ethnic change, and make ethnic connections. But the book also uses religious ideology to assert and regulate differences among Jews. As discussed above, Acts distinguishes between

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[135] See e.g., Philo, *Creation* 2; Aristobulous, frag. 2 on God as creator and Isa. 66:1-2; Josephus, *Ant*. 8.227-228; *Sib Or*. 4.8-11 on God and the temple.

[136] Luke's Paul takes both of these claims from Greek authors. Scholars dispute exactly who Luke's Paul is quoting. The first may be based on the 6th-century BCE poet Epimendies. Cadbury views this as uncertain (see Henry J. Cadbury, *The Book of Acts in History* [London: A. and C. Black, 1955], 49). See also the discussion in Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary: 15:1-23:35*, vol. 3 (Grand Rapid, MI: Baker Academic, 2014), 2657–59. The second is likely from the 3rd-century poet Aratus (so Pervo, *Acts*, 439).

[137] Cf. Acts 14:8-18 where Acts also presents the God of the Jews as the god who made heaven and earth and everything in them.

Jews and proselytes. Acts also differentiates Jews by sect, lineage, and geographical origin. These distinctions are not neutral but are part of the broader ethnic reasoning of Acts. They offer a glimpse at how Luke privileges some ways of "being Jewish" over others.

For example, Acts often presents the Pharisees in a positive light and the Sadducees in a negative light.[138] The Sadducees become annoyed with the teaching of Peter and John (4:1) and jealousy fills them when they see the disciple's miraculous power (5:17). In contrast, the Pharisee Gamaliel does not hinder Peter and John's teaching and persuades others to do the same (5:34). Luke's Paul self-identifies as a Pharisee two times (23:6; 26:5; cf. 22:3). In the first instance, Acts leverages this identification to align Christians with the Pharisees and against the Sadducees (23:6-8). Paul claims that his trial stems from his Pharisaical view of resurrection. In the second instance, Paul makes the same claim (26:8). Yet, he does not connect his view of resurrection with a Jewish sect but with God's promise to "our ancestors" (26:7). Paul's trial stems from a connection between his God and his ethnic identity. Paul transmits God's promise ethnically. Such rhetoric does not create an ethnic distinction between those who share Paul's view and those who do not. Rather, it regulates distinctions among Jews through ethnic reasoning. Acts thus legitimates "Paul's" view because it aligns with the ancestors and invalidates

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[138] For discussion of Acts' approach to Pharisees see Hakola, "'Friendly' Pharisees and Social Identity in Acts." Acts opposes the view of some Pharisees that non-Jews should be circumcised and follow the Mosaic Law (Acts 15:5). See my discussion of Acts 15 in chapter four.

the view of those who oppose him. Acts asserts and regulates differences among Jews through their views of resurrection.

Conclusion

Acts was written within the context of a Greek *polis* sometime around the beginning of the second century CE. In his narrative of Christian origins, the author seeks to legitimate the identity of Christians, especially that of Christian non-Jews, by creating an alternate construal of Jewish and Christian identities. Many scholars have considered the depiction of Jews and Judaism in Acts and debated whether Acts is anti-Jewish or pro-Jewish. This study, with Larry Wills, emphasizes the stylized ways that Acts represents Jews interacting in various civic contexts, especially in the narrative of Acts 15–18. With Barreto, it pays careful attention to the ethnic rhetoric used by Acts and considers the ways that the author constructs both Jewish and Christian identities. By placing both of these emphases together, I suggest that the writer of Acts uses the connection between gods, their people, and ancestral customs to produce a Jewish identity that is conducive to his depiction of Christian origins and identity. Unlike later second-century writers, he does not develop a theory of Christians as the embodiment of "true Israel"; instead, he continues to attempt to make room for Jesus followers within the category "Jew." Nevertheless, like these later writers, he attempts to suggest that Jesus followers are superior to others by characterizing non-Jesus following Jews as especially disruptive for the *polis*. Jesus followers remain "Jews" from the perspective of his ethnic reasoning, but he privileges them over other, non-Jesus following Jews. Of course, Luke is not the only one at the beginning of the second century who makes such identity

claims. The subsequent chapters will consider Luke's ethnic rhetoric in relation to two examples of ethnic reasoning from Greek cities under Roman rule: the imperial temple complex in Aphrodisias and the Salutaris Foundation inscription from Ephesus.

Chapter Three: Collecting *Ethnē* in Aphrodisias and Acts 2:5-13

Introduction

Tongues of fire appear. Jesus's promise had arrived: a πνεύμα ἁγίον ("holy spirit") filled the master's disciples. They begin speaking in foreign languages (Acts 2:1-4). With the stage set for a momentous event, the author of Acts blithely informs his readers, ἦσαν δὲ εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι... ἀπο ἔθνους ("there were living in Jerusalem Jews… from every *ethnos*") (2:5). He goes on to provide a list of these Jews' *ethnē,* a term usually used to denote the customs and homeland shared by ancestors.[1] These Jews are Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and residents of Mesopotamia, Judea, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Egypt, the parts of Libya belonging to Cyrene, visiting Romans, Cretans, and Arabs (2:9-11). In this first use of Ἰουδαῖος in Acts, Luke highlights the ethnic complexity of Jewishness in a way that evokes Roman-styled collections of *ethnē* and their power to legitimate ethnic hierarchies and disguise ethnic change.

Acts 2:5-13 combines overlapping identifications of Jewishness in a single passage indicating that Acts takes Jewish identity to be multiple and hybrid. This chapter examines the ethnic rhetoric of Luke's list, focusing on the production of Jewish identity and difference in Acts 2:5-13. I argue that Acts 2:5-13 strategically combines multiple

[1] This project uses the transliterated terms *ethnos* and *ethnē* to highlight that though similar, modern "ethnic groups" and ancient ἔθνη are not the same. See the discussion of the term "ἔθνη" in Acts below.

ways of being Jewish in a single passage, thereby emphasizing how Luke understood Jewish identity to be flexible. From Luke's perspective, Jewish identity could be inhereted or achieved through proper ancestral customs as a proselyte.[2] Comparing this passage with civic identity produced by the statues of *ethnē* collected in the Sebasteion (imperial temple complex) at Aphrodisias in Caria, I further suggest that Acts 2:5-13 and the Sebasteion both "collect" *ethnē* in ways that leveraged Roman imperial rhetoric, religious imagery, and ethnic lists to produce identity in ways that are rhetorically useful for their respective contexts. By juxtaposing Acts 2:5-13 and the Sebasteion, the chapter highlights how Roman-styled population lists "fix" ethnic identities—producing identity and marking difference—in order to legitimate the identity of contested populations. I argue that the author of Acts lists Jews from various *ethnē* to highlight ethnic difference among Jews while simultaneously depicting a shared ethnic identification between Jews and proselytes. In a similar way, the benefactors of the Sebasteion leverage a collection of *ethnē* to highlight ethnic difference between conquered populations and Romans while also depicting an ethnic identification between Aphrodisians and Romans through their shared connection with Aphrodite. The Sebasteion produces both an intimacy between

[2] Throughout this work, I have chosen to emphasize the word "proselytes" in order to highlight its origin as a transliterated Greek word in a similar way that I have chosen to highlight *polis* and *ethnos*. See discussion of this category below.

the Aphrodisians and the Romans and also a corresponding distance between the Aphrodisians and other *ethnē* by means of ethnic reasoning. Both Acts and the benefactors of the Sebasteion employ a Roman-styled collection of *ethnē* in ways that realign identities while at the same time characterizing their particular ethnic rhetoric as given.

Ethnic Rhetoric and Roman Imperial Propaganda

During the *saeculum augustum*, the use of art, architecture, and other forms of visual communication took a decisive turn toward standardization with a focus on the emperor and Rome, as Paul Zanker observed decades ago.[3] This gradual standardization of visual communication provided Romans with a means of projecting a patina of Roman imperial stability,[4] and gathering together statues of the various populations that the Romans had "conquered" was one important way that the elite in Rome could use images to project imperial stability. By assembling images of conquered populations from diverse periods and locations into a single collection of *ethnē*, these Romans also projected an all-encompassing hegemony across time and space,[5] displaying their power over the *oikoumenē,* the known world.

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[3] Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1990).

[4] Zanker, *Power of Images*, 335–338.

[5] Zanker, *Power of Images*, 335–338.

In the city of Rome, the visual representation of ethnic groups took the form of statues or images of conquered populations. For example, statues of fourteen *nationes* were stationed in Pompey's theater in the heart of Rome and during the Augustan period, a *Porticus ad Nationes* was constructed.[6] There, *simulacra omnium gentium* ("images of all the peoples") were erected according to the 4th-century CE writer Servius.[7] In the Forum of Augustus, a *tituli gentium* ("list of peoples") was crafted, according to Velleius Paterculus.[8] Cassius Dio states that Augustus' funeral procession contained images of prominent Romans beginning with Romulus and his other (mythic) ancestors and incorporating bronze statues of τά τε ἔθνη πάνθ᾽ὅσα προσεκτήσατο ("all of the *ethnē* that were acquired by him") into the procession.[9] As Nasrallah observes, "all the nations…, followed the father of the empire."[10] During the Roman era, the visual and rhetorical representation of ethnic populations became a powerful means of extolling Roman power over others ethnic populations. Geographical representation provided a

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[6] Pliny, *Nat*. 36.4; 36.39. According to Suetonius, Nero was tormented by these images of various people groups in a nightmare (*Nero* 46).

[7] Severius, *Ad*. *Aen*. 8.721. See discussion in R. R. R. Smith, "Simulacra Gentium: The Ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *JRS* 78 (1988): 72; Laura Salah Nasrallah, *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture: The Second-Century Church Amid the Spaces of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 76.

[8] Velleius, *Hist*. 2.39.2. Velleius Paterculus (19 BCE-31 CE) wrote an abridged version of Roman history from the Trojan War until 29 CE.

[9] Cassius Dio, *Rom*. *Hist*. 56.34.3. According to Tacitus, only the names of the conquered peoples were presented (*Ann*. 1.8.4). See discussion in Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 76–77.

[10] Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 77.

visual language for Romans to project a political and cultural stability while at the same time naturalizing the very ethnic rhetoric that made such projections possible.[11] This form of ethnic rhetoric marginalized and subjected those who were not Roman. Yet it could be used by non-Romans as well: in the provinces of Rome, others strategically manipulated and deployed such Roman imperial rhetoric for their own rhetorical ends.[12]

In the context of this imperial propaganda, religious activities and protocols did not exist as a discourse distinct from ethnic rhetoric. Rather these activities could operate as one more means of working within Roman claims to hegemony. Those in Rome use religious imagery and ethnic representations to authorize their power over subjected peoples visually and rhetorically because they were not separate categories, but were part of the ancient discourse of peoplehood.[13] This is evident in one of the most famous Roman era population list, which appears in Virgil's epic foundation myth of Rome, the *Aeneid*.[14] Midway through the *Aeneid,* the goddess Venus/Aphrodite presents her son Aeneas, the legendary hero associated with the foundation of Rome and a progenitor of Augustus, with a shield crafted by Vulcan, the divine blacksmith. The shield contained

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[11] Zanker, *Power of Images*, 335–338.

[12] See e.g., Simon R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

[13] Smith, "Simulacra Gentium."

[14] Scholars continue to read Virgil's *Aeneid* as both a pro-Augustus text and an anti-Augustus text (the so-called "Harvard school"). For discussion of these views see Ernst A. Schmidt, "The Meaning of Vergil's Aeneid: American and German Approaches," *CW* 94 (2001): 145–71. See also Francesco Sforza, who in 1935 asked whether Virgil was sincere in his praise of Augustus and whether there was a second, more sinister meaning of the *Aeneid* ("The Problem of Virgil," *CR* 49 [1935]: 97–108).

images of "future" Roman triumphs (*Aen*. 8.626-728) in the form of Augustus accepting gifts from a long array of conquered *gentes* ("peoples") who spoke in different tongues and were adorned in diverse fashions and arms (8.720-723). The Nomad *gens,* the ungirt Africans, the Leleges, the Carians, the quivered Gelonians, the Morini, and the untamed Dahae all lined up to pay honor to Augustus (8.724-728). Virgil's list can be viewed as legitimating the Augustan conquests of various *ethnē* religiously by linking Augustus to Aeneas and Aeneas to Aphrodite.[15] Augustus, the *Aeneid* points out, is the "son of a god" via Aeneas, the son of Aphrodite. Moreover, as the *Aeneid* repeatedly asserts, the founding of Rome and the rise of Augustus were mandated by fate and endorsed by Jupiter, who consistently intervened whenever this fate was threatened. The gods authorized Roman power and at the same time masked Virgil's rhetorical ideology as divinely sanctioned.

This style of population list proved useful outside of Rome as well, including among those from provincial and conquered *ethnē*. Both Philo, a Jew from Alexandria, and Josephus Jew who wrote from Rome, provide lists of *ethnē* similar to those found in Roman imperial rhetoric from the Augustan era, but they transform these lists to promote the view that Jews are both an independent *ethnē* and peaceful participants in Roman hegemony. Philo, writing from the middle of the 1st century CE, employs a Roman-styled population list to demonstrate the extent of Jewish influence in the Roman

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[15] Sabine Grebe, e.g., argues that since the *Aeneid* locates the origin of authority in the divine, Virgil legitimates Augustus' role as emperor. See Sabine Grebe, "Augustus' Divine Authority and Vergil's 'Aeneid,'" *Vergilius* 50 (2004): 35–62, esp. 53.

oikoumenē. In his *Embassy to Gaius,* he responds to emperor Gaius' attempt to desecrate the Temple for the God of Israel in Jerusalem by erecting his own image in the Temple precinct. Philo incorporates a speech of Marcus Julius Agrippa (10 BCE-44 CE)—grandson of Herod the Great, king of the tetrarchies of Philip and Herod Antipas, and friend of Gaius—in his own appeal.[16] Philo's Agrippa, emphasizes the connection between Jerusalem and the Jews who lived around the world, exclaiming:

> περὶ δὲ τῆς ἱεροπόλεως τὰ προσήκοντά μοι λεκτέον· αὕτη, καθάπερ ἔφην, ἐμὴ μέν ἐστι πατρίς, μητρόπολις δὲ οὐ μιᾶς χώρας Ἰουδαίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πλείστων, διὰ τὰς ἀποικίας ἃς ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ καιρῶν εἰς μὲν τὰς ὁμόρους, Αἴγυπτον, Φοινίκην, Συρίαν τήν τε ἄλλην καὶ τὴν Κοίλην προσαγορευομένην, εἰς δὲ τὰς πόρρω διῳκισμένας, Παμφυλίαν, Κιλικίαν, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ἄχρι Βιθυνίας καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πόντου μυχῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ εἰς Εὐρώπην, Θετταλίαν, Βοιωτίαν, Μακεδονίαν, Αἰτωλίαν, τὴν Ἀττικήν, Ἄργος, Κόρινθον, τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἄριστα Πελοποννήσου, καὶ οὐ μόνον αἱ ἤπειροι μεσταὶ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀποικιῶν εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νήσων αἱ δοκιμώταται, Εὔβοια, Κύπρος, Κρήτη.
>
> As for the holy city, I must say what befits me to say. While she, as I have said, is my fatherland, she is also the mother city not of just one region, Judea, but of most of the others in virtue of the colonies sent out at different times to the neighboring lands Egypt, Phoenicia, the part of Syria called the Hallow and the rest as well and the lands lying far apart, Pamphylia, Cilicia, most of Asia up to Bithynia and the corners of Pontus, similarly also into Europe, Thessaly, Boetia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth and most of the best parts of Peloponnese. And not only are the mainlands full of Jewish colonies but also the most highly esteemed of the islands Euboea, Cyprus, and Crete. (*Embassy*, 281-82)[17]

According to Philo's Agrippa, Jewish colonies, like their Roman counterparts, extended throughout the world. While Jews reside in diverse "fatherlands," they are united by

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[16] Josephus, *J. W.* 2.178-182. Acts identifies this Agrippa as "Herod" (12:20-23).

[17] *Embassy* 281-82. Text and translation (adapted) F. H. Colson, *Philo*, vol. 10, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 142–43.

Jerusalem, the Jewish "mother city."[18] Jews from around the world pay tribute to their "mother city" while at the same time retaining their connection to their various "fatherlands." As Cynthia Baker writes, "this diverse array of Jews of diverse fatherland nevertheless shares with other Jews a sense of cultic piety toward the Holy City, broad patterns of worship, and other ancient customs."[19] This dual, hybrid citizenship allows Philo's Agrippa to argue that a benefit to the temple in Jerusalem would have positive repercussions throughout the Roman *oikoumenē*. Jews everywhere would honor the emperor that much more—just not as a deity.[20] Philo thus situates the Jewish refusal to honor Gaius as a deity at the Temple in Jerusalem in relation to Jewish ancestral customs—the way that Jews revere the "mother city" no matter where they currently reside, the honor they impart to the Temple in Jerusalem, and the prohibitions of images of the Jewish God. Through this Philo has shown that to honor Gaius as he desired would be an affront to Jews and, perhaps more importantly, God. He uses a Roman style ethnic rhetoric to accomplish this. While the rhetoric of the Augustan era used collections of *ethnē* to promote Roman dominance, Philo refracts imperial rhetoric away from Rome and toward Jerusalem in order to promote Jewish influence and Jewish piety toward their ancestral God.

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[18] Cf. Philo, *Flaccus,* 46.

[19] Cynthia M. Baker, "'From Every Nation Under Heaven': Jewish Ethnicities in the Greco-Roman World," in *Prejudice and Christian Beginnings: Investigating Race, Gender, and Ethnicity in Early Christian Studies*, ed. Laura Nasrallah and Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (Philadelphia: Fortress, 2009), 89.

[20] Cf. Jos. *Ant*. 15.315.

Josephus also leverages the rhetoric available in a Roman model of listing *ethnē* in his *Judean War*. When Judea was on the edge of revolt in 66 CE, Josephus depicts Marcus Julius Agrippa II (c. 27-93 CE), a Roman supported client "king," trying to reason with a riotous crowd in Jerusalem. Agrippa, standing on the roof of his palace, extols the crowd not to take any action that the Romans could construe as revolt because Rome has destroyed all who opposed them. Josephus' Agrippa then recounts the populations Romans had conquered from the great Athenians and Spartans to the peoples of the Bosporus and the frontiers of Ister.[21] According to such reasoning, Rome's previous display of power over and domination of other peoples ought to dissuade a Jewish revolt because Romans always decimated whoever opposed them. More than this, Josephus' Agrippa seeks to validate Roman power by reference to God's power. After recounting Roman conquests, Agrippa claims that the only recourse the Jews who desire to revolt have is to divine assistance. But, even the Jewish God appears to be on the side of Rome for a power like Rome could not arise apart from divine providence.[22] Josephus' Agrippa uses a Roman style of collecting populations to display Roman power, in part, by claiming that the Jewish God supported the rise of the Romans. As Josephus knew well when he wrote his *War*, Rome's previous displays of power and the claim of God's providence did not avert disaster for the Jews in Judea and in Jerusalem.

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[21] Josephus, *J.W.* 2.345-401. See discussion in Tessa Rajak, "Friends, Romans, Subjects: Agrippa II's Speech in Josephus's Jewish War," in *Images of Empire*, ed. Loveday Alexander, JSOTSSup 122 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 122–34; Baker, "'From Every Nation,'" 86–91.

[22] Josephus, *J.W.* 2.390-391.

Using population lists to demonstrate influence across the known world, those in Rome—Pompey, Augustus, Virgil—displayed, organized, and paraded the populations of the *oikoumenē,* a rhetorical strategy that naturalized Roman hegemonic claims by repeated reference to and perpetual display of conquered *ethnē*. As the examples of Philo and Josephus show, however, "subject" peoples could adapt the habit of listing conquered peoples to their own ends, elevating their own *ethnē* even as they adopted an attitude of acceptance toward Roman dominance. In each case, the gods were said to be involved: Aeneas' shield underscored the importance of the divine origins of Rome through the visual representation of the peoples who would subjugated, above all by Octavian Augustus, the first Roman emperor. The spectacle of peoples subjected to Rome thus served to divinely sanction Roman dominance and to create an ethnic distinction between Romans and other populations—Romans rule, the collections of statues of conquered *ethnē* in honor of Pompey and Augustus and the "collection" of *ethnē* in the Aeneid suggested, and other peoples properly submit thus marginalizing and subjugating outsiders. By naming Jerusalem as the "mother city" and celebrating the Jewish ancestral deity, Philo adjusts this claim and refracts it toward the influence of Jews in the *oikoumenē*. The Jews are also divinely appointed and protected, Philo argues, and they have spread their peaceable piety throughout the Roman world. For Josephus' Agrippa, Romans provide peace, and opposition to them will bring destruction. Moreover, if Jews rebel against the Romans, they are fighting against their ancestral God, since God must have authorized Roman dominance. The examples of Philo and Josephus therefore highlight the complexity of appropriating Roman ethnic discourse for other rhetorical

ends. Philo re-appropriated this rhetoric to emphasize God's power, Jerusalem, and the Jewish *ethnos,* but Josephus appeared to support Roman dominance and condemned those Jews who sought to resist it in relation to the power of God as well. These examples demonstrate that Roman styled collections of *ethnē* provided a means for both those in Rome and those outside of Rome to navigate ethnic similarity and difference.

The collection of *ethnē* statues erected in the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias in Caria offers another example of the re-appropriation and transformation of a Roman model by provincials.[23] The elite Aphrodisians who commissioned the Sebasteion visually display the connection between Aphrodite and Aeneas, the forefather of Augustus, like Virgil. Like Josephus, they stabilize Roman hegemony by visually rehearsing Roman dominance over other *ethnē*. However, like Philo, they also use the rhetoric of an *ethnē* list to redeploy Roman hegemonic claims and to use them to bolster the importance of Aphrodite, the patron goddess of Aphrodisias.

Aphrodisian Identity, the Sebasteion, and listing **ethnē**

The so-called "Sebasteion" (imperial temple complex)[24] from the city of Aphrodisias in Caria exhibits how religious rhetoric could be embodied within the urban

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[23] The example of the reliefs from the Sebasteion deserves further evaluation, in part, because it has become a common example in scholarship on ancient Christian identity. See e.g., Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 76–83; Davina C. Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered: Reimagining Paul's Mission*, Paul in Critical Contexts (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008), 44–48; Steven J. Friesen, *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John: Reading Revelation in the Ruins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 148–150.

[24] "Sebasteion," so-called, because of the connection between the Latin "Augustus" and Greek "Sebastos." On the modern discovery and excavation of the Sebasteion see Kenan

landscape and used to navigate ethnic difference. The Romans exhibited their conquered peoples in Rome's theater and temple complexes, listing them in honorific inscriptions displayed in the Forum and elsewhere, and parading them through the city. The Aphrodisians also displayed the diverse *ethnē* under Rome's dominion, but differently. Aphrodisians celebrated their own status as a free city within the conquered *ethnē* that honor Roman hegemony. In this temple complex, Roman rule is valued positively as a divinely given inevitability, but so is Aphrodisian freedom, which, the reliefs in the Sebasteion imply, is rooted in the shared patronage of the goddess Aphrodite. Augustus, the *Aeneid* and other Augustan era propaganda had argued, is the son of Aphrodite; Aphrodite is also the patron goddess of Aphrodisias.

In the first half of the 1st century CE, the city of Aphrodisias undertook the construction of an ornate temple complex comprised of four structures and an elaborate collection if carved reliefs.[25] Situated along the road just to the east of the city's

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T. Erim, *Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite* (London: Muller, Bond & White, 1986), 106–12. The construction probably began under Tiberius (14-37 CE), but it is possible that the project was only decided upon during his reign with construction beginning later. Erim, *Aphrodisias*, 112; see also R. R. R. Smith, "The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *JRS* 77 (1987): 90. On the imperial cult in Asia Minor see Price, *Rituals and Power*; Rives, "Graeco-Roman Religion"; Jeffery Brodd and Jonathan L. Reed, eds., *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult*, Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplement Series 5 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011).

[25] Joyce Reynolds dates the complex to the Julio-Claudian period. See Joyce M. Reynolds, "New Evidence for the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Aphrodisias," *ZPE* 43 (1981): 317–27; Smith, "Imperial Reliefs"; "Simulacra Gentium"; and discussion of the Sebasteion's discovery in Erim, *Aphrodisias*, 106–123.

monumental Temple of Aphrodite, the city's two agoras, and the theater, the temple complex occupied an important and central place in the city.[26] Two families dedicated the complex to Aphrodite, the Theoi Sebastoi (divine emperors), and the *dēmos*. The brothers, Menander and Eusebes, dedicated a monumental gate and a north portico while Diogenes and Attalus, also brothers, dedicated a south portico and a temple of Aphrodite and the Theoi Sebastoi.[27] The construction on the Sebasteion likely began under Tiberius and was completed during the reign of Nero.[28] It consisted of four structures: an aediculated propylon (monumental gate) at the west end, a temple for Aphrodite and the imperial cult at the east, and two porticos separated by a paved walkway approximately 14-meters wide.[29] The two-story propylon was joined with the north and south porticos in alignment with the existing road. At the other end of the complex, the imperial temple was situated on axis with the porticos.[30] The material remains of the two-story propylon

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[26] See Smith, "Imperial Reliefs," 90. As Paul Zanker observed, "the physical setting of the cult of the emperor was usually in the middle of the city, integrated into the center of religious, political, and economic life" (*Power of Images*, 298). Contra Hal Taussig who claims that the Sebasteion was not in a central location in the city ("Melancholy, Colonialism, and Complicity: Complicating Counterimperial Readings of Aphrodisias' Sebasteion," in *Text, Image, and Christians in the Graeco-Roman World: A Festschrift in Honor of David Lee Balch*, ed. Aliou Cissé Niang and Caroline E. Osiek, Princeton Theological Monograph Series [Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2012], 284).

[27] See *IAph2007* 107.

[28] Reynolds, "New Evidence," 319–322.

[29] Erim, *Aphrodisias*, 107. The "porticoes" are not like any known porticoes in antiquity. For discussion see Friesen, *Imperial Cults*, 83.

[30] The steps from the paved walkway between the porticos led to the temple stylobate, which was at the second story level of the porticos. Smith, "Imperial Reliefs," 92–3;

and temple are limited, but a significant portion of the porticos and the reliefs that lined them survive.[31]

Three colonnaded stories divide the twelve-meter tall porticoes horizontally (fig. 1). Doric capitals crown the columns of the first story; Ionic, the second; Corinthian, the third. Fifty rows of columns divide the façade of the north portico vertically. The slightly shorter south portico contains forty-five rows of columns.[32] The space between the columns housed an estimated one hundred and eighty sculptured relief panels of which archeologists have discovered the remains of more than sixty panels.[33] The extant panels contain images based on three themes: the mythic past, Rome and the imperial family, and the allegorical representations of *ethnē* personified as captured females.[34]

Friedmund Hueber, "Der Baukomplex einer Julio-Claudischen Kaiserkultanlage in Aphrodisias: Ein Zwischenbericht zur theoretischen Rekonstruktion des Baubestandes," in *Aphrodisias de Carie, Colloque de l'Université de Lille III, 13 November 1985*, ed. J. de la Genière and Kenan T. Erim (Paris: Recherche sur les civilisations, 1987), 102.

[31] R. R. R. Smith, "Myth and Allegory in the Sebasteion," in *Aphrodisias Papers: Recent Work on Architecture and Sculpture*, ed. Charlotte Roueché and Kenan T. Erim, JRASS 1 (Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1990), 89.

[32] Hueber, "Der Baukomplex," 102.

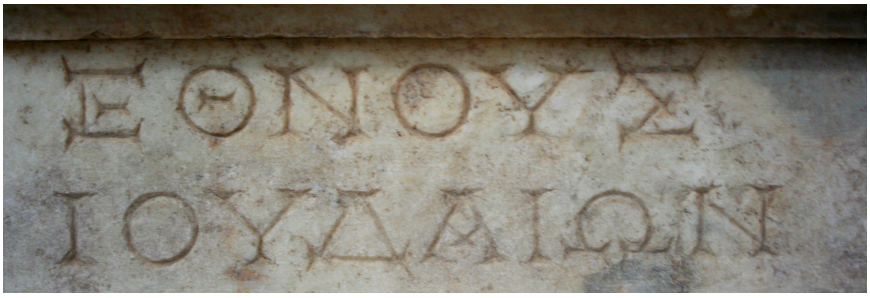
[33] Smith, "Imperial Reliefs," 93. Friesen says that there were originally 190 panels. Friesen, *Imperial Cults*, 85.

[34] For discussion and images see Erim, *Aphrodisias*, 112–18. Romans often depicted conquered enemies as females. See also the *Judaea capta* coins from the period after the Jewish revolt. See discussion in E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian: A Study in Political Relations*, 2nd ed., SJLA 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 353.

(FIGURE 1: RECONSTRUCTED SEBASTEION)

Like the collections of images of *ethnē* stationed in Rome, the visual representations of ethnic groups in Aphrodisias made up an archive of Roman world dominance. Archeologists estimate the Sebasteion contained room for at least forty *ethnē* images. However, evidence remains for only sixteen people groups, one of which was the ἔθνων Ἰουδαίων ("*ethnos* of Jews") (fig. 2). This means that an image representing Jews as a conquered population stood in the Aphrodisian Sebasteion at the time when Philo was proclaiming Jews as colonizers in his letter to Gaius. Joining Jews were Arabians, Bessi, Bosporians, Callaeci, Cretens, Cypriots, Dacians, Dardani, Egyptians, Iapodes, Piroysti, Rhaeti, Sicilians, and Trumpilini.[35]

[35] R. R. R. Smith has also included the Ethiopians based on the physical features of a female image without an inscribed base. There were likely other *ethnē* represented based on the space available in the complex. See discussion in Smith, "Simulacra Gentium."



(FIGURE 2: STATUE BASE OF CONQUERED ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ)

Joyce Reynolds has argued that the collection of images represents an Augustan expansion similar to the lists of Dio Cassius and others discussed above.[36] However, R. R. R. Smith has observed that a number of the *ethnē* represented were not part of any Augustan expansion,[37] and others were not even part the Roman empire when the Sebasteion was constructed.[38] In spite of these facts, Smith convincingly connects the *ethnē* to Augustan imperial rhetoric. He writes,

> The members so far could be understood as including a range of different parts of the Augustan empire, thus: some from the civilized centre (the Greek islands, Egypt), some from beyond the frontier illustrating the effective reach of imperial power (Dacians, Bosporans, Arabs), and many or most from the periphery, defining the Romanized side of the frontier (the northern and western *ethnē*).[39]

Even though Augustus did not conquer a number of the peoples depicted, the Sebasteion represents them as conquered ethnic groups. The silent women, like the mute images

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[36] Reynolds, "New Evidence," 326–27.

[37] Roman imperial rule included Sicilians, Cypriots, Cretans, and Jews prior to the time of Augustus. See Smith, "Simulacra Gentium," 58–59.

[38] Trajan conquered the Arabians and the Dacians, and the Bosporans were never incorporated into the Empire.

[39] Smith, "Simulacra Gentium," 59.

paying homage to Augustus on Aeneas' shield, project a Roman imperial message: even unconquered *ethnē* submit to Roman power and dominance.[40]

The *ethnē* reliefs of the Sebasteion depict Roman imperial dominance over other populations, but they do so in Aphrodisian ways. Though not impossible, it is not at all likely that the city's ancestral *ethnē*, the Carians, were included among the conquered *ethnē* reliefs. Caria was not "conquered" by Rome, according to Aphrodisian rhetoric. The region probably remained a free ally of Rome until at least the first war with Mithradates at the beginning of the 1st century BCE. During the war with the Pontian king, Aphrodisias and a few surrounding cities fought on the side of the Romans but eventually surrendered to Mithradates' forces. They were later "recovered" by Sulla who treated the entire region as Roman.[41] Thus, from a Carian perspective, the region was not conquered but annexed by Rome.[42]

The image of Caria presented on Aeneas' shield, however, paints a different picture of Caria's status, depicting them as a conquered population. Sitting among the

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[40] See also discussion of how the images of the Sebasteion were a means of "extolling Rome's universal rule" in Gary Gilbert, "The List of Nations in Acts 2: Roman Propaganda and the Lukan Response," *JBL* 121 (2002): 516.

[41] See discussion in Joyce M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome: Documents from the Excavation of the Theatre at Aphrodisias Conducted by Professor Kenan T. Erim, Together with Some Related Texts* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1982), 2–4.

[42] It was common for cities to represent themselves as unconquered allies of Rome. See e.g., *ITroas* 573; *IDidyma* 151; *ISmyrn* 697. Inscriptions available on Packard Humanities Institute, "Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress," 2015, http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main.

conquered, the Carians pay homage to Augustus as one among many other exemplars of Roman dominance and provincial subjection. In spite of their differences, however, the model of ethnic reasoning deployed by Virgil and in the Sebasteion remained relatively consistent: both collect *ethnē* and arrange them in a religious context—as divine gift described in a literary *ekphrasis* and a temple complex, respectively—and both mark ethnic difference by referencing gods and their peoples. Virgil may have assumed that the Carians were just another conquered people, but the Sebasteion emphasized Aphrodisian ancestral ties with Rome instead, not Aphrodisian submission to Rome. Even if the Carians were depicted among the personifications of the conquered peoples on the Sebasteion relief (which remains highly unlikely), the other reliefs in the strategically repositioned Aphrodisias as aligned with Rome. For example, a set of panels near the collection of *ethnē* depicted the life of Aeneas, the so-called founder of Rome, progenitor of Augustus, son of Aphrodite/Venus, and recipient of Vulcan's shield.[43] This collection of images re-used a popular narrative of Rome's mythic origins, the same myth retold by Virgil, and directly connected Aphrodisias and its patron goddess with Aeneas and the imperial center.[44] The reliefs depicting the journey of Aeneas, coupled with the defeated *ethnē*, visually tied Aphrodisias to Rome while rhetorically undermining the ability of

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[43] Aeneas' divine birth and trek from the fallen Troy (a city in western Asia Minor) to Rome appear in relief. Irad Malkin perceptively notes that "[t]he Romans probably used Aeneas to attach 'Greek' validity to their origins, yet at the same time marked their difference within the same Greek construct by insisting on Trojan identity" ("Introduction," 10).

[44] See discussion in Smith, "Imperial Reliefs," 97.

others, such as the conquered Jews, to claim such connections (fig. 3). Highlighting such "accidental" associations in a prominent place in the city and in stone perpetuated a close ethnic connection between Romans and the city of Aphrodisias.

(FIGURE 3: BIRTH OF AENEAS)

The reliefs in the Sebasteion used religious images and activities both to identify Aphrodisians with Rome and to distinguish them ethnically from other conquered populations. By gathering conquered ethnic populations in a temple complex, they literally carved their place into the imperial and heavenly geography. This deployment of ethnic reasoning allowed Aphrodisians space to negotiate their place within the Roman world on their own terms, developing a specifically Aphrodisian idiom of a Roman model of ethnic rhetoric that connected Aphrodisias and the Sebastoi. This hybrid model of ethnic reasoning, which was at the same time pro-Roman and pro-Aphrodisian, combined conquered *ethnē*, the free city of Aphrodisias, and images of the shared patron goddess Aphrodite to place the city and its people on a Roman imperial map that favored

their own *ethnē* over others.[45] The list of *ethnē* in Acts 2:5-13 participates in a similar form of ethnic rhetoric but does so for a different rhetorical end, privileging Jews rather than the Carians. The Sebasteion used a collection of *ethnē* and the city's patron goddess to unite Aphrodisians with Rome and to privilege their place on an imperial map. In a similar way the list of *ethnē* in Acts unites Jews spread across the *oikoumenē*. Like Philo, the writer of Acts also portrays Jerusalem as the "mother city" of a peaceable and pious *ethnē* that has spread throughout Roman territory and beyond. Unlike the authors and Aphrodisian benefactors discussed thus far, however, Acts uses a collection of *ethnē* in ways that enable ethnic flexibility and legitimate ethnic change religiously.

Acts 2:5-13 and Jewish Identity in Acts

The narrative procession of Jews from every *ethnos* listed in Acts 2:5-13 provides an example of the author's technique for leveraging the hybrid and multiple character of ethnic identity, and Jewishness in particular, in his Christian origins-construction project. Like the images of the Sebasteion, the passage presents a Roman styled "collection" of *ethnē* to mark identity and difference. Also similar to the Sebasteion, the passage uses the latent ties between ethnic populations and their gods in ways that make it possible to realign ethnic identities.

The connection between Jewish identity and Christian identity is not apparent in the passage at first glance. After the outpouring of the Holy Spirit the apostles begin

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[45] This position as ally to Rome is asserted and maintained a few centuries later in a collection of inscriptions on the so-called Archival Wall of the city theater. For documents see Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*.

speaking in various languages (2:4). The apostles' newfound linguistic gift allows them to speak to the Jews from around the world who live in Jerusalem. Luke writes:

> (2:5) Ἦσαν δὲ εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι, ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν. (6) γενομένης δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης συνῆλθεν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ συνεχύθη, ὅτι ἤκουον εἷς ἕκαστος τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ λαλούντων αὐτῶν. (7) ἐξίσταντο δὲ καὶ ἐθαύμαζον λέγοντες· οὐχ ἰδοὺ ἅπαντες οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ λαλοῦντες Γαλιλαῖοι; (8) καὶ πῶς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν ἕκαστος τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ ἡμῶν ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννήθημεν; (9) Πάρθοι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἐλαμῖται καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, Ἰουδαίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, Πόντον καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, (10) Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν, Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην, καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, (11) Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι, Κρῆτες καὶ Ἄραβες, ἀκούομεν λαλούντων αὐτῶν ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ. (12) ἐξίσταντο δὲ πάντες καὶ διηπόρουν, ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον λέγοντες· τί θέλει τοῦτο εἶναι; (13) ἕτεροι δὲ διαχλευάζοντες ἔλεγον ὅτι γλεύκους μεμεστωμένοι εἰσίν.
>
> (2:5) Now there were Jews living in Jerusalem, devout men from every *ethnos* under heaven. (6) And as a result of this sound a crowd gathered and was confused, because each one heard [the apostles] speaking in their own language. (7) Amazed and astonished, they asked, "Are not all these who are speaking Galileans? (8) And how is it that we hear, each of us, in our own language into which we were born? (9) Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and residents of Mesopotamia, Judea and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, (10) Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya belonging to Cyrene, and visiting Romans, both Jews and proselytes, (11) Cretans and Arabs—in our own languages we hear them speaking about God's mighty acts." (12) All were amazed and perplexed, saying to one another, "What does this mean?" (13) But others sneered and said, "They are filled with new wine." (Acts 2:5-13)[46]

In the first verse, Luke identified the gathered crowd as Jews, residents of Jerusalem, devout men, and men from every *ethnos* (2:5). Next he, through the mouth of the crowd, identified the disciples as Γαλιλαῖοι, Galileans. Then he, again through the singular voice of the crowd, lists *ethnē* in ways similar to the collections of conquered *ethnē* found

[46] Translation mine.

in Roman imperial *ethnē* lists and adapted by Philo, Josephus, and in the images of the Sebasteion. The way that Luke lists these Jews, describing them as devout, living in Jerusalem, and from every *ethnos*, emphasizes the possibility of ethnic difference among Jews while simultaneously identifying proselytes as Jews. Both of these emphases will allow Luke to legitimate the Jewishness of Christian non-Jews.[47]

Devout Jews Living in Jerusalem

In Acts 2:5, Luke presents emigrant Jews who have made Jerusalem their home. This depiction has seemed jarring to a number of scholars, who have found the Jewish identification of the men gathered in Jerusalem to be problematic. These Jews are also from non-Jewish *ethnē*—these scholars point out—and therefore cannot be "Jews," properly speaking. Textual variants that do not include Ἰουδαῖοι in 2:5 have heightened speculation about this apparent contradiction. One important codex, Sinaiticus (א 01; 4th c.), omits Ἰουδαῖος from the verse,[48] removing the problem entirely, and the word order of a number of other manuscripts also differs.[49] Perhaps the initial text of 2:5 did not contain "Ἰουδαῖοι" and the gathered crowd was therefore not Jewish.

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[47] See the discussion of Acts 15 in chapter four.

[48] Some MSS of the Vulgate (vg^{ms}) and Syriac Peshitta (sy^{p}) omit Ἰουδαῖοι, as well.

[49] Codex Ephraemi (C 04; 5th c.) reads ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι; Codex Basiliensis (E 08; 8th c.) reads Ἰουδαῖοι κατοικοῦντες; and Codex Bezae (D 05; 5th c.) reads Ἰουδαῖοι εὐλαβεῖς ἄνδρες. For other possible readings see Reuben Swanson, ed., *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus: Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 16; Eberhard Nestle et al., eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 2012), ad loc; Barrett, *Acts*, 1:117–19; and discussion in Pervo, *Acts*, 65.

Prominent proponents of this point of view include Krisopp Lake, who, in 1933, proposed that "᾽Ιουδαῖοι" was a later addition.[50] More recent scholars like Richard Pervo agree; he understands the presence of ᾽Ιουδαῖοι in 2:5 as "a pedantic D-Text gloss that has entered the broader tradition."[51] Marianne Palmer Bonz questions the presence of ᾽Ιουδαῖοι for another reason. She writes, "to speak of Jews dwelling in Jerusalem seems excessively clumsy for a writer of Luke's general skill."[52] Along similar lines, Bruce Metzger thinks that it is "remarkable" that Acts would state that Jews lived in Jerusalem, though he accepts that the word was likely included in the initial text; it is such a difficult reading, he suggests, that it must have been original.[53]

A number of factors beyond its status as a *lectio difficilior* support the presence of "᾽Ιουδαῖοι" in the earliest attainable text of 2:5, as other scholars have argued. First, important majuscules and MSS support the inclusion of ᾽Ιουδαῖοι in this verse,[54] and,

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[50] Kirsopp Lake, "The Gift of the Spirit on the Day of Pentecost," in *Additional Notes to the Commentary*, ed. Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury, vol. 5, The Beginnings of Christianity (New York: Macmillan, 1933), 113. Lake suggests that "Jews" were probably added to 2:5 based on the audience of Peter's speech in 2:14 (᾽Ιουδαῖοι).

[51] Pervo, *Acts*, 65.

[52] Bonz, *Past as Legacy*, 97.

[53] Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament (3d Ed.)* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1975), 251. Metzger does think that ᾽Ιουδαῖοι was part of the earliest attainable text, but only because it is the *lectio difficilior*.

[54] Codex Vaticanus (B 03; 4th c.), Codex Alexandrinus (A 02; 5th c.), Codex Athous Laurae (Ψ 044; 8th/9th c.), and the majorit text (𝔐) include ᾽Ιουδαῖοι.

though a number do present a different word order, they include Ἰουδαῖοι nonetheless.[55] Second, as Jack Sanders has pointed out, there is a reason to believe that Sinaiticus (א 01) would omit Ἰουδαῖοι here. Sinaiticus also omits Ἰουδαῖος in Acts 21:20,[56] and it is the only major majuscule to do so. These two verses (2:5 and 21:20) portray Jews in a positive light. In 2:5, Jews are "devout" (εὐλαβεῖς) and in 21:20, they are "ones who trust (in Christ)" (οἱ πιστεύοντες). Sanders contends that these two omissions indicate an anti-Jewish tendency in Sinaiticus.[57] Though Sanders contention is by no means conclusive, it does provide one possible explanation for the omission of Ἰουδαῖοι in Sinaiticus. For the purposes of this study, it is assumed that the writer intended to include Ἰουδαῖοι here and that the textual variation can be attributed either to a later, theologically motivated editorial decision or to a scibal error. Though the text critical problems with this verse may never be fully solved, the inclusion of Ἰουδαῖοι within the text is further suggested by evidence internal to the narrative, especially the writer's ethnic reasoning. Ἰουδαῖοι, I argue, fits the larger argument of the writer, enhancing his portrayal of Jewish identity.

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[55] See note 49 above.

[56] Swanson, *Variant Readings*, 376.

[57] Commenting on these two verses, Jack Sanders writes, "What we have uncovered here, therefore, is an anti-Semitic tendency in א, whose scribe did not want to write that Jews were either 'reverent' or 'believers' and so simply omitted the word 'Jews' in both cases" (*Jews in Luke-Acts*, 232–33). Sanders contends that Jews must be included in the list because Luke wishes to implicate all Jews everywhere in the death of Jesus (*Jews in Luke-Acts*, 233).

Scholars who assume that Ἰουδαῖοι is in the text often interpret the writer's list as an enumeration of the diaspora Jews who had gathered in Jerusalem for Pentecost, along with other, resident Jews.[58] However, Luke's word choice makes it clear that the connection between these Jews and other Jews who dwell in Jerusalem was continual, and not attributable to the swelled population of the city during the festival.[59] These other Jews were κατοικοῦντες ("residing") in the holy city and, in Acts, κατοικέω always has the sense of "dwelling" or "residing" rather than "sojourning" or "visiting."[60] Thus, Luke presents emigrants from various homelands who have made Jerusalem, the ancestral home of the God of the Jews and mother city of the Jewish people, their permanent residence.

As noted above, Luke also identifies the Jews gathered as "devout men" (ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς). The term εὐλαβής occurs two other times in Acts,[61] and both instances refer

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[58] So Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 234; Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 107.

[59] On the relation between diaspora and homeland see John M. G. Barclay, "Introduction: Diaspora Negotiations," in *Negotiating Diaspora: Jewish Strategies in the Roman Empire*, ed. John M. G. Barclay, Library of Second Temple Studies 45 (London: T & T Clark International, 2004), 1–6.

[60] See Acts 1:19-20; 2:5, 9, 14; 4:16; 7:2, 4, 48; 9:22, 32, 35; 11:29; 13:27; 17:24, 26; 19:10, 17; 22:12. Cf. Luke 11:26; 13:4; Josephus, *Ant*. 1.239, 2.6, 3.40, 13.67; IG XIV 830 (text in Richard S. Ascough, Philip A. Harland, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook* [Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012], no. 317). See also Johnson, *Acts*, 43; Kuecker, *Spirit and the "Other."* Contra Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 234; Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 107. Bonz sees κατοικέω as an ambiguous term (*Past as Legacy*, 98–99).

[61] Εὐλαβής appears one time in the Gospel of Luke and describes the δίκαιος Simeon (2:25).

to a positive quality of Jews and suggest devotion with regard to Jewish ancestral customs.[62] The Jews who buried Stephen's stone-battered body and mourn his death are ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς (8:2), while a certain ἀνὴρ εὐλαβὴς κατὰ τὸν νόμον ("devout man according to the law"), Ananias, comes to the aid of Saul/Paul after God blinds him on the way to Damascus (22:12; cf. 9:10-19).[63] In all three cases, εὐλαβής identifies a positive quality that pious Jews possess.

Luke also states that these pious men are ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν ("from every *ethnos* which is under the heaven") (2:5).[64] In Acts, the term ἔθνος in the singular refers to an ancestral people group, roughly equated with an "ethnic group," rather than a political territory, a nation. For example, the magical power of a certain Simon amazed τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Σαμαρείας ("the *ethnos* of Samaria") (8:9) and that Cornelius was well spoken of by ὅλος τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ("the whole *ethnos* of the Jews") (10:22). Luke's Paul claims that he spent his entire life among his own *ethnos* after stating that he was born in Tarsus (26:4). From this verse, it seems clear that Paul spent his life with Jews, his *ethnos,* while living outside of the "nation" of Judea. An ἔθνος in Acts is an ancestral or ethnic population (connected to an ancestral "homeland")

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[62] Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 239.

[63] Luke tells the story of Paul's "call" three times in Acts (9:1-19; 22:4-16; 26:9-18). On (the historical) Paul's "call" rather than "conversion" see Krister Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," *HTR* 56 (1963): 199–215; John G. Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[64] This is the first of eleven times that Luke uses the singular form of the term ἔθνος (Generic [Acts 2:5; 10:35; 17:26]; Egyptians [7:7]; Samaritans [8:9]; Jews [10:22, 24:2, 10, 17; 26:4; 28:19]).

rather than only a geographic boundary (a "nation"), and the ancestral people group that Luke refers to most often is, of course, the ἔθνος of Jews. In addition to the verses cited above, Luke's Paul refers to his *ethnos* two other times (24:17; 28:19) and characters in Acts twice refer to the *ethnos* of the Jews as ἔθνος τοῦτο ("this *ethnos*") (24:2, 10).

Luke also uses ἔθνος in a generic way, referring three times to πᾶν ἔθνος ("every *ethnos*) (2:5, 10:35; 17:26). In Paul's famous Aeropagus speech in Athens, Luke also connects ἔθνος to ancestral populations rather than "nations."[65] Luke's Paul boldly proclaims, "ἐποίησέν τε ἐξ ἑνὸς πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ παντὸς προσώπου τῆς γῆς" ("[God] made from one [ancestor] every *ethnos* of humans that dwells upon the face of the earth") (17:26). A single ancestor unites every *ethnos*. In the story of Cornelius, Luke's Peter announces "ἐπ᾽ ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν προσωπολήμπτης ὁ θεός, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁ φοβούμενος αὐτὸν καὶ ἐργαζόμενος δικαιοσύνην δεκτὸς αὐτῷ ἐστιν" ("I truly comprehend that God is not one who shows favoritism, but in every *ethnos* the one who fears him and does righteous acts is acceptable to him") (10:34-35). A single god, the God of the Jews, accepts people from every *ethnos*.[66]

These uses of ἔθνος in the singular raise questions about the use of the term in Acts 2:5. There, Jews are from every *ethnos* while elsewhere in Acts, Jews are members

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[65] See my discussion in chapter five. On Paul's speech more generally see Dibelius, *Studies*, 26–77 ("Paul on the Areopagus").

[66] In the narrative sequence of Acts, Peter has not yet proclaimed the gospel to Cornelius implying that the God of Israel accepts Cornelius prior the proclamation of the gospel or his baptism.

of an *ethnos*. How can Jews both be an *ethnos* and be from other non-Jewish people groups?[67] The common explanation that Luke uses ἔθνος to mean "nation" or "country" rather than "ethnic group" does not hold. On this reading, these Jews left the realm of "every *ethnos*" and moved to Jerusalem. They came out from every "nation." Supporting such a view, Pervo writes, "'From every *country* under the sun' supplies the requisite intimation of that universality that will rise from firmly Jewish foundations."[68] Jews are from other "countries" and this marks the beginning of Luke's march toward a universal Christianity. In a similar way Malina and Pilch write, "the passage then lists these Judeans according to where they lived among non-Israelites."[69] Again, Jews from other *ethnē* are simply Jews who come to Jerusalem from other locations.

The way that Luke uses the gathered Jews to list their *ethnē* in 2:9-11 pushes against this interpretation. Luke's crowd identifies the first three "countries" as their *ethnē*, not as "nations," but as ancestral populations who where connected to "homelands"—Parthians, Medes, and Elamites (2:9).[70] Jews are Parthians, not simply

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[67] Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 251.

[68] Pervo, *Acts*, 65, emphasis mine.

[69] Malina and Pilch, *Acts*, 29. Malina and Pilch identify those whom scholars usually term "Jews" as "Judeans."

[70] Conzelmann is probably right in his observation that the inclusion of the Medes and Elamites indicate that Luke's list is an archaizing reflection of a previous time. Cf. Curtius Rufus 6.3.3. See discussion in Hans Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, trans. James Limburg, A. Thomas Kraabel, and Donald H. Juel, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 14. Cf. Pervo who calls these three "an obscure and archaic trio not otherwise encountered" (*Acts*, 66).

from Parthia. From these three *ethnē* Luke's crowd identifies themselves as (former) residents (οἱ κατοικοῦντες) of various regions—Mesopotamia, Judea, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphilia, Egypt, and the parts of Libya belonging to Cyrene (2:9-10). They then identify themselves as "visiting Romans" (οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι) (2:10), Jews, and proselytes. Finally, the crowd returns to listing their *ethnē*. They are also Cretans and Arabs (2:11). The list shifts from identifying *ethnē* to geographical locations and back to *ethnē*. Jewishness is hybrid. This fluctuation creates a number of problems with claims that ἔθνος is a "country." Scholars offer a number of interpretations for why Luke lists these Jews in this way. While their recommendations provide a number of important intertextual connections, it is argued below that just as the Aphrodisians presented themselves in the Sebasteion as both Carian and Roman, Luke suggests that these Jews are both Jews and members of other *ethnē*. As the Aphrodisians are depicted as a separate and free *ethnos* (Carians) with a mother city (Aphrodisias) who are nonetheless ethnically united with Rome by their common ancestral deity (Aphrodite) and their shared participation in Roman hegemony, so Luke strategically represents these pious men as members of an *ethnos* (they are Jews), who have a mother city (Jerusalem), and an ancestral deity (the Jewish God), but they are also Cretan, Arab, Parthian, and Roman. Their ethnic identity is not limited to their home *polis* and their shared ancestors, but can strategically incorporate others as well.

Listing Populations, Identifying Jews

Luke's list of Jews resembles Roman-styled collections of *ethnē,* but it also resembles other ways of listing ancient *ethnē* and geographic locations.[71] Previous scholarship on the passage has proposed a number of interesting connections between the list in Acts 2:9-11 and other population lists. There is, however, still more that can be said about the ethnic rhetoric of Luke's list. In addition to Roman imperial propaganda, two other interpretations have garnered the support of a number of scholars: the "list of nations" in Genesis 10 and prophetic uniting of Israel during the end times.[72] These three

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[71] A number of earlier scholars pointed to astrological lists. In a creative attempt to make sense of the list of *ethnē* in Act 2, Stefan Weinstock argues that Luke's list compares with astrological lists that use geographical regions to represent the zodiac. Weinstock compared the list in Acts 2 with a list compiled by the fourth-century author, Paul of Alexandria. This Paul mapped a catalog of twelve geographic locations onto the signs of the zodiac in order to represent the inhabited world from these twelve locations (cf. Ptolemy, *Apotelesmatica*, 2.4.73 and Strabo, *Geogr*. 5.15.1-7). In his article, Weinstock contends that the list in Acts served a similar function (cf. Artapanus *apud* Eusebius, *Praep*. *ev*. 9.18.1; Ps. Eupolemus *apud* Eusebius *Praep*. *ev*. 9.17.9; Philo, *Creation* 112-13; Josephus, *Ant*. 1.68. See also the condemnation of astrology in *Jubilees* 8.1-4, 11.8, 12.16-21). On this interpretation, Luke used representatives from around the known world as exemplars of the unmentioned regions. As Weinstock and many others note, however, this model has one crucial problem: Luke did not use twelve *ethnē* in his list. Stefan Weinstock, "The Geographical Catalogue in Acts II, 9-11," *JRS* 38 (1948): 43–46. Weinstock found an offprint of an article on astrological geography by Franz Cumont with notations from F. C. Burkitt that initially made this comparison (Franz Cumont, "La plus Ancienne Géographie Astrologique," *Klio* 9 [1909]: 263–73). This view is also supported in J. A. Brinkman, "The Literary Background of the 'Catalogue of the Nations' (Acts 2:9-11)," *CBQ* 25 (1963): 418–27; Bonz, *Past as Legacy*, 98.

[72] There are a number of other ways that scholars have tried to understand the list as well. E.g., Jacques Dupont, "La première Pentecôte chrétienne (Actes 2, 1-11)," in *Études Sur Les Actes Des Apôtres*, LD 45 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967), 481–501. Dupont

interpretations are not mutually exclusive. Rather they highlight the range of possible intertextual contexts from which the author of Acts may be working. A common thread that links previous scholarship on the inspiration or source of Luke's list in Acts 2:9-11 is the observation that such population lists are used rhetorically to unite people.[73]

In an extensive essay, James Scott suggests that Acts 2:9-11 should be read in light of the so-called "table of nations" in Genesis 10 and the story of the tower of Babel in Genesis 11.[74] Scott argues that "Genesis 10 provided the fundamental point of orientation for describing Israel's place among the nations of the world" in Jewish literature.[75] He presents a convincing argument for some influence of Genesis 10 on later Jewish literature and provides some interesting connections between the table of nations

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associates Acts 2 with the theophany on Sinai and reestablishes the covenant with all people. See Simon Butticaz, *L'identité de L'église Dans Les Actes Des Apôtres: De La Restauration d'Israël à La Conquête Universelle* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 97."Pour Dupont en effet, évoquant la grande théophanie du Sinaï, l'épisode d'Ac 2 élargit la nouvelle alliance à l'ensemble des nations établies sous le ciel."

[73] E.g., Eduard Lohse views Acts 2 as a "grand portal" of the early church that allows the reader to enter the global church. "Das Pfingstereignis steht nach Lukas als ein großes Portal am Anfang der Kirchengeschichte, durch das der Leser schreiten und Eingang in die Weltkirche finden soll" ("Die Bedeutung des Pfingstberichtes im Rahmen des lukanischen Geschichtswerkes," *EvT* 13 [1953]: 434; supported by Butticaz, *L'identité de L'église*, 90).

[74] See Scott, "Geographical Horizon." See also James M. Scott, *Paul and the Nations: The Old Testament and Jewish Background of Paul's Mission to the Nations with Special Reference to the Destination of Galatians*, WUNT 84 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995); James M. Scott, "Acts 2:9-11 as an Anticipation of the Mission to the Nations," in *The Mission of the Early Church to Jews and Gentiles*, ed. J. Adna and H. Kvalbein (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 87–123.

[75] Scott, "Geographical Horizon," 520.

and Acts 2:9-11 but Scott's comparison does not explain all of the features of Luke's list, such as the inclusion of Jews and proselytes.[76]

Other scholars have contended that Acts serves as a reversal of Babel, the tale of language variation recorded in Genesis 11.[77] Scholars compare Genesis 10 and 11 with Acts 2:5-13 because both list ethnic groups and include discussion of diverse languages. They take interest in the linguistic dispersion in the story of the Tower of Babel in Genesis 11 and apparent linguistic unification in Acts 2. The list of *ethnē* in Acts 2 resonates with some features of the "list of nations" in Genesis 10[78] and the tower of Babel in Genesis 11, but these narratives do not exhaust the possible meanings of Luke's population list.[79]

Because of the apparent unification of Jews under the power of this spirit, many scholars have also argued that Acts 2:5-13 envisions the eschatological ingathering of

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[76] E.g., Scott tries to read the whole of Acts through the lens of Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. See Scott, "Geographical Horizon," 531–41.

[77] E.g., M. D. Goulder, *Type and History in Acts* (London: SPCK, 1964), 158. Cf. Scott, "Geographical Horizon," 528–30.

[78] Scott points out that the list in Acts only has a fifty percent correspondence with Josephus' updated list from Gen 10 ("Geographical Horizon," 529).

[79] Beyond the surface parallels between Genesis 10–11 and Acts 2 significant differences exist with such comparisons. See a critique of the relation between Acts 2 and Babel in A. J. M. Wedderburn, "Traditions and Redaction in Acts 2:1-13," *JSNT* 55 (1994): 34. Dupont also questioned this view by contending that if this were a reversal of Babel, one would expect a single language as the outcome. See Dupont, "Première Pentecôte"; cited in Wedderburn, "Traditions," 34 n. 14.

Jews prophesied in the Jewish prophets, second temple literature, and rabbinic literature.[80] So for example, the Septuagint version of Isaiah states:

> καὶ ἔσται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ προσθήσει κύριος τοῦ δεῖξαι τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζηλῶσαι τὸ καταλειφθὲν ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ λαοῦ, ὃ ἂν καταλειφθῇ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Βαβυλωνίας καὶ Αἰθιοπίας καὶ ἀπὸ Αιλαμιτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν καὶ ἐξ Ἀραβίας. καὶ ἀρεῖ σημεῖον εἰς τὰ ἔθνη καὶ συνάξει τοὺς ἀπολομένους Ισραηλ καὶ τοὺς διεσπαρμένους τοῦ Ιουδα συνάξει ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων πτερύγων τῆς γῆς.
>
> And it will be in that day, the Lord will continue to show his hand to be zealous for the remaining remnant of the people, who might be left from the Assyrians and from Egypt and from Babylon and Ethiopia and from Elamites, and from the rising of the sun until Arabia. And he will lift up a sign for the *ethnē* (τὰ ἔθνη), and he will gather the lost ones of Israel and the dispersed of Judah, he will gather from the four corners of the earth. (Isa 11:11-12 LXX)[81]

The prophetic vision of an ingathering of Jews at the end of time may have informed Luke's list, but he appears to have interpreted the prophecy for his own purposes. The narrative setting of the list of *ethnē* and the larger context of Acts 2, again, points beyond this connection as well.[82] In Acts 2:5 Luke writes that these Jews gathered in Jerusalem were already residents of the city *prior to* the outpouring of the spirit. They did not gather because of the spirit but were already κατοικοῦντες ("residing") in Jerusalem.[83]

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[80] So Johnson, *Acts*, 45; Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 136; see discussion in Gilbert, "List of Nations," 505–507.

[81] Translation mine. On the ingathering of the remnant of Israel see Jer 23:3; Tobit 13:15; 1 *En*. 90:33; 2 Macc. 2:18; *Ps*. *Sol*. 17:31; 4 *Ezra* 13:39-40. 2 Macc. 2:18 is striking because it describes the gathering as ἐκ τῆς [γῆς] ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ("from the land under the heaven"). Cf. Joel 3:1-5 (4:1-5 LXX) where it is the non-Jews that are gathered to face judgment by God. See also Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*, 493–98.

[82] For a list of others who hold this view see Gilbert, "List of Nations," 506 n. 39.

[83] See note 59 above.

The speech of Luke's Peter that follows the list of ethnic groups also challenges the reading of Acts 2:5-13 as primarily referring to an eschatological ingathering of Jews. In his speech, Peter does not refer to the ingathering of Jews as described in texts like Isaiah 11 but points to a prophesy from Joel 3:1-5a LXX (2:28-32 NRSV) that indicates that the spirit is a symbol of the power of God and a precursor to the eschatological day of the Lord.[84] Luke's Peter quotes Joel saying:

> (2:17) καὶ ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, λέγει ὁ θεός, ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὁράσεις ὄψονται καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνυπνίοις ἐνυπνιασθήσονται· (18) καί γε ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας μου ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν. (19) καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ σημεῖα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ. (20) ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ. (21) καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσηται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται.
>
> (2:17) In the last days it will be, God declares, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams. (18) Even upon my slaves, both men and women, in those days I will pour out my spirit; and they shall prophesy. (19) And I will show portents in the heaven above and signs on the earth below, blood, and fire, and smoky mist. (20) The sun shall be turned to darkness and the moon to blood, *before the coming* of the Lord's great and glorious day. (21) Then everyone who calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved. (Acts 2:17-21, quoting Joel 3:1-5a LXX)

Luke's Peter frames the list of *ethnē* around the outpouring of the spirit of God "on all flesh" (ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα) prior to the "Lord's great and glorious day." Acts 2:5-13 does not merely announce the eschatological gathering of Jews from the diaspora. The

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[84] This is one of the few references to eschatology in Acts. See discussion of the prophecy from Joel in Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 252–52 and literature, 261–63.

quotation of Joel 3:1-5a refracts the eschatological focus of Acts 2 away from the ingathering of Jews from the diaspora and onto the miraculous deeds of God that validate the centrality of the "Lord"—Jesus, in Luke's narrative world (2:22-35).

Though there are intertextual connections between Genesis 10–11, the eschatological ingathering of Jews, and Acts 2:5-13, these correspondences do not exhaust the possible meanings of Luke's list of *ethnē*. Roman styled population lists like those depicted in the Sebasteion and in Virgil, Philo, and Josephus offer another lens through which to view this same material.

Jewish identity and Roman era ethnic reasoning

Roman imperial propaganda regularly used ethnic rhetoric to legitimate Roman dominance over other populations. As Philo, Josephus, and the more extended discussion of the Sebasteion demonstrated, those outside of Rome employed Roman-styled *ethnē* collections for their own rhetorical ends. Gary Gilbert has also likened Luke's list of Jews from every "nation" to the Roman *ethnē* lists. He argues that Acts 2 "employs well-known political rhetoric to advance its theological convictions,"[85] writing: "The list of nations [in Acts 2] stands as one part of the larger narrative strategy that responds to Rome's claims of universal authority and declares that the true empire belongs not to Caesar but to Jesus, who as Lord and Savior reigns over all people." [86] For Gilbert:

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[85] Gilbert, "List of Nations," 524–529, quote from 524. The "early readers" Gilbert has in mind are those like the third-century author Tertullian (*Adv. Jud.* 7), but he allows for the possibility of a similar thinking of first-century readers as well.

[86] Gilbert, "List of Nations," 516.

> The list of nations provides one deployment of this literary strategy. The crowd gathered at Pentecost and specified in the list of nations serves as an 'anticipatory element' that looks forward to the time when all persons from throughout the inhabited world will come under the authority of God, Jesus and the church.[87]

The depiction of Jews from every ἔθνος, thus, anticipates the global mission of Acts by presenting a universalized audience of Jews for the first public sermon of one of Jesus's disciples.[88] On this view, Acts 2 does not display complicity in Roman dominance, but resists that dominance in favor of a Jerusalem-centered worldview. For Gilbert, "Luke-Acts dismisses the claim that Rome was ruler of the world and speaks of the true *oikoumenē* created through the Spirit, ruled over by Jesus, and mapped out by the list of nations in Acts 2."[89]

Gilbert shifts attention from the context of Roman political rhetoric to Christian theological argument in his interpretation of Acts 2. Romans listed people groups to display their worldwide dominance; Luke, according to Gilbert, lists people groups to display the universal salvation through Jesus.[90] Tertullian interpreted Acts 2 similarly,

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[87] Gilbert, "List of Nations," 523. Gilbert minimizes the fact that the list is only of Jews and not of "all persons."

[88] Cf. Jervell who downplays the anticipatory element. He writes: "Die Völkerliste zeigt auch deutlich, dass es um das Weltjudentum, nicht um die Welt geht" (*Apostelgeschichte*, 134–35).

[89] Gilbert, "List of Nations," 499. Gilbert writes, "Luke, inspired by the geographical catalogues that celebrated Rome's imperial power, wrote his own list of nations to critique this ideology and present an alternative vision of universal authority" ("List of Nations," 518–19).

[90] Cf. Lohse, "Bedeutung," 434; Butticaz, *L'identité de L'église*, 90.

understanding the list of people groups as "proof for the universal rule of Christ."[91] Indeed, the list in Acts 2:9-11 includes *ethnē* that are outside of Rome's power like the Parthians.[92] Gilbert concludes that Acts 2 presents a "geographic catalogue" to "declare the inevitable expansion of Christianity and the universal power of God and Jesus throughout the world."[93]

Similarly, Marianne Palmer Bonz has compared the catalogue of conquered peoples on Aeneas' shield with the list of peoples in Acts 2.[94] She argues that the catalogues are similar in length and structure and that Luke, like Virgil, used a population list to represent "a collection of peoples from the farthermost ends of the known world" in a way that symbolically testifies to the "theological nature of the geographical conquests."[95] Bonz, like Gilbert, provides an avenue for exploring the list of *ethnē* in Acts 2 that takes the broader context of the Roman Empire into account and emphasizes the universalizing aspects of both Rome's and Luke's message.

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[91] Gilbert, "List of Nations," 518. Tertullian's proposition is interesting because it re-maps the Roman world in Christian terms.

[92] The strongest of Gilbert's claims for such a political reading is the fact that the most politically charged *ethnos*, the rebellious Parthians, is listed first ("List of Nations," 528–29). This does not undermine the fact that the list is of Jews, not conquered peoples. See Matthews, *Perfect Martyr*, 37. See also discussion below.

[93] Gilbert, "List of Nations," 524. Cf. Nasrallah, "Acts"; reprinted in Christian Responses, 51–84.

[94] Bonz, *Past as Legacy*, 108–110. The comparison of Aeneas' shield and Luke's list is part of Bonz's larger project of reading Luke-Acts as an epic presentation of Christian origins comparable with Vergil's *Aeneid*. See the critique in Butticaz, *L'identité de L'église*, 97–98.

[95] Bonz, *Past as Legacy*, 109–110, quotes from 109 and 110, respectively.

As Gilbert and Bonz's comparisons demonstrate, Acts 2 fits into a broader trend of ethnic discourse prominent in the Roman era. They both argue that Roman era ethnic rhetoric provided space for Roman writers and the author of Acts to make claims about ethnic identity and to bring diverse populations under the authority of a single ruler, whether that ruler is the emperor, God, or Jesus. Their interpretations do not, however, explain Luke's claim that it is Jews who make up his list of *ethnē*. By contrast, Roman lists of conquered populations separated Romans from the rest of the world and did not include the Romans themselves. These lists displayed the superiority of Romans, who ruled over these other "inferior" populations.[96] One of the primary benefits of such lists was therefore to articulate the superiority of the conquerors over the conquered,[97] broadcasting Rome's sovereign power over a universalized "other" comprised of various *ethnē* who were not classified as "Romans." By listing *ethnē*, Roman writers and artists maintained and reified distinctions, identifying those who were "not Roman" as well as those who were. Even so, as demonstrated in the case of Aphrodisias, such lists could also allow local elites and writers both to align themselves with Rome and to distinguish themselves from other conquered peoples.[98] As in Philo, Josephus, and the Sebasteion,

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[96] See Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, esp. 55–168; 169–224.

[97] Smith, "Simulacra Gentium," esp. 70–71.

[98] See Simon Goldhill, "Introduction: Setting the Agenda: 'Everything Is Greece to the Wise,'" in *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*, ed. Simon Goldhill (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1–29. One-way ancients did this by depicting other ἔθνη or cities as deficient or deviant in some way. Presenting others as captives was an especially

local elites used lists of populations to show unity with Roman and to "other" conquered populations.

Acts' list is best compared with this latter strategy: Luke integrates Jews into a collection of *ethnē* from all over the world, privileging Jews and presenting them as possessors of hybrid identities. A Roman model that universalizes populations under Roman control by listing ancestral populations provides a context for how Luke indexes populations with ancestral groups; however, it does not explain why Acts identifies all the *ethnē* first as Jews.

Cynthia Baker has offered a different comparison capable of addressing both Luke's interaction with Roman propaganda and his identification of all of the *ethnē* as Jews. She relates the ethnic rhetoric of Philo's *Embassy* with that of Acts 2 and has argued that they are both examples of Jewish "multiethnicity"; both make universalizing claims but do so in such a way that the Jewish *ethnē* can identify with more than one ethnicity at once.[99] As she observes, Philo's list, discussed above, makes a universalizing claim about the dual nature of Jewish ethnicity while Acts' list points to "the universalizing mission that envisions every nation and every people united by the action of a single Holy Spirit."[100] Luke, according to Baker, thus reconceived the nature of ethnic unity around the Holy Spirit rather than dual ethnicity.

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effective means of constructing the deficiencies or deviances of others as Benjamin Isaac has made imminently clear (*Invention of Racism*, 55–168).

[99] Baker, "'From Every Nation.'"

[100] Baker, "'From Every Nation,'" 87–95, quote from 92.

Gilbert, Bonz, and Baker emphasize the Roman propaganda evident in Acts 2:5-13 and highlight the universalizing effect of such ethnic rhetoric. They also interpret Luke's list as a means of refracting Roman universalizing propaganda away from the power of the Roman emperors and toward (the Jewish) God. However, focusing on the universalizing and unifying power of (the Jewish) God can have the effect of masking the ethnic rhetoric of Acts. Acts 2 does use a known trope, Roman propaganda that listed conquered *ethnē*, but it does so in a way that also allows the author to also claim Jewish identity of non-Jews through the concept of proselyte Jews.

Jewishness and Luke's Ethnic Reasoning

In the first occurrence of Ἰουδαῖος in Acts, Luke employs the word in a way that establishes the boundaries of the Jewish *ethnos* and reinterprets Roman imperial propaganda in ways that allow him to position Jewish identity in a way that is beneficial to his Christian identity construction project. Though there were diverse iterations of Roman-styled collections of *ethnē,* the grouping of *ethnē* established identities and marked ethnic difference. Luke's list classifies Jews as members of various *ethnē* and thereby indicates Jewish sameness in the midst of ethnic difference. Jewish identity, like Aphrodisian identity, is hybrid. In this way, Luke's representation of Jewish identity compares well with Philo's depiction of Jews. Philo classified his Jews through genealogical language. They have a "fatherland" and "mother city." Luke classified Jews similarly. They are from other *ethnē* yet are identified as Jews.

Though conceptually similar, however, Luke's description of the hybrid ethnicities of Jews differs from Philo's. In the two places where Philo listed the various

geographical locations where Jews lived, he carefully classifies these Ἰουδαῖοι as from other regions (χῶραι) rather than from other *ethnē*. They are Jews who identify themselves with their non-Judean "fatherlands." Philo, in *Embassy*, lists places where Jews have established "settlements" while Luke lists the *ethnē* from which Jews immigrated to Jerusalem. For Philo, Jews live in and establish settlements in various places; for Luke, Jews are Parthians, Medes, or Elamites. This ethnic hybridity provides space for Luke to represent Jews as becoming and being Parthians and other ethnic identifications by *ethnos,* while still remaining Jewish.

By highlighting Jewish ethnic hybridity and the flexibility of Jewishness at the first identification of Jews in Acts, Luke introduces the manner in which he will represent Jewishness throughout his narrative of Christian origins. After announcing that Jews from every *ethnos* have gathered in Jerusalem, Luke marks an ethnic distinction between the gathered crowd and the apostles. The crowd is shocked that the apostles, explicitly identified as Galileans, are speaking in the languages into which they, the gathered Jews, were born.[101] This is not to say that Luke seeks to avoid identifying the apostles as Jews. They are implicitly identified as such later in the narrative.[102] Rather, his labeling strategies highlight his emphasis on the hybridity and multiplicity of Jewishness. In Luke's rhetoric, some Jews can identify other Jews as Galileans without calling their Jewishness into question.

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[101] καὶ πῶς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν ἕκαστος τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ ἡμῶν ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννήθημεν; ("And how do we each hear in our own language into which we were born?") (Acts 2:8).

[102] Cf. Acts 10:28 where Peter is identified as a Jew.

After making an internal distinction among Jews, Luke's univocal crowd then lists various *ethnē* and locations from where they came, in a way similar to the list provided by Philo's Agrippa. They are:

> Πάρθοι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἐλαμῖται καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, Ἰουδαίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, Πόντον καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν, Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην, καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι, Κρῆτες καὶ Ἄραβες
>
> Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and residents of Mesopotamia, Judea and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya belonging to Cyrene, and visiting Romans, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabs. (Acts 2:9-11)

Unlike Philo's Agrippa, however, Luke includes Judea among the residences of these *ethnē*. He also excludes many regions that show up with Jewish populations later in the narrative of Acts.[103]

As the discussion above indicated, many scholars have focused attention on determining a source for Luke's list. It is clear from these discussions that while he probably did intend to invoke other lists, including those already found in Genesis and known across the Roman world, his list was adapted for his own purposes.[104] The odd

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[103] This section focuses on the Jewishness of Luke's list rather than the specific ἔθνη included in the list. For a full discussion of the various ἔθνη see Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 240.

[104] See discussion above. Cf. Eberhard Güting who views the list as random ("Der geographische Horizont der sogenannten Völkerliste des Lukas (Acta 2 9-11)," *ZNW* 66 [1975]: 149–69). The listing of Parthians and Medes first is interesting because Parthia was the only empire that withstood assaults by Rome. In 116, Trajan defeated the Parthian king Osroes, but the Parthian empire would not fall until 227 CE (Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 68.17). It is worth noting that in *Roman History* 68, Cassius Dio also records that Trajan conquered those in Mesopotamia and Arabia, as well as squelching a Jewish revolt in Cyrene, Cyprus, and Egypt. He also built a stone road through the

appearance of Judea, like the inclusion of Ἰουδαῖοι in 2:5, has led many scholars to assume that the term, like Ἰουδαῖοι in 2:5, was either a later addition or a mistake.[105] Ancient authors had difficulty making sense of Ἰουδαία in 2:9 as well. Tertullian and Augustine, for example, thought the text should read *Armeniam*, and Eusebius in his commentary on Isaiah reads Συρίαν when referring to Acts 2:9-11.[106] The reason for their confusion is clear: Why would residents of Judea be surprised that Galileans in Jerusalem spoke the native language of Judea?[107] It is odd that Luke includes Judea in his list of places from which Jews emigrated, by syntactically connecting Judea with Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, and other locations, Judea as the ancestral home of the ἔθνος Ἰουδαιῶν is deemphasized. Judea is just another location where Jews resided according to this ethnic rhetoric. This stance has the corollary effect of decentralizing Judean

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marshes in Pontus. In the context of the early second century, the inclusion of Parthians (a region not directly under Roman control) still supports Roman dominance. Contra Gilbert who views the inclusion of the Parthians as subversive of Roman authority because they were unconquered ("List of Nations," 527–28). See also discussion in Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 371–80, esp. 375–76. Isaac notes that the Parthians are often conflated with the Medes.

[105] See discussion in Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 240.

[106] Eusebius, *Comm. Isa.* 1.63.54. Cf. Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.8.1 and *Comm. Ps.* (in J. -P Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus: series Graeca* [Paris, 1857], vol. 23, 717). In both places Eusebius includes Ἰουδαῖαν. Fitzmyer lists other options (*Acts*, 241).

[107] According to Acts, the native language of Judea and Jerusalem is Hebrew (Ἑβραΐς διάλεκτος). See Acts 21:40; 22:2; 26:14.

identity for determining Jewishness. Luke highlights that these Jews are devout men and can be from Judea (and Cappadocia, Pontus, or Egypt); they are not merely "Judeans."[108]

Luke represents Jews as from other *ethnē* (2:5). He then includes, without qualification, the ancestral home of Jews, Judea, in his list of the residences of these *ethnē* (2:9). In Acts 2:11 a third variable, which will prove central to Luke's project, is introduced into the mix. Both Jews and proselytes[109] made up the crowd of devout Jews (some of whom are from Judea).[110] The presence of another overlapping variable in Jewishness adds level of complexity to Luke's already hybrid and multifaceted Jewish identity.

Luke rhetorically contrasts the Jews not with Christ followers but with proselytes, a term that usually marked a distinction between someone who is Jewish through lineage—a born Jew—and someone who becomes a Jew through fidelity to Jewish ancestral customs, exclusive devotion to the God of Israel, and circumcision for males.

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[108] Luke's claim that Jews need not be from Judea was, of course, not his own creation. This historical fact was used rhetorically by Luke. On Jewish communities in the Greek and Roman world see Barclay, *Jews*.

[109] See discussion of proselytes in the next chapter. On full assimilation in Second Temple Judaism see Cohen, *Beginnings*, 140–174. Cohen does not think that ancient Jews viewed proselytes as Jews. However, Luke apparently did. Cohen indicates there are three elements of conversion: practice of Jewish laws, devotion to the God of the Jews, and integration into the Jewish community (*Beginnings*, 157–62).

[110] Commentators vary on whether to take Luke's reference to Jews and proselytes as referring specifically to those from Rome or as describing the whole list. See Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 243. Contextually, it makes sense that Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι modifies Ῥωμαῖοι, as the only city listed in the catalog, but grammatically the phrase could modify the whole catalog.

Some Jews contested the meaning and value of the "conversion" of non-Jews but for a significant number of born Jews, non-Jews could become Jewish as proselytes.[111] Luke shares this conviction.

For Luke proselytes are Jews, but he also retains an internal distinction between Jews and those who are Jews as proselytes. He has already categorized both those identified as Jews and as proselytes in 2:11 as all Jews in 2:5.[112] On the one hand, proselytes are Jews, but on the other they remain distinct from born Jews. Luke's ethnic rhetoric resembles that of the Sebasteion. While the Sebasteion employed the mythical, ancestral connection between Aphrodite, Aeneas, and Augustus to connect the

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[111] See discussion in chapter four and Matthew Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion: Genealogy, Circumcision, and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Josephus states that kinship comes not only through birth but also through adherence to the Jewish law. Speaking about the laws established by Moses, Josephus writes, ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ θέλουσιν ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν νόμους ζῆν ὑπελθόντες δέχεται φιλοφρόνως οὐ τῷ γένει μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τοῦ βίου νομίζων εἶναι τὴν οἰκειότητα τοὺς δ᾽ ἐκ παρέργου προσιόντας ἀναμίγνυσθαι τῇ συνηθείᾳ οὐκ (Jos., *Ag. Ap.*, 2.210). The author of *Jubilees* limits the value of "conversion" through circumcision, one of the common stipulations in Jewish ancestral customs. See *Jub* 15:25-26. See discussion in Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, 26–28.

[112] Contra Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, 135. Thiessen does not take the larger context of Acts 2:5-13 into account when he states: "Regardless of what the term [proselytes] came to mean at a later point, the evidence of Acts suggests that Luke does not believe that προσήλυτοι are Jews." Acts 2:5 indicates that *all* of the ones in the list are *Jews*. See the other uses of προσήλυτος in Acts 6:5 and 13:43. Acts 13:43 appears to equate proselytes with god-fearers. Cf. Matt. 23:15. See also Malina and Pilch who wrongly interpret Acts as understanding proselytes to be "outside residents of the Israelite section of the city" and inaccurately claim that Luke has not specific if they follow "the customs of Judea" (*Acts*, 30). Luke has identified these proselytes as Jews and called them devout, a term used in Acts to describe devotion with regard to Jewish customs.

Aphrodisians and the Romans, Luke uses the mythical ancestral connection established between Jews and proselyte non-Jews through observance of certain ancestral customs ordained by the Jewish God. These former non-Jews are also marked as devout men and thereby presented as Jews by God. Luke, like other Jewish authors, retains an internal distinction between born Jews and those non-Jews who are integrated into the Jewish community,[113] yet he also clearly classifies them as Jews. By classifying these non-Jews as Jews, Luke creates space that will allow him to identify Christian non-Jews as a type of proselyte Jews later on in the narrative.

The identification of proselytes as a type of Jew is, of course, not unique to Acts. Neither are the identifications of Jews from other *ethnē* (2:5) or Jews from Judea (2:9). They represent frequently attested examples of the multiple ways of "being Jewish" in antiquity.[114] However, the combination of these three identifications of Jewishness demonstrates the hybridity and flexibility of Jewishness in Acts. Acts 2:5-13 strategically combines multiple ways of being Jewish in a single passage and articulates a fluid vision of Jewish identity. Jewish identity simultaneously existed for Luke dependent upon and independent of lineage. Jewish identity could be inhereted or achived through proper ancestral customs. Like the Aphrodisians' use of the Aphrodite-Aeneas-Augustus connection to present Aphrodisian identity in terms of Rome, Luke uses the Jewishness

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[113] Some non-Jews also recognized the ethnicity-changing power of proselytism as well. See e.g., Horace, *Sat*. 1.9.68-70; Petronius, *Sat*. 102.14; Epictetus, *Discourses,* 2.9.19-21; Juvenal, *Sat*. 14.96-106; Tacitus, *Hist*. 5.5.1-2; Suetonius, *Domitian* 12.2. See discussion in Cohen, *Beginnings*, 29–49.

[114] See Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles* especially chapter 11, "Conversion."

of proselytes to present Jewish identity in terms that will be useful for his subsequent construction of Christian identity.

Conclusion

Reading Acts 2:5-13 in light of the types of ethnic reasoning presented both in the collections of *ethnē* found in Roman imperial propaganda and by other groups who reconfigured Roman style lists for their own purposes suggests that Luke also redeployed a Roman styled population list, but in this case to redefine Jewish identity. In a way similar to the presentation of *ethnē* in the Sebasteion, Luke depicted Jewish identity as multiple: Jews were Parthian and Jewish, Cappadocian and Jewish, Egyptian and Jewish and so on. The distinction Luke draws is between Jewish proselytes and other Jews, not between Jews of Judea and "the nations." The Sebasteion also used Roman era propaganda depicting various *ethnē*, reimagining the city's place on the ethnic map by creating a representation of conquered *ethnē* that juxtaposed these conquered peoples to the Carians, who, the monument suggested, share a common ancestry with Augustus. The distinction there was between the non-conquered Carians, who are Roman from the perspective of ancestors and gods, and the conquered, who remain non-Roman subjects of the superior Romans. The Aphrodisians ethnically identify themselves, through their connection to Aphrodite, with the conquering Romans rather than with the conquered *ethnē*. Aphrodisian identity is stable in the way it interacted with Aphrodite, yet flexible in its interaction with Rome. Luke uses a similarly styled *ethnē* list to represent Jews from around the *oikoumenē*. He imagines Jewishness as stable in the sense that transcended ethnicity, yet flexible in its inclusion of non-Jews in the list of Jews as

proselytes. The next chapter builds on the claim that Luke identifies proselytes as Jews and continues consideration of the ethnic reasoning in Acts by examining the so-called Jerusalem council of Acts 15 in light of the image of Jewishness privileged in Acts 2:5-13 and the material remains describing the Foundation of Salutaris.

Chapter Four: The Jerusalem Council and the Foundation of Salutaris

Introduction

In the ancient Mediterranean world, the protocols and activities that regulated interaction with the gods were generally inherited.[1] Populations had specific, ancestral gods, and they kept their gods happy through proper veneration according to specific ancestral customs/laws. In return, gods protected and provided for their peoples.[2] When travelling or living away from the ancestral home of their people and gods, immigrants regularly formed ethnic associations and continued to worship their ancestral gods while abroad.[3] In 160 CE, for example, a certain Karpion dedicated an altar to Sarapis in the

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[1] See discussion in Paula Fredriksen, "The Question of Worship: Gods, Pagans, and the Redemption of Israel," in *Paul within Judaism: Restoring the First-Century Context to the Apostle*, ed. Mark D. Nanos and Magnus Zetterholm (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2015), 177–179. Fredriksen also observes that "cult is an ethnic designation/ethnicity is a cultic designation; cult makes gods happy; unhappy gods make for unhappy humans" ("Mandatory Retirement," 232). See also Steve Mason who writes, "An ancient *ethnos* normally had a national cult…, involving priests, temples, and animal sacrifice. This cannot be isolated from the *ethnos* itself, since temples, priesthood, and cultic practices were part and parcel of a people's founding stories, traditions, and civic structures" ("Jews," 484).

[2] Richard Lim writes, "The Romans were not always victorious on the battlefield and, given their belief that each community had its own protective gods, they saw defeat as a sign that the enemy's patron deities were simply too powerful ("Gods of Empire," 122–123).

[3] James B. Rives, *Religion in the Roman Empire*, Blackwell ancient religions (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2007), 122–123. See also Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World*; Philip A. Harland, *Associations, Synagogues,*

οἰκός ("house") of Alexandrians at Tomis, a city of Scythia Minor (west coast of the Black Sea).[4] In Puteoli (Campania, Italy), a Tyrian civic association sought financial support from the city council (βουλή) of Tyre to continue "sacrifices and services to the ancestral gods."[5] And there is, of course, extensive evidence of Jewish communities continuing their ancestral customs throughout the Greek and Roman eras.[6]

The veneration of a god or gods was not only a product of a given civic or ethnic identity, but also a means of indicating ethnic and civic identity.[7] The activities and protocols that regulated interactions with gods could provide a means for maintaining and changing ethnic and civic identity, categories which faced constant slippage in antiquity.[8]

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and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003).

[4] *IGLSkythia* II 153. Translation available in Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, no. 82. See also Harland, *Associations*, 34.

[5] *IG* XIV 830. The inscription is dated to 174 CE. Translation from Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, no. 317.

[6] For primary evidence see e.g., Margaret Williams, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans: A Diasporan Sourcebook* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); for discussion see Erich S. Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Barclay, *Jews*; Leonard Victor Rutgers, *The Hidden Heritage of Diaspora Judaism* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998); Leonard Victor Rutgers, *The Jews in Late Ancient Rome: Evidence of Cultural Interaction in the Roman Diaspora*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 126 (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Harry J. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome: Updated Edition* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995).

[7] Buell, *Why This New Race*, 49.

[8] Louise Revell persuasively argues concerning Roman identity, "any uniformity in meaning was constantly slipping, to create a multiplicity of possible meanings" (*Roman Imperialism and Local Identities* [Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009],

The previous chapter discussed the ways that the list of *ethnē* in Acts 2:5-13 and the Sebasteion presented religious imagery and employed ethnic reasoning to make identity claims and assert difference. It argued that Acts 2:5-13 depicted Jewish identity as fluid both by representing Jews as being from different *ethnē* and by including proselytes in the list of Jews. Proselytes are presented as simultaneously Jewish and something else. Jews from different *ethnē* are Jews as well as representatives of these other peoples. Jewishness, in this passage, transcends a single *ethnos* (2:5) and lineage (2:9) while also maintaining an internal distinction among Jews based on ancestry—both Jews and proselytes are identified in the same list as Jews.

This chapter continues the discussion of Jewish identity in Acts but shifts focus from how the author represents Jewishness to how Acts uses the image of Jewishness constructed in Acts 2:5-13 to depict the Jewishness of "Christian" non-Jews in the Jerusalem council (15:1-21).[9] Comparing the ethnic rhetoric of Acts 15 with ethnic rhetoric of the Salutaris Foundation inscription (*IEph* 27), the chapter calls attention to wider negotiations of civic identity, and within the context of formal public documents

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191). On the development of Roman identity see Emma Dench, *Romulus' Asylum: Roman Identities from the Age of Alexander to the Age of Hadrian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Gary D. Farney, *Ethnic Identity and Aristocratic Competition in Republican Rome* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[9] Scholars such as Oliver "try to avoid the term 'council' as it projects an anachronistic notion of higher ecclesiological structures and organization upon the burgeoning Jesus movement of the first century"(Isaac W. Oliver, *Torah Praxis after 70 CE : Reading Matthew and Luke-Acts as Jewish Texts*, WUNT 2/355 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013], 365, n. 1). This project uses the term "council" in relation to the Greek city council rather than the later ecclesiastical councils.

like this foundation. The Salutaris Foundation inscription, which contains the stipulations for a donation given by a wealthy citizen of Ephesus, provides a useful comparison with the Jerusalem council narrative: first, the foundation was composed within a decade or two of the likely publication of Acts and therefore offers a glimpse at a contemporaneous use of ethnic rhetoric. Second, a majority of Acts' narrative takes place in an urban context, including in Ephesus. The Salutaris Foundation provides a concrete example of the negotiation of identity within the city, demonstrating who had the power to influence identity claims and how such negotiations took place. Both Acts and the Salutaris Foundation leverage religious ideology in their respective forms of ethnic rhetoric in order to legitimate ethnic change, employing ancestral religious rhetoric, a shared sense of the flexibility of ethnic identity, and the authority of councils in ways that delimit the identity of contested populations and their religious activities. The depiction of an ancestral deity, the gestures toward the mythic past, and the centrality of ancestral traditions and customs are fundamental to both texts, as they leverage an ancestral god/goddess and protocols of veneration to justify their own ethnic claims.[10]

The Foundation of Salutaris

In 104 CE, the Ephesian council (βουλή) ratified a civic foundation (διάταξις[11]) proposed by Caius Vibius Salutaris, a wealthy Italian immigrant.[12] Salutaris dedicated

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[10] Chapter five develops these themes in relation to movement through civic space.

[11] According to Rogers, διάταξις is a technical term "to describe a bequest made while the founder was still alive, which was intended to be perpetual" (*The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City* [New York: Routledge, 1991], 25 and 36 n.

twenty-nine statues for use by the *polis*, funded an annual lottery given out to at least 2,702 individuals on the eve of Artemis' birthday,[13] and organized a regular procession of the statues that travelled from the Artemision—the world famous temple of Artemis in Ephesus—to the city theater and back to the Artemision approximately every two weeks.[14] The inscription containing Salutaris' Foundation (*IEph* 27A-G) boasts an astounding five hundred and sixty-eight lines of text with letters ranging in size from one to four centimeters in height.[15]

The Foundation of Salutaris provides an example of Roman era civic benefaction whereby civic elites could legitimate their status in a particular city. As Guy Rogers has argued, Salutaris's Foundation was more than a public proclamation of elite power; it

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87). More generally the term means "arrangement" or even "imperial constitution." See Henry George Liddell et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), s.v. διάταξις, esp., A. II. 2. Διάταξις also appears on a statue base dedication by Salutaris for Artemis and the Ephesian ephebes (*IEph* 34; Cf. *IEph* 28; *IEph* 29; *IEph* 30; *IEph* 35).

[12] In 1866, archeologist J. T. Wood discovered a monumental inscription near the south *parodos* of the colossal Ephesian city theater. The inscription indicates that it was to be placed on the south parodos and "in a suitable place" in the Artemision. We do not have evidence of the location of the inscription in the Artemision or if it was ever completed. See discussion Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 19.

[13] Artemis' birthday was on the sixth of Thargelion (late April/early May). See Rogers, *Mysteries*, 184 and 394 n. 73.

[14] On the frequency of the processions see Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 83. On the lotteries see Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 39–79.

[15] Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 20–21. For Greek text and translation see Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 152–83. See also the discussion in Jaś Elsner, *Roman Eyes: Visuality & Subjectivity in Art & Text* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 228–234; Sjef Van Tilborg, *Reading John in Ephesus* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 179–81.

also provided the Ephesians a means of dealing with an identity crisis caused by the increasing "Romanization" of this great Greek *polis* at the beginning of the second century.[16] The Foundation also serves as an example of how Salutaris and the Ephesian council imagined the connection between Artemis, the past, and the *polis*. For example, the distribution of "lotteries," a practice of handing out money to various Ephesians and Ephesian civic groups stipulated by Salutaris' Foundation, was largely symbolic and educational. The relatively small size of the distributions and the meager tasks required of the beneficiaries limited who could and could not enact Ephesian identity."[17] Taking care of statues or fulfilling ritual tasks, only a select group of citizens, city councilors, elders and youths had access to these lotteries, which therefore maintained a very specific civic hierarchy. As Guy Rogers explains, "[t]he Ephesians themselves acted out the blueprint of Salutaris' contemporary civic hierarchy."[18] The Foundation thus provides an avenue to explore how civic elites utilized ethnic rhetoric to legitimate the identity of a contested population—elite Roman immigrants—while at the same time supporting the continuing dominion of Artemis over her *polis*.

The inscription also demonstrates how complex negotiations of identities took place through the display of writing. Statue bases, columns, walls, funerary monuments, and public buildings filled the urban context with visible reminders of the benefactions of

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[16] This is the central argument of Rogers, *Sacred Identity*. See the critique of Rogers' interpretation in Mary E. Hoskins Walbank, "Review of The Sacred Identity of Ephesos," *Phoenix* 48 (1994): 89–91.

[17] Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 44–45.

[18] Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 52.

leading citizens, and therefore also of their entitled belonging.[19] Salutaris' Foundation offers one important example of this form of belonging: the inscription recreates an imagined past, validates this past through the repetition of a sacred procession enacted by present and future generations, and identifies what it meant to be Ephesian in a way that includes the Roman elite. The foundation actively participates in a widespread form of ethnic reasoning, but in a unique way and within the very specific context of early second-century Ephesus. The strategies of inclusion and ethnic negotiation are particular to Salutaris and his Ephesian context, but the ideology of ethnic negotiation upon which he depends was shared, including by the author of Acts.

Roman Era Ephesus

In the Roman era, Ephesus, like many Greek cities, expanded as an urban center. These shifts in architecture and demographics required corresponding adjustments to the understanding of the mythic past and the relationship between Ephesus and Artemis. In the midst of these shifts, Artemis remained central to the identity of Ephesus. The historian Strabo offers an explanation of why this was the case in his *Geography*. He recounts an Ephesian foundation myth and the ancient history of the city and its

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[19] Rogers writes that the inscription and the foundation was a "non-verbal means of communication, by which the Ephesians negotiated their personal and social identities over space and time" (*Sacred Identity*, 26–27 and 80–82, quote from 82). See also Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*. On the related use of images to negotiate identities see Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*; Elsner, *Roman Eyes*; Jaś Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Zanker, *Power of Images*.

monumental temple to Artemis, the Artemision (14.1.20-24).[20] In the mythic past, the goddess Leto gave birth to Apollo and Artemis in the grove of Ortygia, which was located near Ephesus.[21] It was there that the *Kouretes* (Κουρῆται), a group of youths, banged their weapons and hid Leto from the jealous gaze of Hera.[22] The ancient inhabitants of the region subsequently built several temples nearby (*Geogr*. 14.1.20).

Later, according to Strabo, the Greek hero Androklos drove out the native Carian and Lelege inhabitants and established a Greek *polis* (*Geogr*. 14.1.21; cf. Pausanias, *Descr*. 7.2.8-9).[23] After the time of Androklos, epigraphic evidence shows that social groups in the city formed into five different "tribes" (φυλαί) related to the early mythical founders of Ephesus.[24]

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[20] Another version of the foundation of the city is recorded in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 8.361; quoted in Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 106. See also the founding story in Pausanius, *Descr*. 7.2.7.

[21] Other Hellenistic myths place their birth on the island of Delos.

[22] On the *Kouretes* see Christine M. Thomas, "Greek Heritage in Roman Corinth and Ephesos: Hybrid Identities and Strategies of Display in the Material Record of Traditional Mediterranean Religions," in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society*, ed. Steven J. Friesen, Daniel N. Schowalter, and James C. Walters (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 125–31.

[23] According to Pausanias, the inhabitants were "partly Leleges, a branch of the Carians, but a greater number were Lydians" (Λέλεγες δὲ τοῦ Καρικοῦ μοῖρα καὶ Λυδῶν τὸ πολὺ οἱ νεμόμενοι τὴν χώραν ἦσαν) (*Descr*. 7.2.8). Texts and translation from Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans. W. H. S. Jones, 4 vols., LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933), 176–77.

[24] In the Hellenistic period see e.g., *IEph* 1449, 1459, 3111; For the Roman period see discussion below.

Lysimachus, one of Alexander's generals, attempted to re-found the city in the early third century BCE under a new name, Arsinoeia, so that he was not beholden to the authority of Artemis (and her priests).[25] His attempt to move the Ephesians to his new city initially failed. Not to be discouraged, Lysimachus is said to have stopped up the sewers of the old Ephesus after a heavy rainfall forcing the Ephesians to move from the area surrounding the Artemision to the newly walled area that was closer to the harbor.[26] Lysimachus' attempt to separate his city from Artemis did ultimately fail. The name "Arsinoeia" disappeared after his death, and his *polis* was incorporated into the domain of Artemis and became known by the same name as the city from which Lysimachus sought to separate himself, Ephesus.[27] As Lysimachus' failed attempt to separate the city from Artemis demonstrates, the connection between Artemis and Ephesus ran deep in the Hellenistic period. Strabo, writing in the first century BCE, participates in the perpetuation of the connection between goddess and *polis,* Artemis and Ephesus, by recounting the divine origins of the *polis* as the city was being expanded.

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[25] Dieter Knibbe, "Via Sacra Ephesiaca: New Aspects of the Cult of Artemis Ephesia," in *Ephesos: Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester, Harvard Theological Studies 41 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 144.

[26] Strabo calls this harbor Πάνορμος (*Geogr*. 14.1.20). Dieter Knibbe argues that Lysimachos did this, not to found a new city, but to found his own city, Arsinoeia, so that it would be outside of the control of the Artemision priests ("Via Sacra," 144–45). See also Peter Scherrer, "The City of Ephesos from the Roman Period to Late Antiquity," in *Ephesos: Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester, Harvard Theological Studies 41 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 3.

[27] Knibbe, "Via Sacra," 145.

In the early imperial period, a new civic center emerged southeast of the harbor in a flurry of building projects.[28] The Ephesian cityscape was redefined between the end of the first century BCE and the beginning of the second century CE with the construction of a monumental Stoa Basilica, a "Roman" Agora, a Prytaneion (the city's sacred hearth that became home to the *Kouretes*[29]), a significant renovation to the *bouleuterion* (the meeting place of the city council), and the imposing temple dedicated to the Flavian Sebastoi.[30]

By the beginning of the second century, the landscape of Ephesus was in the midst of a significant shift, both because of these building projects and also because of an

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[28] Writing a little less than a century prior to Salutaris, Strabo states that "the city, because of its advantageous situation in other respects, grows daily, and is the largest emporium in Asia this side of the Taurus" (ἡ δὲ πόλις τῇ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα εὐκαιρίᾳ τῶν τόπων αὔξεται καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ἐμπόριον οὖσα μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταὐρου). Text and translation from Strabo, *Geography*, trans. Horace L. Jones, 8 vols., LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), 5:230–31.

[29] By the first century CE, the *Kouretes* became an Ephesian civic position. An office of *Kouretes* was established and hosted in the Artemision but later moved to the Prytaneion located in upper Ephesus. According to Strabo, each year a special συμπόσια τῶν Κουρήτων ("college of the *Kouretes*") performs sacrifices and participates in a festival (*Geogr*. 14.1.20). On the *Kouretes* see Rogers, *Mysteries*, esp. 162–71.

[30] For a list of Roman era building projects see L. Michael White, "Urban Development and Social Change in Imperial Ephesos," in *Ephesos: Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester, Harvard Theological Studies 41 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 52–54, "Table 2." For excavation information see Dieter Knibbe, *Der Staatsmarkt: die Inschriften des Prytaneions: die Kureteninschriften und sonstige religiöse Texte* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981).

influx of foreigners, like Salutaris.[31] The Foundation of Salutaris participates in and legitimates these changes through its depiction of Artemis, the sacred traditions and customs of the Ephesians, and the mythic past.

Salutaris and his Foundation

Salutaris is known only through the inscriptions and dedications from the first decade of the second century CE.[32] According to the Foundation inscription, Salutaris was of the equestrian order and "eminent in lineage and worth" (γένει καὶ ἀξίᾳ διάσημος) (*IEph* 27.14-16).[33] He was identified as part of the Italian tribe "Oufentina" (Οὐωφεντείνα), a Roman tribe that likely originated during the Republic (27.331).[34]

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[31] See discussion in White, "Urban Development."

[32] *IEph* 27-35 are related to the foundation. *IEph* 36A-D are four identical statue base inscriptions that are dedicated by Salutaris to Ephesian Artemis, the Sebastoi (τῷ Σεβαστῶν οἴκῳ), the pious city council (τῇ ἱερωτάτῃ Ἐφεσίων βουλῇ), and the temple-keeping people (τῷ νεωκόρῳ δήμῳ). Cf. *IEph* 640, an inscription for M. Arruntius Claudianus by Salutaris, his friend and benefactor (φίλωι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ ἰδίωι). For Salutaris' *cursus* see Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 16–19. See also H. Devijver, *Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrium Quae Fuerunt Ab Augusto Ad Gallienum*, 3 vols., Symbolae Facultatis Litterarum et Philsophiae Lovaniensis A (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 1976), 3:870–72, no. 106.

[33] Scheidel and Friesen estimate that there were approximately ten individuals of equestrian wealth in each city ("The Size of the Economy and the Distribution of Income in the Roman Empire," *JRS* 99 [2009]: 77). In a wealthy city like Ephesos, there would likely be at least a few more.

[34] The Oufentina were a rural Italian tribe originating south of Rome, along the Appian Way. See Lily Ross Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic: The Thirty-Five Urban and Rural Tribes*, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 20 (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1960), 55–56.

Statue bases in Ephesus shed a little more light on his *cursus honorum*. He was stationed in Sicily as collector of port taxes (ἀρχώνης λιμένων ἐπαρχείας Σικελίας) and later as a grain authority for the *dēmos* of the Romans (καὶ ἀρχώνης σείτου δήμου ῾Ρωμαίων) (*IEph* 29).[35] He also spent some time in Africa (29.16-17). Based on the extant evidence it is likely that he held military posts during the reigns of Domitian and Trajan.[36] Salutaris' military career and service record, however, look "ordinary."[37]

Evidence suggesting when Salutaris moved to Ephesus does not exist, but it is clear from his *cursus honorum* that he was a relative newcomer to the city when his Foundation was dedicated in 104 CE.[38] As a recent immigrant, Salutaris did not have a

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[35] The Latin portion of this inscription seems to indicate that Salutaris' position as grain authority was in Sicily (item promagister frumenti mancipalis eiusdem provinciae), while the Greek adds for the *dēmos* of the Romans. P. A. Brunt contends that the Latin portion indicates that he was "the local manager of publican companies" (*Roman Imperial Themes* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990], 391). Brunt's conclusion is supported by Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 32 n. 52.

[36] See discussion in Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 17; 32–33 n. 53. Cf. Devijver, *Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrium*, 3:871.

[37] Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 17.

[38] It is possible that Salutaris had a prior association with Ephesus through his father, however. The Foundation Inscription states that some of the Ephesian council knew about the good character of his father (27.17-18). This does not mean that his father's character was well known in the city as Rogers argues but does indicate that the Ephesian council, at least, knew about his father. See Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 16. Citing Rogers, Thomas states that "he owned estates in the vicinity of Ephesos" ("Greek Heritage," 133). This must be inferred from the inscription or his wealth. Archeologists have discovered another connection between Salutaris and the city in the residence in the so-called Terrace Houses near the *Embolos*: a graffito in an *insula* latrine mentions the name Salutaris. The graffito, located in Dwelling Unit 2 of Slope House 2, reads: Salutaris cun(n)um li(n)ge Libetr(a)e ("Salutaris, licks the vulva of Libetra"). For texts see Hans

connection to the city's Hellenistic "tribes," which organized the city's citizens, or to its foundation by Greeks, which tied the city to its mythic past. He did, however, become an Ephesian citizen (πολείτης ἡμέτερος) and a member of the city council (βουλευτικόν συνεδρίον) (*IEph* 27.17).[39] As Michael White has argued, it was "[t]hrough civic benefaction [that Salutaris] could move beyond the social status to which he might otherwise be limited in his own native context."[40]

The pinnacle of Salutaris' known benefactions was the Foundation he established in 104 CE. As mentioned above, it provided the money to commission and care for statues, an endowment from which various individuals and groups received distributions annually, and regular processions of the commissioned statues from the Artemision to the theater and back to the Artemision. The specific features of each aspect of the Foundation—statues, distributions, and processions—reimagine the bonds between Artemis, her people, and her *polis*.

Taeuber, "C. Vibius Salutaris – Wohnungsbesitzer Im Hanghaus 2?," in *Synergia: Festschrift für Friedrich Krinzinger*, ed. Barbara Brandt, Verena Gassner, and Sabine Ladstätter (Vienna: Phoibos, 2005), 350. According to some archeologists, this graffito, when combined with an ivory freeze of Trajan's campaigns found in Slope House 2, Unit 2, could indicate that Salutaris lived in the *insula*. See discussion in Taeuber, "Salutaris"; Rogers, *Mysteries*, 389 n. 7.

[39] Cf. the language of citizenship is used of Aquillius Proculus and Afranius Flavianus (*IEph* 27.80-81). They are "as our legitimate citizens themselves" (ὡς γνήσιοι πολεῖται ἡμῶν αὐτοί).

[40] White, "Urban Development," 63–64, quote from 63.

Artemis, her people, and her polis

The statues dedicated by Salutaris' Foundation assert Artemis' dominion over the *polis* while at the same time legitimating Roman authority in the *polis*. Salutaris promised to dedicate twenty-nine statues to honor the city of Ephesus:[41] nine type-statues (ἀπεικονίσματα) of Artemis, the city's foundress (ἀρχηγέτης)[42] and patron goddess, and twenty silver images (εἰκόνες)—five of which were related to the emperor Trajan (ὁ κυρίος ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ), his family, and Rome, while fifteen images represented (εἰκόνες προσωποποιούσα) various individuals and groups related to the Ephesian *polis*.[43] Taken individually, the images honor Artemis, Rome, and Ephesus, but viewed as a collection, a carefully selected archive, the images represent how Salutaris and the

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[41] Salutaris, subsequently, donated two additional images (*IEph* 27.465-73) bringing the total to thirty-one.

[42] One type-statue of Artemis was made of gold with two silver stags (ἔλαφοι) overlaid with gold. The rest were silver (*IEph* 27.157-59).

[43] *IEph* 27.23-31. The twenty silver statues include a statue of Trajan, his wife Plotina, the Roman Senate (ἱερός συνκλήτου), the Roman equestrian order (τὸ ῾Ρωμαίων ἱππικόν τάγμα), the Roman people (δῆμος), the Ephesian people (δῆμος), the six Ephesian tribes (φυλαί) [Sebaste, Ephesians, Karenaeans, Teians, Euonumoi, and Bembinaeans], the city council (βουλή), city elders (γερουσία), city youths (ἐφηβεία), Augustus, Androklos[?], Lysimachus [restored from *IEph* 29.9], Euonumos[?], and Pion [restored from *IEph* 31.8; cited as 38.8 in Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 117 n. 16.]. For lines in the inscription see Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 84–85, "Table 9"; For discussion of restorations possibilities see Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 83 and 117 n. 16. All inscriptions available at Packard Humanities Institute, "Greek Inscriptions." See Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 83–86, esp., "Table 9" (84–85).

Ephesian council negotiated Ephesian identity in relation to Artemis, Rome, and the city's mythic past.[44]

Salutaris first dedicated a golden image to Artemis and the Ephesian council (βουλή) and also statues to Artemis and the city elders (γερουσία), city youths (ἐφηβεία), and six "tribes" (φυλαί), respectively.[45] The combination of the images of Artemis with dedications to past, present, and future Ephesian elites depicts Ephesians as perpetually united under Artemis.

The statues of six Ephesian "tribes" are of particular interest for examining how Salutaris and the Ephesian council navigated the increasing "Romanization" of Ephesus. As mentioned above, five Ephesian tribes trace their historical origin to the period shortly after Androklos established the Hellenistic city.[46] Inscriptional evidence exists for the five Hellenistic tribes—the Ephesians, the Karenaeans, the Teians, the Euonumoi, and the

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[44] On the importance of archive see Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971).

[45] Βουλή (*IEph* 27.158-60); γερουσία (*IEph* 27.164-65); ἐφηβεία (*IEph* 27.168-69); φυλαί (*IEph* 27.173-74, 177-78, 182-83, 186-87, 189-91, 194-95). Cf. the image Salutaris dedicated to Artemis and the βουλή between 107-110 CE; *IEph* 36); γερουσία (*IEph* 35); ἐφηβεία (*IEph* 34); Sebaste (*IEph* 28); Karenaeans (*IEph* 30); Teians (*IEph* 29); Bembaiaeans (*IEph* 31). Cf. Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 84, "Table 9."

[46] According to Stephen of Byzantium (fl. 6th century CE), Ephorus (a Greek historian from the 4th century CE) connects the tribes to the founding of the city by Androklos (*Ethnica,* s.v., Βέννα, 2; cited in Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 60, 77 n. 123). However, Ephorus includes the Βεννιᾶοι in the list of Ephesian tribes and excludes the Βεμβειναίων.

Bembinaeans—from the Hellenistic to the Roman periods indicating that the tribes had a continuing presence and influence in the *polis*.[47] For example, the extant portion of a list of temple officials (νεωποῖαι) from the imperial period includes members of four of the tribes (*IEph* 2948);[48] and members of the tribe of the *Teioi* (φυλή Τηΐων) are associated with the dedication of the pavement of the Ephesian library (στρῶμα βυβλιοθήκης).[49] Tribes had reserved seating in the theater,[50] and at least one individual is described as changing his tribal membership (*IEph* 956a).[51]

The tribal system indexed male citizens in Ephesus—as in other Greek cities;[52] however, it is noteworthy that the number of tribes in Ephesus expanded with the arrival

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[47] Usually the identity of the φύλή is followed by the identity of the χιλιαστύς, a term used for tribal subdivisions in Ephesos, Samos, and Cos. See *LSJ* s.v., φυλή. For φυλή of Ephesians (*IEph* 1420, 1447, 1458, 1460, 1578; *JÖAI* 59: nos. 23, 26); Karenaeans (*IEph* 534, 965, 1443, 1459, 2083d); Teians (*IEph* 963, 1421, 1588b; *JÖAI* 59: nos. 20, 22, 24, 28); Euonumoi (*IEph* 956a, 1412, 1419, 1441; *JÖAI* 53: no. 137; 59: nos. 16, 27); and Bembinaeans (*IEph* 941, 954, 1450).

[48] Cf. *JÖAI* 53: no. *137*. A list of tribes including the tribe of Hadrian and Antoninus appears in the middle of the second century (*IEph* 2050, 2083g; cf. *IEph* 4331).

[49] φυ(λῆς) Τηΐων· Μενεκράτης Διαδο[χιανοῦ] Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἐπα[—] Μ(ᾶρκος)· Ὅσιος Μ(άρκου)· Ὁσίο τοῦ στρώματ[ος —] βυβλιοθήκη[—] υἱοῦ Πομ[—] (*JÖAI* 55: 114-15, no. 4180).

[50] *IEph* 2083d, 2083g, 2084, 2085.

[51] It is unclear how the *neopoios,* Neikon Eisidoros, changed his φυλή. The reconstructed inscription reads: Εἰσίδωρος Εἰδιδώρου τοῦ [—] μου Νείκων χι(λιαστὺν) Ἰουλιεὺς [γραμ]ματικὸς ἀλειτούργητος [βουλευ]τής· οὗτος ὢν ἐκ τῆς Εὐ[ωνύμων] / φυλῆς εἰς ταύτην [μετέβη].

[52] Cf. Davies who notes on the tribes of Athens "[t]hough the vitality of the tribes diminished with time, the system gave the Athenian citizen body a stable and effective internal articulation throughout antiquity" ("Phylai," ed. Simon Hornblower, Antony

of the Romans.[53] The sixth tribe included among the images of the Hellenistic ones was of a more recent vintage: the tribe of the Sebaste.[54] The tribal structure created an imagined Ephesian community that connected groups of citizens to the founding of the Greek city by Androklos and asserted a connection to the Hellenistic past through a shared tribe.[55] The incorporation of images of the tribes in Salutaris' Foundation builds on this existing social structure by honoring the tribal structure as a valid way to "be" Ephesian and by incorporating the tribal structure into the hierarchy of the *polis*. The processional images representing the tribes exist along side the images of the Ephesian council, elders, and youths.

By incorporating the tribe of the Sebaste with the Hellenistic tribes, Salutaris' Foundation also integrates a version of the present that includes Rome into the recitation

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Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2012]).

[53] On the "tribal" system see Davies, "Phylai." On such civic groups see Harland, *Associations*, 25–53.

[54] The Sebaste "tribe" likely formed sometime in the early first century (cf. *IEph* 949A, 2050). The Salutaris foundation is the earliest securely datable occurrence of the tribe of the Sebaste according to a search of the Packard Humanities Institute, "Greek Inscriptions." On the cult of the Sebastoi in Asia Minor see Price, *Rituals and Power*. For Ephesos see Steven J. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesos, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 116; Leiden: Brill, 1993). On worship of the Emperors more generally see Ittai Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*, Oxford Classical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon, 2002); Brodd and Reed, *Rome and Religion*.

[55] For the use of similar kinship language to form civic alliances see Christopher P. Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 51–65.

of the Ephesian past.[56] Salutaris' Foundation represents Greeks and *now Romans* as Ephesian tribes. Salutaris' Foundation thus reinscribes the established tribal structure to imagine a connection between the Hellenistic origins of the *polis* and Rome. The distribution of lotteries and the regular processions serve to legitimate the Ephesian identity projected by the statues that were commissioned by the Foundation.

Salutaris' Negotiation with the Ephesian Council

As a public endowment, Salutaris' Foundation—along with its reinscription of the tribal structure—required the ratification of the Ephesian council, and by extension, the *dēmos*. The text of the inscription suggests that the Ephesian council may have questioned Salutaris' legitimacy to serve as such a benefactor of Ephesus. In the opening lines of the inscription, the πρύτανις ("secretary/mayor") of the *polis*, Tib. Cl. Iulianus, who was an Ephesian and Italian like Salutaris,[57] contends that Salutaris should be honored by allowing him to establish a foundation. The inscription states,

> ἐπειδὴ τοὺς] φιλοτείμους ἄνδρας περὶ τὴν [πόλ]ιν καὶ κατὰ [πάντα ἀποδειξαμένοι]ς στοργὴν γνησίων πολει[τῶν ἀ]μοιβαί[ων χρὴ τυχεῖν τειμῶν πρὸς] τὸ ἀπολαύειν μὲν τοὺς εῦ [ποι]ήσαν[τας ἤδη τὴν πόλιν, ἀποκεῖσθαι δὲ τοῖς βο]υλομένοις περ[ὶ τὰ] ὅμοια ἀμι[λλᾶσθαι, ἅμα δὲ τοὺς] ἐσπουδα[κ]ότας

[56] The ancient Greek novelists responded to Rome by looking to a Hellenistic past where Rome did not matter and was not in control. See Swain, *Hellenism and Empire*, 101–31; Tim Whitmarsh, *Narrative and Identity in the Ancient Greek Novel: Returning Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[57] Iulianus is from the Quirina tribe and is the secretary of the Ephesian *dēmos* (γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου; *IEph* 27.)

> τὴν μεγίστην θεὸν Ἄρτεμιν [τειμᾶν, παρ' ἧς γ]είνεται πᾶσιν τ̣[ὰ] κ̣άλλιστα, καθήκε[ι] παρὰ τῇ πόλε[ι εὐδοκιμεῖν. (*IEph* 27.8-14)[58]
>
> Since men who are munificent in the case of the city and on every occasion show the affection of legitimate citizens should have honors corresponding to the ones enjoyed by those who have benefited the city in the past and laid up for those who are desiring to compete in similar things, and at the same time [they should have honors corresponding to the ones enjoyed by] those who have been zealous to honor the greatest goddess Artemis, from whom the most beautiful things come to all, it is fitting for them to be esteemed by the city.

Iulianus asserts that the *polis* should honor present civic benefactors in the same way that it honored past benefactors. He mentions three specific areas of benefaction: bringing honor to the *polis*, showing affection of genuine citizens, and being zealous for (Ephesian) Artemis. The lines that follow present an image of Salutaris as just such a person (27.14-23).

By framing the Foundation in this way, the inscription symbolically legitimates Salutaris' Ephesian identity and situates him as one who should be thrice honored by the city. First, he brings honor to the *polis;* second, he is a genuine citizen; and third, he is an Artemis-lover.[59] Salutaris thus embodies the identity of a legitimate citizen (γνήσιος πολίτης) of Ephesus.

The initial identification of Salutaris as a genuine citizen becomes poignant in light of two letters of recommendation from the two highest-ranking Roman officials in

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[58] Greek text and translation (adapted) from Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 152–53.

[59] He is called an Artemis-lover (φιλάρτεμις; 27.89-90). *IEph* 695 is the only extant evidence of someone else identified as an Artemis-lover. In this inscription dated to 80/81 CE, L. Herennios Peregrinos is identified as "pure and Artemis-lover" (ἁγνός καὶ φιλαρτέμις).

Asia, the proconsul, Aquillius Proculus, and the legate, Afranius Flavianus, who are included later in the inscription.[60] Rogers suggests that the language of Afranius Flavianus' letter hints that the Ephesian council initially overlooked and possibly rejected, Salutaris' Foundation. Salutaris then sought recommendations from these regional Roman officials to garner the support needed for the Ephesian council to finally approve his endowment.[61] Afranius Flavianus, the *legatus pro praetor* of Asia, writes to the rulers and council of Ephesus in support of Salutaris.[62] He praises Salutaris' goodwill and affection toward the Ephesians, even if the majority did not notice (εἰ καὶ τοὺς πλείστους ἐλάνθανεν, ὡς ἔχει πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας τε καὶ προαιρέσεος) (*IEph* 27.374-76).[63] By pointing out that Salutaris' goodwill went unnoticed previously, Flavianus' letter allows space for a new identification of Salutaris as Ephesian benefactor. Flavianus brings Salutaris' previously unknown generosity to the fore in order to validate Salutaris' inscription in two prominent places in the *polis* as a civic

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[60] *IEph* 27.75-81. Both Aqullius Proculus and Afranius Flavianus filled these roles in 103/104 CE. On Aqullius Proculus see *IEph* 34; *IEph* 509; *IMilet* 226. Afranius Flavianus later became proconsul (ἀνθυπάτος; *IEph* 430). See also Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 18 and 33, n. 59. On monumental inscriptions see Greg Woolf, "Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire," *JRS* 86 (1996): 22–39.

[61] Flavianus writes: "[Salutaris] has appeared to be a most intimate and kindred friend to us, it has been recognized on many occasions, if the majority have overlooked it, how he maintains goodwill and purpose toward you" (*IEph* 27.378). Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 25, 36 n. 85.

[62] The letter from Flavianus was included in the inscription and is identified as *IEph* 27D.

[63] Rogers views this as evidence that the foundation was rejected by the *boulē* on the first vote. See discussion in Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 25.

benefactor.[64] In this way, Salutaris also asserts his own Ephesian identity by establishing the Foundation, which would have also allowed those who shared Salutaris' foreign status, like Iulianus and even Flavianus,[65] to represent themselves as ideal Ephesians in ways that supported a past structure of benefaction while at the same time negotiating their own place as a γνήσιοι πολίται, legitimate citizens.

Salutaris' Foundation uses images from the mythic Ephesian past to display a particular version of Ephesian history that is shaped by (and is amenable to) the realities of the Roman present, perhaps to counter initial objections. The images and their movement through the *polis* in regular processions combine the centrality of Artemis at the mythical origins of Ephesus with the more recent history of the Greek city and the Roman Empire in Salutaris' present. This version of the past supports the specific Ephesian identity proposed by Salutaris and approved by the leadership of the city.

Salutaris' Foundation therefore uses a backward gaze to legitimate the fluid present reality of Ephesus by creating an archive of (elite) Ephesian history and parading it through the *polis* on a regular basis. Rather than just an example of embodied nostalgia,[66] Salutaris' Foundation, in the words of Jaś Elsner, "vividly brings to life a

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[64] Thomas notes that Salutaris is actually a counter-patron because he does not offer any sacrifices for public consumption ("Greek Heritage," 136). Cf. *IEph* 27.366-688. Aquillius Proculus states that Salutaris' "goodwill toward the city in the theater [will] now be come clear to all." Translation from Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 173.

[65] Flavianus was later given Ephesian citizenship and was proconsul of Asia in around 130 CE. See *IEph* 430.28-29 and discussion in Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 18.

[66] So Knibbe, "Via Sacra," 124. "Salutaris [and his foundation] revealed the Greek nostalgia that still existed in a world that had become Roman."

culture of images" and uses them "symbolically to reenact the myths which linked Ephesian Artemis with her city and to perpetuate ritually the harmonious existence of the city within the empire."[67] Salutaris' Foundation uses Artemis, the tribal system, and the movement of images through the city as a form of ethnic reasoning to legitimate the place of Romans in the city of Artemis. Salutaris' Foundation situates Artemis as the guiding image of his processions through the city, thus placing his own Foundation within the Ephesian mythic past. The addition of his "tribe," the Sebastoi, suggests that this innovation is traditional and connected to the Hellenistic city that Androklos founded. The movement of Romans and Ephesians through the city as a single entity—as a new Ephesian—reorients Ephesian identity around the city's Roman reality and excluded those who did not embrace such changes. The Acts of the Apostles participates in a similar ethnic rhetoric with regard to Jewish identity and Christian identity. Salutaris expanded the Ephesian tribal system and capitalized on the city's custom of processing in honor of Artemis to situate himself as simultaneously Ephesian and Roman. The author of Acts uses God, the Jewish concept of the proselyte, and movement of God's Spirit across the known world as a form of ethnic reasoning, thereby legitimating the place of Christian non-Jews in the Jewish community. Salutaris, his Foundation implies, can be both Roman and Ephesian. Christian non-Jews, Luke argues, can be both Jewish and whatever else they once were. Like the proselytes, their identity is hybrid, but Jewish nonetheless.

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[67] Elsner, *Roman Eyes*, 232.

The Jerusalem Council and the Identity of Christian Non-Jews

Reading Acts 15 in comparison with the negotiation of Ephesian identity suggested by the Salutaris Foundation inscription provides a new angle for assessing this complex, yet important chapter of Acts.[68] Acts 15 connects the identity of Christian non-Jews to the regulations for Jews and proselytes in Leviticus 17–18, suggesting that what is at stake in the debate about circumcision and the law of Moses is not whether or not Christian non-Jews should become Jews as proselytes, but rather who can claim the identity of a proselyte. The Salutaris Foundation provides an example of how an ancestral deity, an ancient system of organizing citizens with Ephesus, and the physical movement of images of the deity and her people could legitimate the Ephesian identity of (elite) Romans living in the city thus marginalizing all who not claim this identity. The narrative of the Jerusalem council in Acts 15:1-21 also provides an example of how an ancestral deity, an ancient system of organizing populations, and the literary movement of God and his people could legitimate the Jewish identity of Christian non-Jews, while marginalizing those who disagree with Luke's claim. Similar to the Salutaris Foundation, the Jerusalem council provides Luke's audience with a way of dealing with an identity crisis caused by the increasing presence of non-Jews among Christians. To deal with this crisis, Luke exploits the connection between the God of Israel, the mythic past, and the Jewish community to identify Christian non-Jews as proselyte Jews without circumcision.

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[68] "Acts 15 is difficult." Pervo, *Acts*, 367.

The Jerusalem council (15:1-21) occupies a central place in the structure of Acts,[69] and ties together a number of themes present in the text's larger narrative arc.[70] The central issue at stake in Acts 15:1-21 is the identity of Christian non-Jews, an issue that was previously raised, but not explicitly resolved, in the narrative of Cornelius (10:1-11:18). Because the author of Acts has intentionally connected the Jerusalem council to Peter's interactions with Cornelius (15:7), it forms the basis for understanding the Jerusalem council in the narrative of Acts.[71]

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[69] See e.g., Barrett, *Acts*, 2:709; Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 403. Similarly Conzelmann remarks that it "is not by chance that the Apostolic Council occupies the middle of the book" (*Acts of the Apostles*, 115).

[70] Pervo writes that Acts 15 is "central in that it brings together the various threads of the plot" but cautions: "Although the chapter deals with the central issue of Acts—legitimacy of the gentile mission—and occurs in the center of the book, it is not the basic structural pivot, nor does it break new ground" (Pervo, *Acts*, 368). Barrett observes that Acts 15 "is the best example of a pattern that occurs several times in Acts and represents the way in which Luke conceived the progress of Christianity" (Barrett, *Acts*, 2:709). Tannehill points out that the "narrator demonstrates an active interest in the so-called apostolic decree by the attention it receives in the narrative [15:20, 29; 21:25] and the indications of the positive response by the Antioch church and Paul" (*The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, 2:191). Acosta Valle has argued that the author of Acts did not include references to the Jewish scriptures in Acts 10:1–11:18 in order to defer the provision of a scriptural foundation for the acceptance of non-Jews until Acts 15 (Martha M. Acosta Valle, "Acts 10,1–11:18: Une intertextualié différée pour un lecteur davantage impliqué," *Science et Esprit* 66 [2014]: 417–31).

[71] Because the focus of this project is on how Acts uses ethnic reasoning in the depiction of Jewish identity and thus the literary, rather than the historical, features, this chapter will not address discussions of the historicity of Acts 15 and its relationship with Galatians 2. For opposite sides of the discussion see Haenchen, *Acts*, 455–468; and Keener, *Acts 3*, 3:2195–2206.

The Cornelius Episode (Acts 10:1–11:18) and God's Acceptance of Non-Jews

The Cornelius episode narrates the first explicit entry of a non-Jew into "the Way" and marks the beginning of wider acceptance of non-Jews among the Christians in Acts.[72] Like the Salutaris Foundation, Luke here participates in common ethnic discourses about identity, and the fluidity of Roman identity in particular. In Acts 10, Luke introduces Cornelius, a Roman centurion who was devout, gave alms, and prayed continuously to God (10:1-2). God commands him to send for Peter in Joppa (10:3-8). The next day, Peter receives a vision of clean and unclean animals descending from heaven. After the vision, a voice calls to Peter, "what God has made clean, you must not call profane" (10:9-16).[73] While Peter was still trying to figure out what the vision meant, Cornelius' men arrive, and Peter travels to Caesarea with them (10:17-24). Upon his arrival, Cornelius conveys the story of the voice he heard to Peter (10:25-33), and Peter then proclaims, "I truly understand that God shows no partiality, but in every *ethnos* (ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει) anyone who fears him and does what is right is acceptable to him" (10:34-

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[72] Though see the Ethiopian eunuch, who Luke apparently takes to be a Jew (Acts 8:26-40). Mark A. Plunkett, "Ethnocentricity and Salvation History in the Cornelius Episode," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1985 Seminar Papers*, ed. Keith H. Richards, SBLSP 24 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1985), 465. On the Cornelius episode see also Joshua D. Garroway, "The Pharisee Heresy: Circumcision for Gentiles in the Acts of the Apostles," *NTS* 60 (2014): 20–36; Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 230–264.

[73] On the cleansing of non-Jews in Acts see now Pamela Shellberg, *Cleansed Lepers, Cleansed Hearts: Purity and Healing in Luke-Acts*, Emerging Scholars (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2015), esp. 95–147.

35).[74] Peter begins to preach the message God sent to the people of Israel, proclaiming "peace through Jesus Christ" (10:36-43). The holy spirit then comes upon Cornelius and his household while Peter was still speaking, and they are baptized (10:44-48).

Luke anticipates this monumental moment in the narrative expansion of the Christian message from the very beginning of Acts when Luke's Jesus says to his disciples, "You will receive power when the holy spirit has come upon you, and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, all Judea, Samaria, and to the ends of the earth" (1:8).[75] The introduction of Jews from every *ethnos* (ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους) (2:5) at the initial outpouring of the holy spirit is reflected later in the narrative of Acts in God's acceptance of those in every *ethnos* (ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει) (10:35). The narrative that takes place between these two scenes describes the expansion of the message of Jesus from Jerusalem to Judea (8:1), to Samaria (8:4-25), and to the ends of the earth—represented, initially, by the Ethiopian eunuch (8:26-40).

Just as the Salutaris Foundation emphasizes the centrality of Artemis and Salutaris' identity as an Artemis-lover indicating and eliciting divine approval, Luke goes to great lengths to indicate that the acceptance of non-Jews was approved by God rather

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[74] Wilson observes that Peter's assessment of Cornelius is "remarkably similar to Jewish summaries of the law and, although presented as part of Peter's Christian experience, expresses what we might call a 'liberal' Jewish position" (*Luke and the Law*, SNTSMS 50 [Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983], 70).

[75] The "witness" of the disciples spreads sequentially from Jerusalem all the while indicating the spread to non-Jews. See e.g., Acts 2:5-11 (Jews from every *ethnos*); 2:17 (the spirit will be poured out on all flesh); 6:1-7 (Hellenists); 8:4-25 (Samaritans); 8:26-40 (the Ethiopian eunuch).

than by humans. In the Cornelius episode, Peter's visions (10:9-16), the prophetic message from the spirit (10:19), and an angel's appearance and message to Cornelius (10:30-32) all provide divine validation for the acceptance of non-Jews by the Christian Jews. Luke's Peter concludes by observing what Acts' narrative had already confirmed—"in every *ethnos* anyone who fears [God] and does what is right is acceptable to him" (10:35). In the narrative of Acts the acceptance of non-Jews among the Christians was initiated by God, confirmed by the holy spirit of that same God, and only then recognized by Peter and the other apostles.

After Cornelius and his household received the holy spirit, Peter returned to Jerusalem and some other Christian Jews "from the circumcision" criticized him for eating with uncircumcised men. Luke repeats the narrative of the Cornelius episode along with the divine visions, the prophetic message from the spirit, and angelic message to Cornelius through the mouth of Peter (11:1-17), thus highlighting its importance for the rest of Acts. The repetition of divine sanction by Luke mirrors the repeated appearances of Artemis among the statues dedicated by Salutaris' Foundation. The divine presence at every stage of the narrative legitimates the integration of a Roman (Cornelius) into the community, just as ever-present Artemis integrates Romans into the Ephesian community.

After hearing Peter's retelling of the arrival of the holy spirit and Cornelius' baptism, the gathered Christian Jews, who previously opposed Peter's action, proclaim in one voice, "God has given even to the *ethnē* the repentance that leads to life" (11:17). The issue of the identity of non-Jews appears settled: God had accepted pious non-Jews

(ἔθνη) as they were—without circumcision and without following the Jewish law. That is, the God of Israel has accepted (some) non-Jews into the Jewish community of Christians without becoming proselytes. God welcomed them as non-Jews. As the narrative of Acts unfolds, however, it becomes clear that the matter is not settled.

The Challenge to the Acceptance of Non-Jews (15:1-5)

The relationship between the Jewish law, circumcision, and Christian non-Jews was not settled in Acts with the Cornelius episode.[76] After Peter returns to Jerusalem, the message about Jesus spreads to Antioch, and Barnabas and Saul/Paul gather money to support to those who trusted in Jesus in Judea (11:19-30). After a brief interlude of events in Judea—Herod's mistreatment of James and Peter and ultimately Herod's death for not honoring God (12:1-25)—the narrative returns to Antioch and the Christian movement begins to expand.[77] The holy spirit speaks and sets Saul/Paul and Barnabas apart for a special work (13:2). They set out and began proclaiming the word of God in Cyprus (13:4-5), Pisidian Antioch (13:13-52), Iconium (14:1-7), Lystra, and Derbe (14:8-20), and then they return to Antioch, where they stayed for some time (14:26-28).

Certain Jews then come up from Judea to Antioch and begin teaching the Christian non-Jews that unless they are circumcised according to the Mosaic customs,

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[76] As Garroway points out, the Cornelius episode does not address circumcision but deals with table fellowship. See Garroway, "The Pharisee Heresy."

[77] Members of "the Way" were first called "Christians" in Antioch according to Acts11:26.

they cannot be saved (15:1).[78] Paul and Barnabas vehemently disagree with these men from Judea,[79] and the Christians in Antioch send Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem to discuss the issue with the apostles and elders there (15:2). After arriving and being welcomed by the Christian community, the Antioch delegation faces opposition from some Christian Jews from the sect of the Pharisees who expand on the claim that the Judeans made in Antioch.[80] They claim, "It is necessary for [the non-Jews] to be circumcised and ordered to keep the law of Moses" (15:4-5). Though a difference exists in the specific requirements of the Judeans who traveled to Antioch and the Christian Pharisees in Jerusalem, they both desire the Christian non-Jews to become proselytes through circumcision.[81] That is, they desire that Christian non-Jews become Jews.[82]

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[78] Acts does not indicate whether these Judeans were Christians or not.

[79] The Judeans' message that non-Jews required circumcision cause στάσις—the great Roman fear. See Acts 19:40.

[80] On the portrayal of Pharisees in Acts see Mary Marshall, *The Portrayals of the Pharisees in the Gospels and Acts*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 254 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), esp. 159–162. Marshall observes that the Pharisees' view "is problematic and causes dissension because they are *Christians*" rather than because they are Pharisees (*Portrayals*, 161).

[81] Barrett, *Acts*, 2:699.

[82] Joshua Garroway has argued convincingly that Luke deliberately placed the Cornelius episode before the Jerusalem council in order to depict the Pharisee's claim that Christian non-Jews should be circumcised and follow the Jewish law as a secondary, late claim ("The Pharisee Heresy"). By first indicating that God accepted Cornelius, the non-Jew, and his household without circumcision or the Mosaic law, Luke belies the result of the dispute with both the Judeans and the Pharisees. As Garroway maintains "numerous details in Luke's presentation of the Jerusalem Council vis-à-vis the Cornelius affair combine to depict the movement to circumcise [Christian non-Jews] as belated, extrinsic,

In order to address this objection to the way that the Christians in Antioch integrated non-Jews into their community, Luke, like Salutaris, depends upon the power of an ancestral deity and looks back toward the mythic history of an ancestral population to legitimate his identity claims. He situates God and the protocols for non-Jews from the mythic past as the guiding factors of his description of the debate about the identity of Christian non-Jews, thus identifying Christian non-Jews with the proselytes present in the Jewish mythic past.

Proselyte Jews and Ethnic Rhetoric

As discussed in the previous chapter, Acts identifies proselytes as Jews who nonetheless remain distinct from born Jews (2:9). According to many ancient Jews, (male) non-Jews could become proselyte Jews through circumcision. For example, the novella *Judith* indicates that a male and his lineage can be added to the house of Israel through circumcision. An Ammonite Achior, who despised the house of Israel, changes his mind and "trusted firmly" (ἐπίστευσεν σφόδρα) in the God of Israel after seeing the decapitated head of Holofernes (Jdt 14:5-10). He is circumcised (περιετέμετο τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας αὐτοῦ) and is added to (προστίθημι) the house of Israel

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and pernicious" (Garroway, "The Pharisee Heresy," 27). On this reading, Luke intentionally clarifies the religious identity of the Christian non-Jews before he addresses their ethnic identity.

(14:10).[83] Circumcision, in this case, shifted Achior's identity from Ammonite to a member of the house of Israel.[84]

Josephus presents circumcision as a means for non-Jews to become Jews as well. He writes that Jewish identity is available not only to born Jews (τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖος) but also to non-Jews who follow certain Jewish customs (*Ag. Ap.* 2.210).[85] In his narrative, Josephus also indicates that circumcision changes the identity of non-Jews to that of Jews. His retelling of the conquest of the Idumeans by John Hyrcanus in the late second century BCE demonstrates how circumcision serves as a useful, though not uncomplicated, way to make non-Jews into Jews.[86] Josephus reports that John Hyrcanus

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[83] Barreto concludes that "[a]t least in Judith, circumcision is capable of shifting one's ethnic identity: Achior the Ammonite is now Achior the Israelite" (*Ethnic Negotiations*, 106).

[84] In her discussion of 1 Maccabees, Livesey highlights this political affiliation by identifying circumcision as "a mark of political allegiance to the Hasmonean rule" (Nina E. Livesey, *Circumcision as a Malleable Symbol*, WUNT 2/295 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010], 32). On the centrality of Jewish identity in the Jewish novellas see Lawrence M. Wills, "Jewish Novellas in a Greek and Roman Age: Fiction and Identity," *JSJ* 42 (2011): 141-165. Wills persuasively argues that such negotiations of identity are a central feature of the Jewish novellas. He concludes that "[i]dentity in the Jewish novellas is not so much *made* as deconstructed and *re-made*" ("Jewish Novellas," 165, emphasis original).

[85] On the ways non-Jews affiliate with the God of Israel in the ancient world see Paula Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism* (New York: Doubleday, 2008), 3–15.

[86] On Idumeans see Josephus, *Ant.* 13.257-258; *J.W.* 1.63; 4.272-81; Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.34 and Ptolemy (via Ammonios and cited in Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* [Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974], no. 146). See discussion in Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, 88–110; Alan Appelbaum, "The Idumaeans in Josephus' The Jewish War," *JSJ* 40 (2009): 1–22.

gave the Idumeans an ultimatum: be circumcised and follow Jewish ancestral customs or leave your homeland (*Ant*. 13.257). The Idumeans chose circumcision, and according to Josephus, "from that time on they were Jews" (ὥστε εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν Ἰουδαίους) (*Ant*. 13.258). The ethnic rhetoric of Josephus notwithstanding, the Idumeans did not cease to exist as a distinct *ethnos*.[87] Josephus himself identifies prominent Idumeans, such as Herod, as both Idumeans and Jews.[88] In spite of this complexity, ancient authors represent circumcision as possessing the power to identify (male) non-Jews as Jews.

In the much-discussed story of the circumcision of Izates, the king of Adiabene, Josephus further illustrates that first-century Jews debated whether non-Jews should be circumcised or not in order to be genuinely Jewish (*Ant*. 20.38-48).[89] Izates follows a

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Appelbaum views the Idumeans as victims of Josephus' racial rhetoric. Cf. the forced circumcision of the Itureans (Josephus, *Ant*. 13.318 and Strabo [via Josephus *Ant*. 13.319]). For other ancient perspectives on the Idumeans' relationship to Jews see *Animal Apocalypse* (*1Enoch* 85-90) and *1 Esdras*. See discussion in Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, 88–96.

[87] The Idumean general, Simon, displays the complexity of Idumean identity as well (*J.W*. 4:272-81). When barred from entering Jerusalem during the Roman siege, Simon claims Jerusalem as a "common *polis*" (ἡ κοινὴ πόλις) and the Idumeans as "kinsmen" (συγγενής, ὁμοφύλος) of Jews. See also Cohen, *Beginnings*, 112 n. 5.

[88] Cf. the complicated relationship between Galileans and Jews. See e.g., Josephus, *J.W*. 2.323; *Ant*. 20.118. See discussion of other views of Herod in Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, 96–103.

[89] See discussion in Livesey, *Circumcision*, 35–40. For a recent bibliography see Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, 157–57 n. 22. See also Mark D. Nanos, "The Question of Conceptualization: Qualifying Paul's Position on Circumcision in Dialogue with Josephus's Advisors to King Izates," in *Paul within Judaism: Restoring the First-Century Context to the Apostle*, ed. Mark D. Nanos and Magnus Zetterholm (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2015), 105–52. For a different view see also Gary Gilbert, "The Making of a

number of Jewish customs, but desires to be circumcised because he believes that he would not genuinely be a Jew without it (μὴ ἂν εἶναι βεβαίως Ἰουδαῖος εἰ μὴ περιτέμνοιτο) (20.38). His mother, Helena, convinces him that this would be political suicide. She pleads that he not go through with it because the inhabitants of Adiabene "would never bear to be ruled over by a Jew" (οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαί τε βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίου) (20.39). After questioning his mother's legitimacy as an interpreter of the Jewish traditions, Helena's Jewish tutor, a former merchant named Ananias, persuades Izates not to be circumcised. Ananias argues that adherence to the other *patria,* ancestral customs, of the Jews is more important than circumcision, and Izates hesitantly decides against circumcision (20.40-42). Some time later, however, Eleazar, a Jew from Galilee who was known for his strict interpretation of the Jewish *patria*, convinces Izates to "do the deed." Izates is circumcised (20:43-46).

Josephus' description of Izates' struggle with whether to be circumcised or not illustrates two points useful for discussion of the Christian Pharisees' claim (15:5) and the debate surrounding the Jerusalem council. First, it shows that the issue of whether to circumcise non-Jews who wished to follow the Jewish *patria* or not was an internal Jewish debate. One Jewish tutor thought it should be done, the other did not.[90] It was a matter of differing interpretations of Jewish *patria* for non-Jews based on the specific

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Jew: 'God-fearer' or Convert in the Story of Izates," *USQR* 44 (1991): 299-313. Gilbert contends that Izates became a Jew before he was circumcised.

[90] John J. Collins, "Symbolic Otherness," in *"To See Ourselves as Others See Us": Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Ernest S. Frerichs (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), 164.

circumstances of Izates' situation. Second, it indicates that, despite their differing opinions about the circumcision of non-Jews, circumcision had the power to shift ethnic identity. The Jewish tutors and Izates' mother, as Josephus describes them, think that circumcision will make Izates a Jew.[91] One Jewish tutor advocated it; the other did not. Neither disagree that through circumcision, Izates' perceived Jewishness would change definitively. It is clear that Izates' became a Jew after his circumcision. However, what is unclear is whether Ananias thought Izates was fully Jewish prior to his circumcision or if he did not think that circumcision was necessary for non-Jews. As John Collins observes, "[w]hat is not clear is whether Izates was for a time, by way of exception, an uncircumcised proselyte."[92]

The story of Izates illustrates two sides of an internal Jewish debate about requirements for non-Jews who wished to follow the Jewish customs in the Jewish people. The differences between the men from Judea who go to Antioch and Paul and Barnabas are thus analogous to the differences between Izates's two tutors, Ananias and Eleazar. The Judeans who travel to Antioch and the Christian Pharisees assume a position

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[91] Following Cohen, *Beginnings*, 79. Contra Barreto, who observes that both tutors are concerned with identity issues rather than religious ones and thus creates an unnecessary distinction between "identity" and "religion" (*Ethnic Negotiations*, 109).

[92] Collins, "Symbolic Otherness," 179. On the possible existence of uncircumcised proselytes in Jewish literature see John Nolland, "Uncircumcised Proselytes?," *JSJ* 12 (1981): 173–94. Nolland argues that Jews did not think such a category existed. For Nolland an instance that does posit uncircumcised proselytes is a hypothetical construction rather than an actual example (b. Yeb. 46b). Nolland's article responds to the claim that uncircumcised proselytes did exist in Neil J. McEleney, "Conversion, Circumcision and the Law," *NTS* 20 (1974): 328–33.

similar to Izates's tutor Eleazar, while Paul and Barnabas assume a position similar to Ananias that non-Jews do not need circumcision.[93] The Christian Pharisees think that Christian non-Jews should be circumcised and follow the Mosaic law to be saved. What remains unclear, to adapt Collins' observation, is whether Luke perceives Christian non-Jews as, by way of an innovation, uncircumcised proselytes.

The Response of Peter, Paul, and James (15:6-21)

In his description of the response to the dispute about whether Christian non-Jews should be circumcised or not, Luke, like the Salutaris Foundation, uses the decision making power of councils to suggest that an innovative identification has divine sanction and is rooted in the mythic past. While the Salutaris Foundation utilized the Hellenistic tribal system to incorporate the tribe of the Sebaste into the ancient and mythic Ephesian past, Luke uses the Jewish acceptance of proselytes to incorporate Christian non-Jews into the ancient Jewish past in a novel way.

The apostles and elders in Jerusalem gather to consider the views of the Judeans and Christian Pharisees (15:6). Luke's Peter describes the divine authorization that he received during the Cornelius episode and points to God's acceptance of non-Jews "from long-ago" (ἀφ᾽ ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων) (15:7). God did not distinguish between Jews and non-Jews then so the apostles and elders should not now (15:8-9). Salvation comes through the grace of the Lord Jesus, a grace that has already been extended to non-Jews

[93] Paul and Barnabas differ from Ananias as well. Ananias, according to Josephus, affirms that adherence to Jewish ancestral customs (except for circumcision) was needed.

(15:10-11). Whereas the Judeans who went to Antioch and the Christian Pharisees claimed that the salvation of Christian non-Jews depended upon circumcision and adherence to the customs/law of Moses, Peter claims that salvation does not depend upon circumcision or the Mosaic laws, but upon the God of Israel. Paul and Barnabas then tell of the signs and wonders that God did in the *ethnē* (ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) in apparent support of Peter's assertions (15:12).

After hearing from Peter, Paul, and Barnabas, Luke's James provides an authoritative and resounding resolution to the conflict. Luke's James, like Tiberius Claudius Iulianus in the opening lines of the Salutaris Foundation inscription,[94] proclaims Christian non-Jews' identity as legitimate Jews like those proselytes inscribed in the Jewish past. He remarks, "Simeon [Peter] has related how God first selected people in his name to take (them) out from the *ethnē* (ἐξ ἐθνῶν)" (15:14).[95] God's activity, James continues, agrees with the Jewish prophets, who wrote,

> (15:16) μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέφω καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν... (17) ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν κύριον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ᾽ οὓς ἐικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, λέγει κύριος ποιῶν ταῦτα (18) γνωστὰ ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος.
>
> (15:16) After these things, I will return and I will rebuild the dwelling of David which has fallen… (17) so that the rest of humanity and all *ethnē* upon whom my name is called might seek the Lord. Thus says the Lord who has been making these things (18) known from long ago. (Acts 15:16-18)

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[94] Tib. Cl. Iulianus calls Salutaris a "true Ephesian" who should be honored like other great Ephesians from the past (*IEph* 27.8-14). See discussion above.

[95] Συμεὼν in 15:14 clearly refers to Peter (Πέτρος; 15:7). See discussion in Pervo, *Acts*, 375.

Luke's James uses a Greek translation of the prophet Amos to confirm that God has selected people to take out from the *ethnē* and that the Jewish scriptures predicted this beforehand.[96]

The two points of connection to Amos that appear most pertinent to Acts' context—πάντα τὰ ἔθνη who seek the Lord, and the temporal marker ἀφ᾽ αἰῶνος—differ from known examples of LXX Amos. The text of the Göttingen Septuagint reads:

> (11) ἐν τῇ ἡμέρα ἐκείνῃ ἀναστήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυιδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀναστήσω καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτὴν καθὼς αἱ ἡμέρα τοῦ αἰῶνος. (12) ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐφ᾽ οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, λέγει κύριος ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα.[97]
>
> (11) On that day I will raise up the tent of David that is fallen and rebuild its ruins and raise up its destruction, and rebuild it as in the days of old (12) in order that the rest of humanity and all *ethnē* upon whom my name has been called might visit it, says the Lord who does these things. (Amos 9:11-12)

LXX Amos does not include κύριος as the object of ἐκζητήσωσιν thus shifting the meaning of the verb from "seek the Lord" in Acts 15:18 to "visit [David's reconstructed tent]" in LXX Amos 9:12.[98] LXX Amos either speaks of all humanity visiting the reconstituted house of David or the Temple of the God of Israel, while Acts refracts the

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[96] Although Luke's quotation of Amos does not align with the LXX text, it is from a Greek text. Cf. the use of πάντα τὰ ἔθνη in Acts 15:17/LXX Amos 9:12. For discussion of the Greek text of Amos upon which Luke draws and its differences from Hebrew texts see Barrett, *Acts*, 2:725–729; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 555–556. Amos 9:11 was also used for different purposes in CD 7:16 and 4QFlor 1–2 I, 12-13.

[97] Greek text from Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Duodecim prophetae*, 2nd ed., Septuagint 12 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 204.

[98] On the meaning of ἐκζητλησωσιν with and without an object see *BDAG,* s.v., ἐκζητέω, 1, 3.

verb away from David's dwelling toward "the Lord"—Jesus in Luke's rhetoric.[99] The temporal marker also differs from LXX Amos. In Amos, ἀφ᾽αἰῶνος does not appear at the end of 9:12 (Acts 15:18) but at the end of 9:11 and in a slightly different form: καθως ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος ("as in days of old"). Thus in LXX Amos the temporal marker is connected to David's dwelling—it will be rebuilt "as in the days of old"—rather than the connection with "the Lord who has been making things known from long ago" in Acts 15:17-18.

The use of ἀνθρώπος in 15:17 indicates that Acts' text depends upon the LXX, rather than a Hebrew *Vorlage,* even though it does not exactly correspond with a known LXX manuscript.[100] Regardless of whether the author had access to an edition of LXX Amos from which he drew his specific citation, the differences from the known texts of LXX Amos 9:11-12 and Acts 15:16-18 are significant for the religious ideology and ethnic rhetoric of James' statement. God had selected people and taken them out from the *ethnē* (15:14). The quotation that Luke's James attributes to the Jewish prophets supports this understanding by asserting that the Lord made known long ago that *ethnē* would seek him.

The quotation from Amos sets the stage for James' recommendation regarding the behavior of Christian non-Jews:

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[99] 4QFlor 1–2 I, 12-13 connects Amos 9:11 to the Davidic messiah. See discussion in Barrett, *Acts*, 2:726; Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 395–396.

[100] The Hebrew text of Amos 9:12 reads "Edom" which the LXX translates as ἀνθρώπωος.

> (15:19) διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω μὴ παρενοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, (20) ἀλλὰ ἐπιστεῖλαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ τῆς πορνείας καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος. (21) Μωϋσῆς γὰρ ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων κατὰ πόλιν τοὺς κηρύσσοντας αὐτὸν ἔχει ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγινωσκόμενος.
>
> (15: 19) Therefore I judge that we should not trouble those turning from the *ethnē* to the God [of the Jews], (20) but we should write to them to abstain from things polluted by idols, from fornication, from whatever has been strangled, and from blood.[101] (21) For from ancient generations Moses has those who proclaim him in every *polis* because he is read aloud in the Jewish assemblies every Sabbath.

James' advice that Christian Jews should not trouble Christian non-Jews refers back to both the claim of the Judeans who went to Antioch (15:1) and to that of the Christian Pharisees in Jerusalem (15:5). Christian non-Jews who turned from the *ethnē* to God (cf. 14:15; 15:3; 26:20)[102] did not need to be circumcised or follow the Mosaic law as some Christian Jews claimed, rather they were required to follow four general stipulations (15:20). The apostles and elders in Jerusalem accept James' four stipulations, and write a letter to the Christians in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia (15:23). The ruling from the Jerusalem council reverberates throughout the rest of Acts (cf. 15:23-29; 21:25).

Just as Salutaris' turn to the tribal system places "Romans" into the mythic past of the Greek *polis,* so also does the turn to LXX Amos and these four stipulations situates

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[101] On the prohibition of eating blood see Gen 9:4; Deut 12:23; Lev 17:11, 14; *Aramaic Levi* 55; *Jub*. 6:7; 21:18. Hanneken argues that *Jubilees* presents those eating blood as "anyone who eats meat not processed by a Levite" (Todd R. Hanneken, "The Sin of the Gentiles: The Prohibition of Eating Blood in the Book of Jubilees," *JSJ* 46 [2015]: 1–27, quote from 4). The textual transmission of these four prohibitions is complicated. See discussion in Pervo, *Acts,* 376-378, who lists six possible options.

[102] Barrett observes that description of the Christian non-Jews as τοῖς ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρέφοθσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν could be said by a Jew of proselytes (*Acts*, 2:729).

Christian non-Jews in the Jewish sacred texts and traditions. Though the precise meaning and origin of the four stipulations remains unclear, and their connection to Moses proclaimed in every *polis* (15:21) is puzzling, it is clear that Luke places Christian non-Jews into the mythical Jewish past.[103]

Scholars generally regard the regulations Luke includes in Acts 15 as ritual prohibitions that have the effect of allowing Christian non-Jews to live among Jews.[104] Some emphasize that the prohibitions would allow table fellowship between Jews and non-Jews,[105] while others highlight that the prohibitions would limit the veneration of gods other than the God of the Jews—that is, they are focused on idolatry.[106] Many scholars agree that the specific regulations are based on the so-called Holiness Code's provisions for the non-Israelites living in the midst of Israel (Leviticus 17–18),[107] and some scholars emphasize the connection between Luke's prohibitions and what would

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[103] Wilson calls Acts 15:21 "the notoriously obscure verse" (*Luke and the Law*, 83).

[104] Haenchen, *Acts*, 469; Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 119; Malina and Pilch, *Acts*, 109. See discussion of scholarship in Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, 84–101.

[105] Dibelius, *Studies*, 97. See also Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 118; and Barrett, *Acts*, 2:734–735.

[106] Ben Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 463.

[107] E.g., Mary Marshall writes, "The decree requires them, as Gentiles, to keep those commandments which are laid down for Gentile sojourners in the land of Israel" (*Portrayals*, 160). See also Haenchen, *Acts*, 469; Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 118–119; Barrett, *Acts*, 2:734; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 557–558. For others who hold this view see A. J. M. Wedderburn, "The 'Apostolic Decree': Tradition and Redaction," *NT* 35 (1993): 362 n. 2. On the problems with this view see Wilson's challenge (*Luke and the Law*, 84–94).

become the Noahide commandments present in an incipient form in Jubilees and developed in rabbinic literature.[108] These four interpretations are not mutually exclusive,[109] and challenges—in particular what to do with the prohibition of "a strangled thing" (τὸ πνικτόν)—remain unresolved in each interpretation.[110]

Those who understand Acts 15 as related to the Noahide commandments contend that the apostles, as represented by Luke, sought to maintain an ethnic distinction between Christian Jews and Christian non-Jews. Non-Jews are to follow the seven stipulations in the Noahide commandments concerning "judgments, blasphemy, idolatry, uncovering nakedness, bloodshed, theft and living flesh" (t. 'Avod. Zar. 8.4).[111] Taylor sums up the implications of this view as follows: "James associates Gentile converts neither with Abraham nor with Moses, but with Noah. Gently but firmly, he keeps them

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[108] See e.g. *Jubilees* 6:4-16. The rabbinic literature lists seven precepts for the children of Noah. See e.g., t. 'Abod. Zar 8.4; b. Sanh 56a-b. See discussion in Marcus Bockmuehl, "The Noachide Commandments and New Testament Ethics with Special Reference to Acts 15 and Pauline Halakhah," *RB* 102 (1995): 72–101. Cf. also, Markus Bockmuehl, *Jewish Law in Gentile Churches: Halakhah and the Beginning of Christian Public Ethics* (London: Continuum, 2000), 145–73; and discussion in Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 557. For a more general discussion of the Noahide commandments see David Novak, *The Image of the Non-Jew in Judaism: The Idea of Noahide Law* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1983), esp. 3–51, 107–65.

[109] Barrett, *Acts*, 2:733. See also Justin Taylor, "The Jerusalem Decrees (Acts 15.20, 29 and 21.25) and the Incident at Antioch (Gal 2.11–14)," *NTS* 47 (2001): 372–80.

[110] Wedderburn tentatively proposes a "demonological" influence that connects strangling with unreleased souls ("The 'Apostolic Decree'").

[111] Quoted in Taylor, "Jerusalem Decrees," 377.

at a distance from the Mosaic Covenant."[112] Yet this interpretation has to overlook another important aspect of this passage: Luke, for his part, explicitly ties Christian non-Jews and the prohibitions to Moses, not Noah (15:21). The four stipulations as Luke presents them therefore fit more easily with the stipulations of the Holiness Code for the proselytes living among Israelites—Jews in Luke's rhetorical world—than they do with the commandments in *Jubilees* and rabbinic teachings regarding Noah's non-Jewish descendants.

Though the prohibitions in Acts 15:19-20 may have some relation to what would become the Noahide commandments, Luke's James explicitly ties them to the proclamation of Moses and by implication, his law. "Moses" is proclaimed in every *polis* every Sabbath from ancient generations (ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων) (15:21). Luke's James connects prohibitions that are in general accord with Leviticus 17–18 and Moses' law read aloud in the Jewish assemblies. This supports granting Leviticus 17–18 priority over the Noahide commandments when seeking an appropriate intertextual context for Acts 15:19-21, even though scholars debate the precise meaning of the mention of Moses in 15:21.[113] The inclusion of Moses, like Salutaris' inclusion of statues of Ephesian mythic heroes in his processions, solidifies a bond between the past and the present. Luke uses Moses like an image that symbolically reenacts the myths that linked Jews to their God

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[112] Taylor, "Jerusalem Decrees," 377.

[113] On the specific problems with connecting Acts 15:19-21 with Leviticus 17–18 see Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, 85–87. Wilson's specific problems do not, however, negate the general connections between the two texts.

through their lawgiver, Moses, just as the Salutaris used Artemis to link the Ephesians with their goddess.[114]

Moving beyond a general accord between the four prohibitions in Acts and Leviticus 17–18, Oliver makes a strong case that the command to avoid the defilement of idols, *porneia*, strangled meat, and blood in Acts 15:20 is based on Leviticus 17–18.[115] He contends that "by the first century CE, many Jews probably read Lev 17:7-10 as a blanket prohibition against idolatry" thus lending support for such a connection.[116] Similarly the defilement of *porneia* generally corresponds with the sexual prohibitions in Lev 18:6-26, strangled meat with the prohibition of eating certain types of dead animals in Lev 17:15, and blood with Leviticus 17:10-16.[117]

Oliver deems the connection between Leviticus 17–18 and Acts 15 useful for Luke because Leviticus 17–18 contains regulations for Israelites and the גר ("resident aliens") who live in their midst. The connection, according to Oliver, "helps illuminate the function of the decree for its targeted audience: to assist the governance of Jewish-

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[114] See Elsner, *Roman Eyes*, 232.

[115] Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 370–393.

[116] Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 372. Oliver concludes discussion of the prohibition against idolatry by contending that the demand "in the Apostles Decree to refrain from 'things polluted by idols' would require Gentile followers of Jesus to distance themselves from meat, wine, and other food items offered to idols, while also exhorting them to avoid polytheistic rituals and idolatrous practices in general" (*Torah Praxis*, 375).

[117] Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 375–380 (pornea); 380–390 (strangled meat); 390–393 (blood). Fitzmyer connects the prohibition of blood with Lev 17:15 and takes these as three "dietary tabus" and one moral, fornication (*Acts*, 557). For other views see Wedderburn, "The 'Apostolic Decree,'" 362–70.

Gentile relations within the Jesus movement."[118] He concludes, "Lev[iticus] 17–18 contain laws relevant for both Israelites and resident aliens, and readily presents itself as a model that could be appropriated and adapted for incorporating Gentile followers of Jesus into the early *ekklesia*."[119]

Wilson, however, earlier critiqued interpretations like Oliver's by pointing out that the translation of the Hebrew word גר in the LXX of Leviticus 17–18 is προσήλυτος.[120] This translation "would suggest that first-century Judaism, and in all probability Luke himself, would not have seen these demands as relevant to Gentile Christians."[121] They were regulations for Jews and proselytes, a concept that had a different meaning in the LXX and in Luke's time, not for Jews and non-Jews and thus, according to Wilson, do not make sense in the context of Acts 15. From the traditional model of reading Acts 15 as a debate about whether Christian non-Jews should follow the laws of Moses or not, this critique is legitimate. From this perspective, the Christian Pharisees want the Christian non-Jews to become proselytes ("converts") (15:5) and Luke disagrees. According to Wilson, because the LXX uses προσήλυτος Luke "would not have seen

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[118] Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 370.

[119] Oliver, *Torah Praxis*, 394.

[120] Wilson also critiqued views such as Oliver's by claiming that "we have virtually no evidence of how Lev 17–18 was understood in first-century Judaism" (*Luke and the Law*, 86). Oliver claims that this view is no longer tenable because of studies on "certain passages from the Dead Sea Scrolls" (*Torah Praxis*, 392, n. 99).

[121] Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, 86.

these demands as relevant to Gentile Christians."[122] If the Jerusalem council is read from the perspective of ethnic reasoning in the *polis*, however, a different interpretation becomes possible.

As discussed above, the Salutaris Foundation inscription suggests that Salutaris negotiated (and perhaps renegotiated) the details of his Foundation with the Ephesian council and apparently needed the outside influence of two high-ranking Roman officials to finally gain the council's approval. It was the Ephesian council that possessed the power to rule on the way Salutaris sought to enact Ephesian identity. In a similar way, Luke presents his Jerusalem "βουλή" as possessing the power to regulate how to enact Jewish identity. In Acts 15, Luke equates the term προσήλυτος from the LXX of Leviticus with the concept of the proselyte from his own time. Luke's council thus incorporates an innovative way of identifying Christian non-Jews into the Jewish mythic past as embodied by Moses and regulated in Leviticus 17–18. The connection between Acts 15 and the regulations for Jews and proselytes in Leviticus 17–18 suggests that the issue at stake in the debate about circumcision and the law of Moses is not whether or not Christian non-Jews should become Jews as proselytes, but rather *who can claim the identity of a proselyte*. As discussed above, a number of Jews in antiquity viewed male circumcision as a way that non-Jews could become Jews.[123] Acts 15 questions the

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[122] Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, 86.

[123] It was likely assumed that these former non-Jews followed the laws of Moses, if they were willing to commit to the Jewish customs to circumcision. See e.g., the story of Izates, discussed above.

identification of circumcision with Jewish proselyte identity by pointing to the regulations for Jews and προσήλυτος (who were not circumcised) in Leviticus 17–18. Luke used the presence of the term προσήλυτος in LXX Leviticus 17-18, a term that meant "resident alien" at the time of the translation of the LXX, to identify Christian non-Jews as Jewish proselytes, a concept that indicated integration into the Jewish people, without circumcision. In Luke's view, the Levitical stipulations do not require Jewish proselytes to become circumcised. By basing their decision on laws promulgated by the "ancient generations," the Jerusalem council therefore reimagines proselyte identity and suggests that these stipulations were proclaimed "in every *polis*." Thus, James' ruling in Acts 15:14-21 reinterprets Jewish sacred texts in a way that places the Christian non-Jews, whom the Jewish God took out from the *ethnē* (15:14) and who have turned from the *ethnē* to God (15:19),[124] into an ancient group, authorized by sacred narrative (15:17). James' ruling also challenges the contemporaneous identification of proselytes as equal with those who undergo circumcision by pointing to presence of προσήλυτος without circumcision in Leviticus 17–18 (15:20-21). The Christian Pharisees propose Jewish proselytism for Christian non-Jews. Luke's James does the same, but the difference between them rests on interpretation rather than on identity. Acts 15:1-21 privileges his interpretation of the power of God and the authority of Jewish sacred texts over the well-known Jewish custom of proselyte circumcision. Based on the power of God and the

[124] The letter written by the council is addressed to the brothers ἐξ ἐθνῶν (15:23).

Holiness Code in Leviticus 17–18, the Christian non-Jews in Acts are proselyte Jews, but without circumcision.

The Salutaris Foundation, as treated above, provides a comparative context for this interpretation of Acts 15. As this Foundation demonstrates, in antiquity, city councils possessed the authority to determine how to produce, enact, and enforce civic identity. At the beginning of the second century CE, these elite Ephesians used ancestral religious imagery, the flexibility of ethnic identity, and their authority to integrate Romans into the traditional Ephesian hierarchy. In a similar way, the Jerusalem council in Luke's depiction used Jewish religious imagery and traditions, the known concept of the proselyte, and the authority of these traditions to integrate Christian non-Jews into the Jewish community as a type of proselyte Jews.

Conclusion

Acts 15 positions the Jewish God, Jewish sacred texts, and the mythic past in ways that legitimate the Jewishness of Christian non-Jews by reasserting what is presented as the true meaning of προσήλυτος in the Septuagint translation of Leviticus 17–18. This rhetorical move minimized the need for the cirucmcision of non-Jews even as it perserved them as members of the Jewish *ethnē*. The Salutaris Foundation Inscription from Ephesus deploys a comparable form of ethnic rhetoric—leveraging goddess, sacred traditions, and mythic past—to legitimate the identity of a contested urban population. Both pieces of evidence deploy ancestral gods for legitimating the ethnic identification of contested populations. Both decisions faced opposition but, Salutaris and Luke suggest, were ultimately accepted based, in part, on the recommendation of individuals viewed as

an authoritative interpreter of sacred traditions. Salutaris leaned on the Roman proconsul of Asia, Aquillius Proculus, and the legate, Afranius Flavianus, while Luke turned to James, the brother of Jesus and leader of the Jerusalem Christians, for the legitimation of contested identities.

The next chapter considers the implications of reading the movements of Paul as depicted in Acts 16–20 in light of the ethnic reasoning in Acts 15:1-21. Building on the argument of this chapter the next chapter examines the propagation of the ruling of the Jerusalem council by Paul throughout the Mediterranean world in comparison with the movement of statues through the city of Ephesus as regulated by the Salutaris Foundation.

Chapter Five: Moving through the *Polis*, Asserting Christian Jewishness

Introduction

Ancient Christians negotiated their various places in the city within and around material, civic topography, like other inhabitants of the city. The gods moved through cities in numerous ways as well—in processions, at sacrifices, during festivals and assemblies, and on coins. Their regular and regulating movements through space both perpetuated and altered civic identity, (re)asserting the centrality of the nexus of gods-people-place for civic identification. The movements of gods and their peoples can be understood as a form of ethnic reasoning.

The previous chapter argued that the Salutaris Foundation inscription (*IEph* 27), a civic benefaction approved by the Ephesian council in 104 CE, and the Jerusalem council (Acts 15:1-29) as described by the writer of Acts both offer examples of the negotiation of ethnic change. Furthermore, it contended that Salutaris and the writer of Acts set out to identify who can legitimately make these changes by reconfiguring the mythic past; this past, they argued, affirmed rather than undermined the adjustments in civic identity they recommended. The inscription honoring Salutaris and his Foundation suggested that the Ephesian council had the power to institute changes in ethnic identity and carefully positioned its founder, a Roman, as an Ephesian and within the Ephesian *polis*. Similarly, the writer of Acts suggested that the members of the Jerusalem council had the power to determine the boundaries of Jewish identity and then carefully portrayed the Jewishness of Christian non-Jews through an appeal to Jewish sacred texts. The Salutaris Foundation,

employing its own form of ethnic reasoning, identified Roman immigrants to Ephesus as genuine Ephesians. In a comparable way, Acts 15:1-29 identified Christian non-Jews as proselyte Jews.

This chapter continues to explore how the Salutaris Foundation and Acts legitimated ethnic change, in this case through a focus on performance in geographical space. Both the Salutaris Foundation and Acts share a focus on geographical movement and deploy movement through space to represent and remap ethnic categories. Geography provides both those responsible for the inscription and the author of Acts a way to enact and legitimate ethnic changes, which are made to appear "traditional" rather than innovative. As described in Acts, the Jewishness enacted in Paul's (and his God's) movements between the cities of the Mediterranean world unifies Christians while privileging them as an ideal type of Jewish community for the Roman era *polis*.[1] This description of Paul's movements can be compared with the physical movement of Artemis and her entourage through Ephesus as mediated by the Salutaris Foundation,

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[1] The processions regulated by the Salutaris Foundation and the movement of Paul in Acts do not represent the same type of movement. The Salutaris Foundation describes "actual" processions that (likely) took place in Ephesus while Acts depicts Paul's literary movement through the Roman world. The processions of Salutaris Foundation are reenacted ritual movements through a single *polis,* while Acts provides a literary description of non-repeated movements through various Roman cities. Though different in their mode of movement, both participate in a geographical way of thinking that, this chapter argues, rhetorically employs the movement of gods and of particular figures in ways that make and mask ethnic identifications. The comparison in this chapter emphasizes how the movement and representation of movement through space legitimates ethnic changes while also constructing unified ethnic identities and marginalizing others.

which constructs a unified Ephesian identity while privileging the "Ephesianness" of certain Romans. A focus on the geographical reach of the God of Israel, in the case of the writer of Acts, or the Ephesian Artemis, in the case of Salutaris, mapped ethnicity onto space and time, naturalizing and reifying Jewish and Ephesian identities as if they were fixed when, in fact, they were malleable and subject to constant reconfiguration.

To make this argument the chapter first discusses the processions sponsored by the Salutaris Foundation and then considers Acts' description of Paul's journey to propagate the Jerusalem council's decision (15:30–18:23). The treatment of Salutaris' Foundation focuses on the direction of the processions in relation to those processions held in honor of Artemis on her birthday and on the participants in the Salutaris Foundation's processions. The discussion of Acts concentrates on the three cities where Paul is depicted facing opposition from other Jews: Lystra (16:1-5),[2] Thessalonica (17:1-10), and Corinth (18:1-17). In these three *poleis,* Paul's engagement with local Jews appears to demonstrate the Jewishness of "Christians" while also positioning Jesus followers as a better Jewish community that contributes significantly to the stability of the *polis,* contrary to accusations from other Jews. Moreover, Paul and his companions' movements between and through the various cities are represented as creating a unified

[2] Paul does not face direct opposition from Jews in Lystra, but Jews from that region are identified as the reason why Paul circumcises Timothy. Cf. Acts 14:8-20, esp. 14:19. See discussion below.

Christian community that can then be contrasted with local Jewish associations,[3] which are depicted as disruptive and divisive.

Artemis, Salutaris' Processions, and Claiming Ephesian Identity

The images of Artemis dedicated by Salutaris and accepted by the Ephesian council provided space for a group of Ephesian elites to regulate the movement of Artemis in the city. The Foundation reimagined the carefully regulated official movements of Artemis through the streets of their *polis*[4] and performed Ephesian identity in a palpable, visible, and embodied way, hierarchically arranging both the city and the city's population.[5] As discussed in the previous chapter, the Salutaris Foundation

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[3] Philip Harland defines associations as "small, unofficial ('private') groups, usually consisting of about ten to fifty members (but sometimes with larger memberships into the hundreds), that met together on a regular basis to socialize with one another and to honour both earthly and divine benefactors, which entailed a variety of internal and external activities…. All associations were in some sense religious" (*Dynamics of Identity*, 25–26). Throughout this chapter, I continue the strategic use of the term "association" as group identification for local Jewish communities rather than the standard "synagogue." The modern term "synagogue," which is a transliteration of the Greek term συναγωγή, can mean both the building where a Jewish community gathers and the Jewish community itself. I use "association," in part to distinguish Jewish communities from their places of meeting and in part to highlight the similarities between Jewish communities and other associations that gathered in the ancient *polis*. In antiquity other associations also used the Greek term συναγωγή. Harland concludes his discussion of relevant inscriptions observing that "designating one's group a 'synagogue' was a relatively common practice in some areas, a practice that also happened to be adopted by some Judean gatherings, ultimately becoming the prominent term" (*Dynamics of Identity*, 40).

[4] Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 80.

[5] On a theoretical framework for processions in the Roman world see Eftychia Stavrianopoulou, "The Archaeology of Processions," in *A Companion to the Archaeology*

commissioned twenty-nine statues of Artemis and civic groups that enacted the Ephesian identity of Roman immigrants to Ephesus and incorporated them into the Hellenistic-based civic hierarchy. The regular movement of these images bolstered the integration of Roman elites into the civic hierarchy; the particular way that Salutaris' foundation regulated their movement also displayed the importance of the Roman presence in Ephesus.

The movement of Artemis and her entourage through the streets of the *polis* created a visual, dynamic link between the past and the present.[6] As Guy Rogers argues, the actions of all those involved—Salutaris, the *boulē,* the participants in the processions,

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of Religion in the Ancient World, ed. Rubina Raja and Jörg Rüpke, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 349–61. Stavrianopoulou observes that processions are "communicative events that involve a sequential structuring of a wider variety of actions. They join the performance of these actions to their interpretation and thus create meaning" ("The Archaeology of Processions," 349). Stavrianopoulou depends upon Geertz's understanding of procession as both models of and models for constituting and validating social institutions and practices. See Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 87–125, esp. 93.

[6] Rogers' work on the procession is still the most detailed analysis of the Foundation. See *Sacred Identity*, 80–126. On festivals and processions in the ancient city see Price, *Rituals and Power*, 101–14. See also, Friz Graf, who concludes his discussion of processions in the Greek *polis* stating that "[a] procession is not just a journey from A to B: undoubtedly, it matters where A and B are, and who is doing the journeying. In the final analysis, the differences…must be linked back to different religious aims and religious experiences, from the display and confirmation of civic order… to the quest for individual blessing" (Fritz Graf, "Pompai in Greece: Some Considerations about Space and Ritual in the Greek Polis," in *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis: Proceedings of the Third International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, Organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 16-18 October 1992*, ed. Robin Hägg, Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet I Athen, 8º 14 [Stockholm: Paul Åströms, 1996], 64).

and the onlookers—"endowed the procession with whatever social significance it held for Ephesians."[7] Two characteristics of Salutaris' processions suggest how they may have attempted to shape the social situation in Ephesus: the route of the procession and the exclusion of the Kouretes, the mythical protectors of Artemis.

According to Strabo, every year on the sixth of Thargelion (late April/early May),[8] the city of Ephesus celebrated the birth of Artemis with an elaborate festival that included sacrifices along with the reading of entrails, a cultic dance, music, and a procession from the Temple of Artemis to Ortygia, the mythic birthplace of Artemis located on the outskirts of the *polis*.[9] According to legend, Ortygia was where Leto, the mistress of Zeus, gave birth to the divine twins, Apollo and Artemis.[10] As noted earlier, Strabo wrote that when Leto rested after giving birth, Hera, Zeus' wife, began spying on her; the Kouretes, a group of young warriors, frightened the jilted goddess and concealed the birth of the divine twins from her (Strabo, *Geogr*. 14.1.20).[11] Each year, the Ephesian Kouretes reenacted this mythic scene at Ortygia and, after their performance, "it was time

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[7] Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 82.

[8] About Ortygia, Strabo notes "[a] general festival (πανήγυρις) is held there annually; and by a certain custom the youths vie for honor, particularly in the splendor of their banquets there. At that time, also, a special college of the Kouretes holds symposiums and performs certain mystic sacrifices" (*Geogr*. 14.1.20).

[9] See discussion in Rogers, *Mysteries*, 171.

[10] Another version of the foundation of the city is recorded in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 8.361; quoted in Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 106. See also the founding story in Pausanius, *Descr*. 7.2.7.

[11] On the Kouretes see Thomas, "Greek Heritage," 125–31.

for the goddess Artemis to bestow her favor upon the Kouretes and the polis of Ephesos" once again.[12] This yearly repetition reified the myth and re-established Artemis as the great patroness of the city and honored her protectors.

These annual celebrations of Artemis and her protection of Ephesus began in her Temple, located to the northeast of the *polis* and outside of the city walls. To reach Ortygia, southwest of Ephesus, the procession moved from the Temple of Artemis along the *Via Sacra*,[13] through the Koressian Gate into the city's Koressian district—the heart of the Greek *polis*—past the great theater and the Tetragonos Agora and continuing along to Ortygia.[14] The festival according to Richard Oster "was one of the largest and most magnificent celebrations in Ephesus' liturgical calendar,"[15] stabilizing Ephesian identity around Artemis by annually circumnavigating the processional route between her Temple and Ortygia, rehearsing the birth of Artemis and the role of the Kouretes.

Unlike the annual festival in honor of Artemis' birth, the Salutaris Foundation processions occurred much more frequently.[16] Nevertheless, Salutaris proposed, and the

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[12] Rogers, *Mysteries*, 4.

[13] See discussion in Knibbe, "Via Sacra."

[14] Rogers notes that at the beginning of the first century CE, the Ephesians altered the processional route by moving the Palateia and building a new altar to Artemis. See Rogers, *Mysteries*, 135–140.

[15] Richard E. Oster, "Ephesus as a Religious Center under the Principate, I: Paganism before Constantine," in *ANRW* 2.18:3 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990), 1711. In Ephesus, according to Rogers, Artemis' birthday "was the Fourth of July and Christmas rolled into one general festival" (*Mysteries*, 7).

[16] On the frequency of the processions see Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 83.

Ephesian council accepted, an association with the annual event by permitting the Salutaris Foundation to distribute money to various groups on the eve of and the day of Artemis' birth.[17] As a result the Salutaris Foundation, along with its processions, was directly linked with the annual procession from the Temple of Artemis to Ortygia in honor of Artemis though distinct from it. The Salutaris Foundation's processions also differed in other important ways: rather than traveling from the Temple of Artemis through the Koressian Gate to Ortygia, Artemis and her entourage moved from the Temple through the Magnesian Gate to the city theater, thus reversing the direction of the procession, and the great goddess was accompanied by a different set of practitioners.[18] During the annual festival Kouretes played a central role in the celebration. In the Salutaris Foundation processions, however, Kouretes did not participate. Instead, Salutaris and the Ephesian council overlooked this group that was central to the mythic foundation of Ephesus and included "Rome."

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[17] Rogers divides the recipients of Salutaris' largess into three groups. The first consisted of those who cared for the statues, the second included those who were directed to spend their allotments on the celebrations of the mysteries of Artemis, and the third included those who were not required to perform any known tasks (e.g., citizens, members of the *boulē,* elders, *ephebes*). See discussion in Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 39–79.

[18] See discussion in Dieter Knibbe and Gerhard Langmann, *Via Sacra Ephesiaca I*, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Berichte und Materialien 3 (Vienna: Schindler, 1993), 18–32; Cf. Thomas, "Greek Heritage," 134.

The Processional Route

The processions described in Salutaris' inscription all begin in the *pronaos* ("front hall") of the Artemis Temple, and continue to the Magnesian Gate rather than the Koressian Gate, where the procession surrounding Artemis' birthday entered the city.[19] At the gate, the temple wardens (φυλάκοι) hand the statues to the city's *ephebes*.[20] From there the processions could follow one of two paths around the city's upper agora.[21] One route travels from the Magnesian Gate along the road south of the upper agora until reaching so-called Domitian Street and the base of the temple for the Flavian Sebastoi.[22] However, the more likely route follows the walkway on the north side of the agora and passes through the magnificent basilica *stoa* that was donated by the famous Ephesian, C. Sextilius Pollio, at the beginning of the first century CE.[23] The basilica stoa connected the north side of the agora with the *bouleuterion* (βουλευτήριον),[24] a temple affiliated with

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[19] As discussed in the previous chapter, the center of the city of Ephesus had moved away from the Artemision through successive resettlements. On the archeology of the upper part of the city see Knibbe, *Der Staatsmarkt*.

[20] *IEph* 27.49-52. See Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 68.

[21] An accessible and accurate description of the city's layout can be found in Peter Scherrer, ed., *Ephesos: The New Guide* (Ege Yayınları, 2000).

[22] On this complex see Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, 29–75.

[23] *IEph* 404. C. Sextilius Pollio also dedicated an aqueduct for the city, and after his death, was buried in the heart of Ephesus on the *Embolos* (*IEph* 402, 407). See discussion in Scherrer, "City of Ephesos," 6–7.

[24] The *bouleuterion* was first built in the first century BCE and underwent extensive renovations (dedicated by P. Vedius Antonius) in the middle of the second century CE. See *IEph* 460 and discussion in Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 87.

Rome,[25] and the Prytaneion—the official religious center of the *polis*, the home of Artemis in the *polis,* and the meeting place of the Kouretes.[26] From the west end of the basilica stoa, the processions passes through the recently constructed *chalcidium*[27] and follows the street called the *Embolos*[28] toward the traditional center of the city, the Tetragonos Agora.

At the time of Salutaris' Foundation, the *Embolos* became a center for civic monuments, honorific tombs, and elite residences. A monument to Memmius, grandson of the famous Roman general Sulla, and a fountain stood on the north side of the street just beyond the *chalcidium*. Farther down, on the south side of street, the tombs of the city founder, Androklos, and the sister of Cleopatra VII, Arisonë IV,[29] stood near the

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[25] The double temple has been identified as either dedicated to Dea Roma and Divius Iulius or to Artemis and Augustus. See discussion and literature in Scherrer, "Temenos (Rhodian Peristyle)" in *Ephesus*, 84.

[26] On the development of the college of Kouretes see Rogers, *Mysteries*, esp. 162–171. Knibbe notes that in the second century deities other than Artemis begin appearing in the Prytaneion ("Via Sacra," 146–47). This is also the location of the discovery of two large statues of Artemis that are now located in the Ephesus museum in Selçuk, Turkey.

[27] The chalcidicum is dated to the reign of Nero (43-68 CE). On the Chalcidicum see Anton Bammer, "Chalcidicum of the Basilica Stoa" in *Ephesus*, 88–90.

[28] *IEph* 1300 identifies the street that is now called "Kouretes Street" as ἐμβολός. Scholars have called the street Kouretes since the discovery of a reused stone with an inscribed list of Kouretes was discovered in the paving. See Scherrer, *Ephesus*, 114.

[29] Arisonë's death was considered a sacrilege because she was murdered while in the precincts of the Temple of Artemis. See Josephus, *Ant*., 15.89; Appian, *Bell. civ*. 5.9; Dio Cassius, *Hist*. 43.19.

elaborate, terraced *insulae* typically called the Slope or Terrace Houses.[30] To the north of the colonnaded street, the Trajan fountain, Varius Bath, and the so-called Temple of Hadrian also lined the street by the middle of the second century.[31] By the second century, the *Embolos* was transformed from a largely uninhabited street for burials into a monument-lined tribute to Roman influence in Ephesus.[32]

Once at the bottom of the *Embolos*, Salutaris' processions would (eventually) move past the so-called Gate of Hadrian and Celsus Library,[33] past the traditional road to Ortygia onto *Plateia,* the street adjacent to the Tertragonos Agora, en route to the theater. The processions likely entered the theater through the south *parados* (entryway) since that was the location of the Salutaris Foundation inscription.[34] After each *ekklēsia*

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[30] On the identification of the tombs and date of the Slope Houses see Hilke Thür, "The Processional Way in Ephesos as a Place of Cult and Burial," in *Ephesos* (ed. Koester), 171–83.

[31] There is little evidence for what existed before these monuments were built, but because of the street's role in other processions from the temple of Artemis to Ortygia, its off-set alignment with the rest of the city's Hippodamian grid, and its placement between two *agorai*, we can be sure that the area surrounding the *Embolos* was prime Ephesian real estate at the beginning of the second century. On buildings lining the *Embolos* during the Hellenistic period see Thür, "Processional Way," 157–63.

[32] Scherrer, "City of Ephesos," 6–7. See also F. Hueber, "Der Embolos, ein urbanes Zentrum von Ephesos," *Antike Welt* 15 (1984): 3–23.

[33] The Gate of Hadrian and the Celsus Library were built in the middle of the second century CE, a few decades after the Salutaris Foundation processions began.

[34] *IEph* 27.123-25.

(assembly), the processions moved north toward the Koressian Gate and the temple wardens would return the images to the Artemis Temple.[35]

The images' progression through the *polis* enacted Ephesian identity in a way that used the past to stabilize a changing civic topography.[36] The movement of the great Artemis of Ephesus in the form of the nine statues through the *polis,* dominated by the beginning of the second century CE with temples and monuments to the Roman emperors, reinforced and legitimated her rightful place in *polis* even while the scope of her dominance was being renegotiated by elites like Salutaris and the members of the Ephesian council.[37] The reversal of the processional route thus allowed Salutaris and the Ephesian *boulē* space to reimagine Artemis' relationship with Ephesus. The parading of the city's patron goddess through the upper (Roman) agora first foregrounded the dynamic changes of the Ephesian cityscape in the first and second centuries CE. The statues of Artemis and the heroic Ephesians of the past thus create a visual link between Ephesus and its mythic history that emphasized the present power of Rome.[38]

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[35] For a more thorough description of the cityscape see Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 86–111.

[36] This is persuasively argued by Rogers, *Sacred Identity*.

[37] Two other examples of the challenge to Artemis' dominance are the movement of the Kouretes from the Artemis Temple to the Prytaneion during the time of Augustus and the addition of other deities to the Prytaneion in the middle of the second century. See Knibbe, "Via Sacra," 146.

[38] The procession associated with Salutaris and those associated with Artemis' birthday celebration were by no means the only processions in Ephesus. Knibbe notes that processions from the Temple of Artemis, through the *polis* occurred on certain days, unknown to modern scholars ("Via Sacra," 153–54).

The Processional Participants

Artemis was not alone in Salutaris' processions. The great goddess was joined by images representing the ancient hierarchy of the *polis*: the tribes, city council, elders, and youths. She was also joined by statues representing Rome: Trajan, Plotina, the Senate, *equites*, and the people of Rome. Together, the individual images formed a unified collection that processed through the *polis* before every assembly.[39] During these processions, Ephesian Artemis was required to share a sacred retinue with the deified emperor and others. The movement of her images past the imperial monuments that lined the processional route made this clear.

As mentioned above, the *ephebes,* a group of civic youths, carried the statues through the *polis*. Rogers has persuasively argued that the processions and distributions of the Salutaris Foundation provided a means of "educating" the city youths into the institutional roles that they would fill as adult citizens of Ephesus.[40] By incorporating them into the processions, Salutaris' foundation could quickly become the way that the next generation of Ephesians viewed and related to Artemis, Ephesus, and their own Ephesian identity.

Perhaps more striking than the images and participants included in the Salutaris Foundation is the conspicuous absence of the Kouretes, the mythical protectors of

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[39] On the frequency of the processions see Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 83.

[40] Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 136–137.

Artemis from the group.[41] There was no statue of the Kouretes included in the processions. The procession thus intertwined images from the Ephesian past with the Roman present while the reversed direction of the processions showed that the processions were distinct from typical processions that honored Artemis and began at the Artemision. The fact that no evidence exists in the Salutaris Foundation for either images or lotteries related to the famous guardians of Artemis or the central location of Artemis in the city, the Prytaneion, heightens the distinction between the civic hierarchy that Salutaris' Foundation projected and that of Hellenistic *polis*. Rogers states that "since there could be no Greek city at the site of Ephesos without the prior condition of Artemis' birth in the grove of Ortygia, and there could be no birth of Artemis without the K[o]uretes, the K[o]uretes could reasonably claim that, without them, the Greek city of Ephesos would not exist."[42] Salutaris' foundation ignores this claim by excluding the Kouretes from participation. The exclusion is made all the more striking since the processions likely travelled past the Prytaneion, with its inscribed list of Kouretes, on the way to the theater.[43] By conspicuously omitting this group of Ephesian elites, Salutaris' foundation significantly shaped how other (elite) Ephesians could interact with the Artemis Temple and allowed them to assert their devotion to Artemis (and the Roman emperors) while at the same time marginalizing the status of the Kouretes and the

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[41] See discussion of the absence of the Kouretes in Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 144–146.

[42] Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 145.

[43] Thomas, "Greek Heritage," 134; Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 65.

centrality of the Prytaneion.[44] The participants in the processions thus display a particular version of Ephesian history that excluded the Kouretes and was shaped by (and amenable to) the realities of the Roman present.

Salutaris and the Ephesian council, who approved the Foundation, deploy the Artemis-Ephesian-Ephesus bond in ways that legitimate the changes that were taking place in the Greek *polis* under Roman rule. The Salutaris Foundation regulated the movement of Artemis, joining her with the Sebastoi and guiding her past the imperial temple and buildings dedicated by Roman Ephesians before moving to the Hellenistic era portions of the *polis*. At the same time, the Salutaris Foundation avoided Artemis' historic route toward Ortygia and marginalized the Kouretes.

Acts' depiction of Paul's travels in Acts 15:30–18:23 also provides a means of legitimating a changing identity; in this case, however, Jewish rather than Ephesian identity was in view. In ways similar to the Salutaris Foundation's use of Artemis, Ephesians, and the urban landscape of Ephesus, Acts leverages the connection between the God of Israel, Jews, and local Jewish communities in various cities to make a claim

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[44] Knibbe, *Der Staatsmarkt*, esp., 96–105. Knibbe highlights the importance of the Prytaneion for holding the Greek *polis* together. Christine Thomas has argued during this period the location of the Prytaneion and the Latin names on the list of Kouretes reveals that the Kourtetes are being Romanized ("Greek Heritage," 129–36). On the present reading, the Salutaris foundation offers an alternate way of being Roman in Ephesus, a way that works around the Prytaneion. The exclusion from the lotteries of members of the civic guilds is striking. Civic guilds typically held an important place in the city's structure. See Harland, *Associations*, 38–44. In Ephesus, we know that the silversmiths held a prominent place in the city (*IEph* 425, 457, 586, 2441; cf. Acts 19:23-41). One silversmith was a temple-keeper (νεοποιός; *IEph* 2212) and would have received money from Salutaris' distributions—but as a νεοποιός.

about Jewish identity that privileges Christians as members of an ideal Jewish community for the Roman era *polis*. The Salutaris Foundation offers a record of a movement that (presumably) took place; by contrast, the writer of Acts tells a story about the movement of Paul and the God he introduced to the Mediterranean cities he visited. Nevertheless, both the literary movement of Paul in Acts and the actual movement of leading Ephesians through the city seek to map civic topography according to a particular set of images, defining landmarks, hierarchies and points of view. In the process, both works (one liturgical and the other literary) work to manufacture and reify particular forms of ethnic identity.

The Jewish God, Paul's Travel, and Claiming Jewish Identity

In Acts, Luke carefully depicts the continuing presence of the Jewish God corresponding with the movement his emissaries throughout the cities of the Mediterranean world.[45] The avenues and sea routes Luke's emissaries traveled, the places where they stopped and spoke, and the companions—both Jews and non-Jews—who joined them in "the Way" (ἡ ὁδός) indicate and demarcate Luke's Jewish and Christian identity. They create a visual, dynamic link between local Jewish associations and the communities that Acts represents Paul founding. In the latter half of Acts, Jewish and Christian identity is produced and enacted, largely, in the cities of the Roman Empire.

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[45] Geography is, of course, important for understanding Acts. See e.g., Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 87; Alexander, "Mapping." See also John Moles who argues that "the road" is the master metaphor for all of Luke-Acts ("Time and Space Travel in Luke-Acts," in *Engaging Early Christian History: Reading Acts in the Second Century*, ed. Todd C. Penner and Rubén R. Dupertuis, BibleWorld [Durham: Acumen, 2013], 101–22).

The rest of this chapter examines the ethnic reasoning implied in Luke's depiction of Paul's journey to proclaim the Jerusalem council's decree. Journeying to the *poleis* throughout the Mediterranean, Paul announces the council's understanding of Jewish identity, traveling through God's territories to announce the newly established policy, a policy that is represented as ancient and venerable (15:30–18:23). It compares the movements of the Salutaris Foundation with the travels of Paul in this passage, building on Nasrallah's contention that Paul's travels unify diverse groups of Jesus followers into a civic league. It also builds on Wills' assertion that Luke presents local Jewish associations as disruptive for the city. It argues that the travels of Paul and his entourage fuse together the Christian communities in various cities as a cohesive and peaceful Jewish civic association under the authority of God and that God's Messiah and in contrast to other Jewish civic associations.

Nasrallah situates Acts within the rhetorical context of the so-called Second Sophistic, the archaizing movement that revived and reinterpreted classical Greek culture for the Roman era.[46] She argues that "contemporaneous political and cultural discourses about Greek cities under Rome" best explain Paul's travels to cities in the latter half of

[46] The title "Second Sophistic" is based on the designation of Flavius Philostratus, a third century author who wrote *Lives of the Sophists*. See *Lives of the Sophists,* 481 and 507 for uses of "Second Sophistic." Tim Whitmarsh notes that though "Second Sophistic" is "catchy, alliterative, urbane-sounding, and not a little arcane," it is analytically problematic because there is no clear consensus about what the Second Sophistic was (*The Second Sophistic*, Greece & Rome 35 [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005], 4–10, quote from 4).

Acts.[47] "Moreover," she asserts, "through Paul's deeds and speeches in key sites…, Acts articulates a theological vision of how Christianity and its notion of one, true God can fit within a 'pluralistic' empire and its notions of ethnic difference."[48] She compares the various sites that Paul visits—Lystra, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Athens—with Hadrian's creation of a Panhellenion, a civic league that bound Greek *poleis* with the Roman Empire in the middle of the second century CE. She observes four principle ways that the two intertwine: the creation of civic harmony or concord between cities; the centrality of discourses about identity; the juxtaposition of ancient and recent material in the production of "mutually affirming religious values, ethnic identity, and certain ideas about aesthetics and *paideia*"; and the creation of a "Christian parallel" to the Panhellenion through Paul's travels.[49] She concludes that Acts "crafts a story of a city league formed by the ambassadorial presence of Paul"[50] and "Christianity is constructed as the new Israel, as the rightful inheritor of these stories of salvation [of the people of Israel] and of God's activity in the world."[51]

Nasrallah's comparison of the geographical imagination of Luke with that of the Panhellenion demonstrates the importance of "mapping" for constructing identities. As the discussion of the Salutaris Foundation established, the specific mapping of the

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[47] Nasrallah, "Acts," 533–66, quote from 534; a revised version of this article appears in Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 87–118.

[48] Nasrallah, "Acts," 534.

[49] Nasrallah, "Acts," 535.

[50] Nasrallah, "Acts," 565.

[51] Nasrallah, "Acts," 566.

processional route through the Roman-centric portion of the *polis* before passing by monuments associated with the city's Greek past signified how Salutaris and the Ephesian council desired to represent Ephesian identity. This section argues that Paul's movements both between various cities and within Jewish associations in those cities are examples of a similar form of "mapping" that creates a unified Christian identity. Yet, unlike Nasrallah, I argue that the writer seeks to map Christian identity as a type of Jewish identity. The writer invents a unified, pan-Hellenic Jewish identity that includes Christ worship as a form of "being Jewish."

Wills, in an article written almost two decades before Nasrallah, considers the role of Jews in the latter half of Acts.[52] He examines the "stylized way in which Jews are often represented,"[53] and finds a pattern throughout the latter half of the book: missionary action, opposition from Jews and others, and Christian expansion.[54] In a revised and updated version of the article, Wills pays closer attention to how the mob scenes in Acts reflect "the common Roman assumptions about the nature of the masses and insurrection."[55] The role of Jews in crowd scenes in Acts corresponds to the negative Roman assumptions about mobs and is contrasted with the newly "converted" Christians,

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[52] Wills, "Jews in Acts"; an adapted and updated version of the article appears in Wills, *Not God's People*, 195–209.

[53] Wills, "Jews in Acts," 634.

[54] Wills list seventeen examples of the pattern of action, opposition, expansion in the between Acts 13:1–28:31 ("Jews in Acts," 640–642, Table 1).

[55] Wills, *Not God's People*, 198.

whom Acts depicts as peaceful and respectable.[56] "In Luke's hands," Wills contends, "the scriptures and traditions of Israel are transferred from Jews to this new *politeia,* Christians."[57]

Wills' interpretation provides a path for exploring the conflicts between Christians and other Jews in various cities in relation to their civic context. It situates Paul's interactions with Jews in the latter half of Acts in relation to Roman concerns about mob violence. His interpretation is fundamental to the reading of the conflicts the writer of Acts portrays, but with an important proviso based on the conclusion of the previous chapter: Acts (still) represents Christians as Jews, and the writer is working to reconfigure "Jewishness" to make this claim. Wills' helpful iteration of the Jewish "mob scenes" therefore becomes a description of the writer's vision of appropriate ways of enacting "Jewishness" in the *polis* and not about the distance the writer seeks to create between "Jews" and "Christians." The writer does not want to distance himself and his audience from Jewishness; rather, he is seeking to suggest that Christians enact Jewishness appropriately but non-Christian Jews do not. The discussion of the Salutaris Foundation demonstrated that the Ephesian council and Salutaris could appropriate Ephesian ancestral traditions and adapt them, all the while maintaining Ephesian identity. Artemis, the Ephesians, and Ephesus could be "Romanized" while remaining Ephesian,

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[56] Wills, *Not God's People*, 199.

[57] Wills, *Not God's People*, 202. This is the central argument in David L. Balch, "ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ: Jesus as Founder of the Church in Luke-Acts: Form and Function," in *Contextualizing Acts: Lukan Narrative and Greco-Roman Discourse*, ed. Todd C. Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 139–88.

and Romans could become "Ephesianized" all the while remaining Roman. The Artemis-Ephesian-Ephesus nexus remains intact, but not without change. Similarly, the writer of Acts could maintain the Jewish God-Jews-Jewish association nexus even while claiming these identity markers for Christians.

This observation provides grounds for fresh analysis of what Nasrallah describes as Acts' "Christian civic league" and Wills' conclusion regarding the transfer of the scriptures and traditions of Israel from Jews to Christians in the latter half of Acts. The Salutaris Foundation demonstrates that a wealthy Roman citizen of Ephesus could attempt to create a "new Ephesus" that forms around the Romanized urban center of the city and a "transfer" of ancestral customs from the priests of Artemis and the Kouretes by the Ephesian council. These Ephesians are still Ephesians, however. This malleability of Ephesian identity thus plays out along the gods-people-place nexus as the processions instituted by Salutaris move through the *polis*.

Luke's depiction of Paul's movements between and within cities of the Roman world provides an example of the malleability of identity, but in this case of Jewish identity. This section focuses on the three scenes from Acts 15:30–18:23 where Paul faces opposition from other Jews: the circumcision of Timothy in Lystra (16:1-5), the jealousy of some Jews in Thessalonica (17:1-9); and the conflict with the leaders of the Jewish association in Corinth (18:1-17). These three scenes offer a sample of interactions between Paul and other Jews in civic spaces while at the same time typifying the gods-people-place nexus found throughout the ancient Mediterranean world and reflected in the Salutaris Foundation. Together these three episodes encapsulate the ethnic reasoning

that takes place in the narrative as it describes the movement of the Jerusalem council's declaration identifying Christian non-Jews as proselyte Jews outward from the capital city. Like the Salutaris Foundation processions, these three episodes demonstrate that movement through civic space can provide a means of negotiating and unifying flexible identities in a changing present.

Paul, Timothy, and Hybrid Jewish Identity

According to Acts, the Jerusalem council determined that Christian non-Jews did not need to be circumcised to turn to God (15:1-19). Rather, they were to follow four stipulations for the proselytes who lived among Jews (15:19-20; 15:29; 21:25), which were proclaimed in every *polis* for generations (15:20-21). In doing so, Acts redeploys proselyte identity thus identifying Christian non-Jews as Jewish. According to Luke's interpretation, circumcision was no longer *the* symbol of Jewish proselytes, as it was for most historical Jews (and non-Jews) in the Roman era. Acts returns to the mythic past, to "Moses" and the Holiness Code of Leviticus 17–18 in Greek translation, to identify non-Jews as προσήλυτος without circumcision. These four stipulations then become the means for Christian non-Jews to become Jewish. This identification becomes tremendously important for Acts' depiction of Jesus followers throughout the remainder of the narrative, particularly those Christian non-Jews dwelling in the *poleis* of Asia.

Luke's Paul does not move through the cities of the Roman world alone. The inclusion of the Emperors and the tribe of the Sebaste and the exclusion of the Kouretes

in the Salutaris Foundation processions[58] demonstrated that the identity of traveling companions matter. The individuals and groups either selected for participation or ignored provided a physical means of unifying Ephesian identity according to the Ephesian council's proclamation. In a similar way, the travelers who deliver the Jerusalem council's decree in Acts provide a literary means of unifying Christian identity in relation to Jewish identity in the *polis*. Luke takes great care to narrate the selection of Timothy as Paul's traveling companion, but before Timothy can join Paul, he must be circumcised. When read through the lens of ethnic reasoning, the circumcision of Timothy provides a symbol of the malleability of Jewishness that Luke's Paul carries with him from *polis* to *polis*. Thus, I argue, Luke's Timothy like Salutaris' tribe of the Sebaste, legitimates the ethnic identity of a contested population: Christian non-Jews in Acts.

After receiving the Jerusalem council's decree, the Christians in Antioch send Paul and his new companion Silas, a leader of the brothers in Jerusalem and prophet (15:22, 32), to visit the *poleis* Paul and Barnabas had visited (15:36) and to proclaim this "good news" for non-Jews throughout the Mediterranean (16:4). At Paul's first stop, Acts narrates a puzzling episode.[59] The first event that Luke depicts after the Jerusalem

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[58] See discussion of the tribe of the Sebaste in chapter four and discussion of the Kouretes above.

[59] Alan F. Segal calls the circumcision of Timothy a "puzzling" report (*Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990], 218). Cf. Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 574. Joseph B. Tyson comments that this passage "constitutes a surprise, perhaps an anomaly" (*Images*, 150).

council's decision that Christian non-Jews did not need to be circumcised is the circumcision of a Christian non-Jew, Timothy, *by Paul*. Luke writes,

> (16:1) Κατήντησεν δὲ [καὶ] εἰς Δέρβην καὶ εἰς Λύστραν. καὶ ἰδοὺ μαθητής τις ἦν ἐκεῖ ὀνόματι Τιμόθεος, υἱὸς γυναικὸς Ἰουδαίας πιστῆς, πατρὸς δὲ Ἕλληνος, (2) ὃς ἐμαρτυρεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Λύστροις καὶ Ἰκονίῳ ἀδελφῶν. (3) τοῦτον ἠθέλησεν ὁ Παῦλος σὺν αὐτῷ ἐξελθεῖν, καὶ λαβὼν περιέτεμεν αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ὄντας ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις· ᾔδεισαν γὰρ ἅπαντες ὅτι Ἕλλην ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ὑπῆρχεν. (4) Ὡς δὲ διεπορεύοντο τὰς πόλεις, παρεδίδοσαν αὐτοῖς φυλάσσειν τὰ δόγματα τὰ κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων τῶν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις. (5) Αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίαι ἐστερεοῦντο τῇ πίστει καὶ ἐπερίσσευον τῷ ἀριθμῷ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν.
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> (16:1) Paul went on also to Derbe and to Lystra. There was a disciple there named Timothy, the son of a Christian (πιστῆς) Jewish woman, and his father was a Greek. (2) He was well spoken of by the brothers in Lystra and Iconium. (3) Paul wanted Timothy to accompany him; and taking him he circumcised him because of the Jews who were in those places, for they all knew that his father was a Greek. (4) As they passed through the *poleis,* they delivered to them for observance the decrees that had been reached by the apostles and elders in Jerusalem. (5) So the assemblies were strengthened in faith and increased in numbers daily.

With Timothy's circumcision, Luke has surrounded the Jerusalem council's decree with two examples of two different groups of Jews—Christian Pharisees in Jerusalem and Jews in the region of Lystra—affirming the malleability of Jewishness through male circumcision. Other Jews view Jewishness as malleable, but in terms different from the apostles and elders. This juxtaposition provides space for Luke to forcefully assert the Jewishness of those who move through the Mediterranean with Paul to proclaim the deeds of God. As I will argue, Luke uses Timothy's Jewish identity to show that Jewishness is malleable in the hands of Jews, just as the Ephesian identity of Romans is malleable in the hands of Salutaris and the Ephesian council.

Timothy's identity, in particular his ethnicity, plays a central role in interpreting his circumcision.[60] Previous scholars saw the story of Timothy's circumcision as Luke's attempt to insert a connection between Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity in the earliest days.[61] Many more recent scholars, however, now view Timothy's circumcision as necessary because he is a Jew; the Jerusalem council's decision did not alleviate Jews' obligation for circumcision and so he was circumcised to meet this criterion.[62] Shaye

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[60] In Jewish literature of this period, there are relatively few mentions of the offspring of mixed marriages like Timothy. Josephus mentions a child of Felix and Drusilla named Agrippa but his ethnicity is not discussed (*Ant*. 20.143). Similarly, Eupolemus, a Hellenistic Jewish author from the middle of the 2nd century BCE, describes a "Tyrian architect from a Jewish mother from the tribe of David" (ἀρχιτέκτων Τυρίος ἐκ μητρὸς Ἰουδαίας ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Δαβίδ) (Frag. 2= Clement, *Strom.,* 1.21.130.3). Translation mine; Greek text from Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, 4 vols., SBL Texts and Translations: Pseudepigrapha (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 1:109.

[61] F. C. Baur notes that Acts 16:3 "belongs undoubtedly to the simply incredible side of the Acts of the Apostles" (*Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ: His Life and Works, His Epistles and Teachings*, trans. Allan Menzies [London: Williams & Norgate, 1873], 1:135–35). See discussion of this view of Tübingen scholars in Gasque, *History*, 66–67. See also Segal, *Paul*, 218. Hans Conzelmann interpreted Acts 16:1-4 in relation to Luke's salvation history: the message of the gospel must first go to Jews before it is preached to non-Jews (*Acts of the Apostles*, 125). This is similar to the position developed by Jacob Jervell and collected in *Luke and the People of God*. The so-called Gentile mission in Luke and Acts is only possible, according to Jervell, after the successful proclamation of the gospel to Jews. See also Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 412–13. Along similar lines, Richard Pervo states: "To enhance Timothy's fitness for mission, Paul circumcised him" (*Acts*, 388). Joseph Tyson views this as a further example of Lukan "ambivalence" toward Judaism (*Images*, 149–150).

[62] See, e.g., Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 574; Reidar Hvalvik, "Paul as a Jewish Believer: According to the Book of Acts," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), 135–39. For ancient views see Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Was Timothy

Cohen, however, persuasively argues that a straightforward reading of Acts 16:1-5 indicates that Timothy is not a Jew by lineage. As Cohen points out, the limited evidence that does survive suggests that the Jewish matrilineal principle of lineage had not yet developed by the first century. Thus, the matrilineal principle cannot have applied in Timothy's case, and therefore Timothy would not be Jewish on the basis of the identity of

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Jewish (Acts 16:1-3)? Patristic Exegesis, Rabbinic Law, and Matrilineal Descent," *JBL* 105 (1986): 251–68, esp. 254-63. For modern views see Gasque, *History*, 66; Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 63–71. Barreto states, "the passage has intrigued scholars looking for coherent theological positions on the part of Paul, but it has also precipitated a great deal of confusion and uncertainty, even something resembling benign neglect" (*Ethnic Negotiations*, 61). According to Fitzmyer, even though Timothy's father was a "heathen," circumcision was a religious necessity for bringing him into alignment with Jewish norms. Cf. Tyson, *Images*, 150; F. J. Foakes-Jackson and Henry J. Cadbury, *English Translation and Commentary* (vol. 4 of *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part 1: Acts of the Apostles*; London: Macmillan, 1933), 184. For a more complete list of those holding this view see Christopher Bryan, "A Further Look at Acts 16:1-3," *JBL* 107 (1988): 292–94, esp. 292, n. 1. Similarly, Luke Timothy Johnson views Timothy as a "Jewish Christian" whose circumcision is "not a condition for discipleship but rather a means of assuring acceptability among the Jews with whom he will work" (*Acts*, 284). Cf. Parsons who writes, "[Timothy's] circumcision is an attempt on Paul's part to accommodate Jewish sensitivity and to ensure Timothy's *acceptability among the Jews with whom he will work*" (*Acts* [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008], 222, emphasis mine). Cf. Baker, *Identity, Memory, and Narrative*, 159. Richard Pervo has questioned this perceived benefit by pointing out that Timothy's circumcision was not likely to provide more advantage to Timothy in the Jewish community than circumcision had for Paul (*Acts*, 388). See discussion in Cohen, "Was Timothy Jewish?," 252–54; H. Dixon Slingerland, "'The Jews' in the Pauline Portion of Acts," *JAAR* 54 (1986): 309–311. Slingerland presents possible scenarios in which Paul might circumcise Timothy and persuasively argues that Timothy's circumcision was not an indication of Paul becoming a "Jew to Jews" (1 Cor 9:20).

his mother, though a number of scholars have argued otherwise.[63] Furthermore, Cohen concludes, Jews from the surrounding regions would more likely view Timothy as a non-Jew because his father was Greek (16:3). On this reading, Luke depicts the circumcision of a non-Jew.[64] Though Timothy's circumcision was no longer necessary, in Luke's eyes, for Timothy to be Jewish (based on the Jerusalem council's ruling), Paul's circumcision of Timothy affirms that circumcision remains a legitimate way to become Jewish, even though it is no longer required of non-Jews.

Acts depicts Paul, who staunchly opposed the teaching that Christian non-Jews needed circumcision (15:1-2) as actively circumcising Timothy (16:3), even though the narrative had just confirmed Paul's view that Christian non-Jews do not need to be circumcised (15:10-21, 23-29). This will remain a puzzle. Nevertheless, the narrative suggests that by means of circumcision Timothy becomes Jewish in this way so that he can accompany Paul as he moves throughout the Mediterranean. Cohen's interpretation demonstrates that it is not likely that Luke followed the matralinial principle for Jewish identity.

In contrast to Cohen, Eric Barreto interprets Timothy's circumcision as an example of the complexity of ancient identity categories. He argues that Luke

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[63] Cohen, "Was Timothy Jewish?," 254, 263.

[64] Responding to Cohen, Christopher Bryan contends that though Timothy may not technically be Jewish, the context of the passage suggests that the Jewishness of Timothy's mother was significant, and Alan Segal argues that the point of the story is to show that Timothy was Jewish, in spite of being regarded as a non-Jew and having a non-Jewish father. See Bryan, "A Further Look," 294; Segal, *Paul*, 218.

purposefully leaves Timothy's ethnic identity hybrid, and his ethnic identity remains multiple even after his circumcision.[65] A single ethnicity for Timothy is never defined by Acts and thus Timothy's circumcision serves as an "open ethnic symbol," sufficient for Jews in the region but in no way conclusive for determining Timothy's ethnicity.[66] Barreto contends that Timothy is "an emblem of this theologically rich negotiation of ethnic difference" that is used throughout the rest of Acts.[67] Timothy's circumcision indicates that "ethnic diversity and hybrid identities are not an obstacle for this movement of Christ followers but an opportunity to reach all peoples not by erasing their differences but by participating in the complexities of ethnic discourse."[68] To Barreto, Timothy can remain both Jewishly circumcised and not-Jewish at the same time.

Barreto highlights the possible hybridity of Timothy's identity and allows ambiguity in Timothy's identity before and after his circumcision, a helpful reminder of the complex and fluid way that ancient identity was constituted. However, Cohen's observation that Luke suggests that Jews from the regions around Lystra would have

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[65] Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 63. Cf. C. Clifton Black's comment that Timothy's "mixed parentage symbolizes the ethnic alliance of Jews and Gentiles that, in Luke's judgment, should be the way of Christianity's future" ("John Mark in the Acts of the Apostles," in *Literary Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays in Honor of Joseph B. Tyson*, ed. Richard P. Thompson and Thomas E. Phillips [Ithaca, NY: Mercer University Press, 1998], 117).

[66] Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 63. So for Barreto, by asking whether Timothy was Jewish, Cohen and others, exclude "an additional and fitting alternative: that ethnicities are not either/or propositions but pliable constructions" (*Ethnic Negotiations*, 71).

[67] Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 99.

[68] Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 99.

known that Timothy's father was a Greek (16:3) and therefore perceived him to be a non-Jew prior to his circumcision remains persuasive for Acts.[69] As argued previously, circumcision was a way for non-Jews to become Jews, even if Luke supported another way for non-Jews to become Jewish.[70] For most ancient writers, both Jews and non-Jews, circumcision was a tangible way for a male to mark his Jewish identity, regardless of his lineage or previous connection with a Jewish community.[71] Timothy's circumcision

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[69] Corollary to the absence of a matrilineal principle of lineage is the dominance of a patrilineal principle of lineage for both Jews and non-Jews. On this see Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs*, 22–26.

[70] Not all scholars consider circumcision a clear means for non-Jews to become Jews. Barreto comments, "from an emic perspective, there is no evidence that circumcision was a useful marker of ethnic identity" (*Ethnic Negotiations*, 110). Livesey writes, "the Jewish practice of circumcision… has no single monovalent meaning" (*Circumcision*, 1). Similarly, Thiessen argues that lineage takes president over circumcision in many cases and writes, "[t]here were no established criteria held by all Jews to define Jewishness. Jewish identity was, therefore, a matter of debate" (*Contesting Conversion*, 4). He argues that Luke refers positively to circumcision throughout Luke and Acts and emphasizes the importance of eight-day circumcision as the only legitimate form. Because of this emphasis on eighth-day circumcision, Thiessen calls Timothy's circumcision an "anomaly" (*Contesting Conversion*, 120). He writes, "in Luke's mind, these Jews [who knew Timothy's father was Greek and wanted him circumcised] might have concluded that Timothy was a Jew, and so Paul circumcised him to avoid any appearance of laxity toward the law—even though he did not agree with their interpretation of the law's requirements" (*Contesting Conversion*, 122).

[71] Peter Schäfer, *Judeophobia: Attitudes toward the Jews in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 97–98. On the positive side, if one is a male circumcised for any reason associated with the Jewish practices, one is considered a Jewish man. On the negative side, if one is an uncircumcised male, one was either not a Jew or an apostate Jew. Cf. 1 Macc 1:11-15. There "renegades" (υἱοὶ παράνομοι) arranged for the construction of a gymnasium, thus observing "the ordinances of the non-Jews" (τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν ἐθνῶν) and "removed the marks of circumcision, and

confirms this point of view. However, the suggestion that Timothy was a non-Jew by lineage does not address why Acts depicts the event at all, let alone after the Jerusalem council's decree.

The ruling of the Jerusalem council indicates that even if other Jews (like the Christian Pharisees of Acts 15:4) deemed Timothy's identity to be initially hybrid, Luke and his Jesus followers could view him as a Jewish proselyte prior to his circumcision. As the discussion of proselytes in the previous chapter showed, Luke does acknowledge that circumcision is a way for non-Jews to become Jewish. As the discussion of the previous chapter, also showed however, Luke offers another way for non-Jews to become proselyte Jews, namely, through the acceptance of God (15:8-9). Therefore, Timothy was, in a sense, already Jewish before his circumcision. He was a non-Jew who became a twice-proselyte Jew—first, through the power of God and then by the hand of Paul.

As an example of ethnic rhetoric, Timothy's identity serves as a symbol of the ethnic complexity of Christian communities, as Barreto has observed.[72] However, because Timothy became a proselyte Jew (first, through the power of God and then through circumcision), he is not only a symbol of Christian ethnic diversity. Rather, Timothy embodies the Jewishness of Christians, even those who may be considered non-Jews by some. As Paul's traveling companion, he narratively proclaims the multiple ways

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abandoned the holy covenant. They joined with the non-Jews and sold themselves to do evil" (ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίας καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ διαθήκης ἁγίας καὶ ἐξευγίσθησαν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἐπράθησαν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρόν) (1 Macc 1:14-15).

[72] Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 63.

of becoming Jewish, including the Jerusalem council's redefinition in terms based on "Moses" and the Jewish ancestral traditions for ancient προσήλυτος. By depicting Paul's desire to "take" (ἐξελθεῖν) Timothy with him on his journey, Luke incorporates Timothy, as a symbol of the Jewishness of Christians, into Paul's moves from *polis* to *polis*.

Timothy's embodiment of the Jewishness of Christians as regulated by Jews is similar to the "Ephesianness" of Romans as regulated by Salutaris and the Ephesian council. The Ephesian council approves incorporating into the Salutaris Foundation processions images of the emperors and the tribe of Sebaste. By doing so they incorporate "Rome" into the existing Ephesian hierarchy and tribal system. This has the effect of calling that same structure into question. Similarly, Timothy perpetually proclaims his Jewish identity through his joint movements with Paul.[73] Luke's Timothy, like Salutaris' tribe of the Sebaste, legitimates the ethnic identity of contested populations: Christian non-Jews in Acts.

The Ones Who Turn the Oikoumenē *Upside Down*

The Salutaris Foundation carefully regulates the physical movement of Artemis and her entourage through Ephesus. Similarly, Luke regulates Paul's literary movements in Acts. While the Salutaris Foundation creates a pattern of processions that physically

[73] After his circumcision, Timothy's name does not appear in Acts until he mysteriously shows up in Berea where he stays behind with Silas while Paul goes to Athens (17:14). Though not mentioned by name, it is probable that the author of Acts includes him in the "they" who went through Phrygia and Galatia (16:6) and the "we" who traveled to Philippi (16:11). His inclusion with Paul and Silas in Berea suggests that he was also with them in Thessalonica.

transferred images of Artemis and others from the Artemision through the *polis* and back to the goddess's temple, Luke creates two overlapping literary patterns with regard to Paul's movements. Throughout Acts, Paul's movements revolve around his departure from and return to Jerusalem.[74] This pattern is perhaps most strikingly illustrated in the fact that Luke does not complete it at the ending of Acts.[75] Acts ends with Paul in Rome. A second pattern emerges while Paul is away from Jerusalem as Wills has observed:[76] Paul enters a city, finds the Jewish community there, and after facing opposition departs from the Jewish association to form a new community. Just as each of the movements of Artemis through Ephesus unifies Ephesian identity in a particular way, each of Paul's movements in individual cities unifies Christian identity in a particular way. Moreover, just as the exclusion of the Kouretes from Salutaris' processions privileges one way of being Ephesian over others, Luke's depiction of opposition by some Jews to Paul privileges one way of being Jewish in the *polis* over others.

According to the writer of Acts, as Paul, Silas, and Timothy were strengthening the Christian assemblies in the *poleis* around Lystra, the Holy Spirit guides them on their way (16:6). They depart for the regions of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden by

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[74] The first example of this pattern occurs when Saul/Paul leaves Jerusalem to persecute Christians in Damascus and returns to Jerusalem as a member of the Christian community (9:1-30). See also 12:25–15:2; 15:30–18:22; and 18:23–21:17. Paul's final departure from Jerusalem, notably, ends in Rome (21:17–28:31).

[75] This pattern, though interesting, is beyond the scope of this project. On the implications of this incomplete pattern see e.g., Walaskay, *And So We Came to Rome*.

[76] Wills, "Jews in Acts."

the spirit of Jesus from entering Asia (16:6). From there they travel to Mysia (16:8-11) and on to Macedonia. While in Philippi a leading city of Macedonia, the owners of a slave girl with a Pythian spirit accuse Paul and Silas of disturbing the *polis* because they are Jews, advocating customs that are not permitted for Romans "to adopt or to do" (παραδέχεσθαι οὐδὲ ποιεῖν) (16:20b-21). After depicting Paul and Silas beaten and thrown into prison, Luke turns the slave masters' accusation on its head revealing that these Jews are also Romans (16:37-38).[77] The Roman magistrates (στρατηγοί) who threw them in prison are forced to apologize to Paul and Silas and then ask them to leave the *polis* (16:39). This, once again points to the hybridity and instability of Luke's ethnic categories.

From Philippi, Paul and Silas continue their divinely-inspired travel to Thessalonica where Acts depicts Paul locating the Jewish association and "as was his custom" (κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς) joins their weekly meetings to discuss the Jewish sacred texts (17:1-2). There he argues that Jesus is the Christ (17:3). Paul convinces some Jews along with some God-fearing Greeks and leading women to join him and Silas (17:4). This causes jealousy in some Jews and so they gather a group of ruffians from the agora and stirred the *polis* into an uproar (17:5). Since they could not find Paul and Silas, they dragged a previously unmentioned Jason and some other Christians before the city rulers (πολιτάρχοι). The mob proclaims, "these ones who turn the *oikoumenē* upside down

[77] Cf. the linguistic parallel between 16:20b-21 and 16:37-38. The accuser creates a contrast between Jews and Romans (Ἰουδαῖοι ὑπάρχοντες, Ῥωμαίοις οὖσιν) while Luke marks the two Jews as Romans (Ῥωμαίοις ὑπάρχοντες, Ῥωμαίοις εἰσιν). On the ethnic rheoric of this passage, see Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 139–180.

have also come here, and Jason welcomed them. All these people act contrary to the decrees of Caesar saying that there is another king, Jesus" (οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναστατώσαντες οὗτοι καὶ ἐνθάδε πάρεισιν, οὓς ὑποδέδεκται Ἰάσων· καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἀπέναντι τῶν δογμάτων Καίσαρος πράσσουσιν βασιλέα ἕτερον λέγοντες εἶναι Ἰησοῦν) (17:6-7). After hearing this accusation, the city leaders and the crowd were disturbed and took a security from Jason and the other Christians (17:8-9).[78]

Paul and Silas sneak to Berea and find the Jewish association there (17:10). The community there welcomes their message and searches the Jewish scriptures to check its accuracy (17:11). Again, Greek women and men of high standing are persuaded (17:12; cf. 17:4). Some Jews from Thessalonica hear of Paul's work in Berea and attempt to stir up the crowds there as well (17:13), but the Christians send Paul off to Athens, while Timothy and Silas stay behind (17:14-15) thus perpetuating the influence of Paul and his claims about God in Macedonia even when Jews from Thessalonica forced Paul himself to leave.

As ethnic rhetoric, the way Luke describes events in Thessalonica emphasizes the Jewishness of Christians and marginalizes other Jews in the *polis* in three ways: (1) the Christian community forms within an existing Jewish community on the basis of debate about the interpretation of Jewish ancestral texts, (2) benefactors of the Jewish association join Paul and Silas privileging their place within the *polis,* and (3) the Jews

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[78] Following Sherwin-White who contends that Jason gives a security for the good behavior of Paul and Silas (*Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1963], 95).

not joining Paul marginalize their place in the *polis* by forming a mob and accusing Christians. Each of these three points asserts the Jewishness of Christians while also using movement through the city to marginalize other local Jewish associations. Acts, like the Salutaris Foundation, uses movement through a *polis* to emphasize certain ways of enacting ethnic identity and marginalizing others.

Luke grounds Paul's reenactment of Jewishness in Thessalonica in a Jewish association and through interpretation of Jewish scriptures, specifically the interpretation and meaning of messianic prophecies (17:2-3).[79] The interpretation of the messiah of the Jewish scriptures inspires Paul's following. A subgroup forms within the Jewish association in Thessalonica. Among them "some" (τινες) Jews, a "great many" (πλῆθος πολύ) God-fearing Greeks, and "not a few" (οὐκ ὀλίγαι) leading women were persuaded and join with Paul and Silas (17:4). Until this point in the narrative scene, the two travellers have only taught at the Jewish association, so the "pious" or "God-fearing" (σεβμένοι) Greeks must be understood as somehow affiliated with the Jewish community in Thessalonica prior to Paul and Silas' arrival.

Historically, "God-fearers" appear to have been non-Jews who honored the God of Israel.[80] Such "God-fearers" are present throughout Acts (φοβούμενοι [Acts 10:2, 22,

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[79] About the authority of the Jewish sacred texts in Luke and Acts generally, Tyson observes that "the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures is assumed throughout Luke-Acts, where, with proper interpretation, they provide support for a wide variety of events and concepts" (*Images*, 185).

[80] On God-fearers as a category see Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*, 469–482; Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D 135)*,

35; 13:16, 26];[81] σεβόμενοι [13:43 (combined with προσήλυτος and likely meaning "pious"), 50; 16:14; 17:4, 17; 18:7])[82] and play an important literary role.[83] In Acts God-fearers also often serve as benefactors of Jewish communities.[84]

In Thessalonica, the literary shift of allegiance from the leaders of the Jewish association to Paul and Silas by many God-fearers and the leading women suggests a shift of support from the former Jewish association by a group of benefactors, benefactors

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ed. Geza Vermes, Martin Goodman, and Fergus Millar, 3 vols., rev. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1973), 3:150–176; Fredriksen, "Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles, and Apocalyptic Hope: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2," 540–543; for bibliography see Pervo, *Acts*, 332 n. 12; for primary texts and discussion see Levinskaya, *Diaspora Setting*, 51–126. The Greek terms usually translated "God-fearers" could merely mean "pious." Pervo who understands God-fearers as a general term of support for Jews "whether for political, humanitarian, religious, or other motives" (*Acts*, 333).

[81] Acts 13:17 and 26 could also refer to Jews. See Pervo, *Acts*, 332.

[82] Following Fitzmyer and others in understanding these two terms to be roughly equivalent. See Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 449; Pervo, *Acts*, 332. A. Thomas Kraabel thought that Luke invented the category ("The Disappearance of the God-Fearers," *Numen* 28 [1981]: 113–26). Subsequent archeological discoveries call this thesis into question. See e.g., Joyce Marie Reynolds and Robert Tannenbaum, *Jews and God-Fearers at Aphrodisias: Greek Inscriptions with Commentary: Texts from the Excavations at Aphrodisias Conducted by Kenan T. Erim* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Philological Society, 1987); Marianne Palmer Bonz, "The Jewish Donor Inscriptions from Aphrodisias: Are They Both Third-Century, and Who Are the Theosebeis?," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 96 (1994): 281–99.

[83] See e.g., Tyson, "Jews and Judaism in Luke-Acts"; Phillips, "Prophets, Priests, and Godfearing Readers"; Kirsopp Lake, "Proselytes and Godfearers," in *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part 1: The Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 5 (New York: Macmillan, 1933), 74–96.

[84] Cornelius (10:2); Titius Justus (18:7); cf. Lydia (16:14). What remains unclear is whether Acts imagines Godfearers as continuing to honor ancestral and other deities.

who could contribute to the financial and social stability of the Jewish association in Thessalonica. As Pervo comments, "by siphoning off a number—which could not in any circumstances have been very large—of the God-Fearers, Paul had deprived their community of important financial and political support."[85]

For Luke, the support of the God-fearers and the leading women is also symbolic. They serve as representatives of the broader *polis* with its own civic structures, patterns of benefaction, and place on the gods-peoples-place nexus. Some of the non-Jewish inhabitants of the city who could serve to socially legitimate the Jewish association in the *polis* now legitimate Christians as an embodiment of Jewishness in Thessalonica. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Salutaris Foundation inscription depicts a similar form of symbolic support in the form of letters from the proconsul of Asia, Aquillius Proculus, and legate, Afranius Flavianus. Just as these two high-ranking Roman officials legitimate Salutaris's Ephesianness, so the God-fearers and leading women symbolically legitimate the Jewishness of the Christian gathering. This inspires jealousy in other Jews.

Luke's depiction of these Jews forming a mob as a result of jealousy undermines their accusation that Paul and Silas are the ones who are turning the *oikoumenē* upside down. These Jews "stirred up the *polis*" (ἐθοπύβουν τὴν πόλιν) (17:5). Grabbing ruffians from the market, storming the house of Jason, dragging him and some others before the city officials—they were the ones doing the act of which they accuse those

[85] Pervo, *Acts*, 420.

joining Paul of doing.[86] These Jews expand their disruptive ways to the *oikoumenē* when they travel to Berea stirring up and inciting the crowds (σαλεύοντες καὶ ταράσσοντες) there even though the Jewish association from that city welcomed Paul and Silas and their message (17:13). The movement of these Thessalonian Jews from *polis* to *polis* both unifies and marginalizes their identity.

As if the actions of these Jews depicted by Luke does not undermine their accusation enough, Luke also depicts the city officials hesitating when they offer their response (17:8-9). These officials, along with gathered crowd, were "disturbed" (ἐτάραξαν), Luke reports, leaving out exactly what may have disturbed them. Perhaps the reader is to infer that the accusation that Christians are turning the world upside down was disturbing, or that the officials were disturbed that the Christians came to Thessalonica at all, or they were disturbed that the Christians would dare to claim a king other than Caesar. Luke's depiction of the city officials' response, however, suggests that they were worried about the events taking place in their *polis* rather than the rest of the *oikoumenē*; they took money as a security from Jason and the others; they did not look for Paul or Silas; and they did not report the matter to the nearest Roman officials. The Christians put up the required security and order was restored to the *polis*. Luke's Paul continues his journey creating, sustaining, and uniting Christian assemblies throughout the *oikoumenē*. Luke leaves the rabble-rousers from the Jewish association in Thessalonica looking divided, disruptive, and defeated.

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[86] So Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 93.

The scene in Thessalonica serves as an example of the way that Jewishness in the latter half of Acts becomes reified, in part, through performances in civic space and in a similar way to the Salutaris Foundation. The specific regulations for the movement of Salutaris' processions, beginning at the Magnesian Gate in the Roman-centric portion of the city and then moving through the streets of Ephesus, could legitimate the Ephesianness of certain Romans in Ephesus. In Acts' Thessalonica, Paul first enters the city through the metaphorical "gate" of a Jewish association. By placing Paul in a Jewish association first, Luke thus privileges Jewishness as the first entry point of the *polis* in a way similar that the Salutaris Foundation processions privilege the "Romanness" of Ephesians by first passing through the Roman-centered upper agora. Moreover, this situates the Jewishness of Paul and those who follow him in stark contrast to those who oppose him. The civic movement of those Jews who oppose Paul—from their association (17:1) to the agora (17:5) to the home of Jason (17:6) to the civic authorities (17:6-7) and to a neighboring *polis* (17:13)—reifies this negative portrait. Jews who oppose Paul are represented as perpetually troublesome. In both cases, the movement through civic space delimits identities in ways that are rhetorically useful for their respective authors. Luke repeats this negative image of Jews who oppose Paul and develops a positive image of the Jewishness of Christians in the depiction of Paul in Corinth.

The Formation and Legitimation of a Jewish Association in Corinth

Acts' narrative representation of Paul in Corinth (18:1-17) uses ethnic reasoning to legitimate the Jewishness of Christians in the *polis* while marginalizing Jews who oppose Paul as a divisive influence on the city. Before arriving in Corinth, Paul travels

from Berea to Athens, the symbolic center of the Greek cultural world, without Timothy or Silas (17:15).[87] While waiting for them to arrive, he becomes upset (παρωξύνετο) when he sees that the *polis* is full of idols.[88] He begins debating in the Jewish association and in the agora (17:17). When given the opportunity to explain his teachings to some Athenians in the Areopagus, he proclaims the power of God (17:22-31).[89] In his stylized declaration,[90] Luke's Paul "tries to establish proper human relations with the divine, and… proper human relations with each other" in large part through ethnic rhetoric.[91] After hearing Paul's claims, some mocked the "babbler" and others invited him back, but others still trusted—presumably in God—joining with Paul (κολληθέντες αὐτῷ ἐπίστευσαν) (17:34; cf. 2:12-13).

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[87] Since Paul does not face opposition from Jews in Athens, it is beyond the scope of this chapter. On Paul in Athens see Clare K. Rothschild, *Paul in Athens: The Popular Religious Context of Acts 17*, WUNT 341 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014). Rothschild persuasively argues that Paul's speech is explained by the traditions that formed around Epimenides as a cult transfer figure in the 2nd century CE.

[88] Paul's dismay at the sight of idols is odd, since *poleis,* and the ancient world in general, were full of statues of deities. Pervo comments, "the verb παρωξύνετο could imply anger or mere pity for the failings of polytheism. Athens was famous for its religious monuments and piety, but the other cities in which Paul had labored were scarcely less contaminated with the physical excretions of polytheism" (*Acts*, 426).

[89] For bibliography on Paul's speech see Pervo, *Acts*, 429–430 n. 45; Barrett, *Acts*, 2:823–824.

[90] On the style of the speech Pervo writes, "A cultured Greek would dismiss these brief words as a stylistically inadequate and muddled collection of clichés with an unexpected and improbable conclusion" (*Acts*, 429–430).

[91] Quote from Nasrallah, *Christian Responses*, 114.

After leaving Athens, Luke's Paul arrives in another prominent Greek city, Corinth.[92] When Paul reaches Corinth, he meets two Jews who were recently forced out of Italy because of Claudius' decree expelling πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμης ("all Jews from Rome") (18:1-2). Here again, Acts indicates the hybridity of Jewish and other ethnic identities in the narrative. Paul joins Aquila, Ποντικὸν τῷ γένει, ("a Pontean by *genos*"), and his wife, Pricilla.[93] He stays with them, helping them in their work as tentmakers until Silas and Timothy arrive in the *polis* (18:5).

While waiting for his companions to arrive from Macedonia, Paul also debates with those who gathered every week in the Jewish association (συναγωγή).[94] After Silas and Timothy arrive in Corinth, Paul "was wholly absorbed with the message, testifying to Jews that the messiah is Jesus" (συνείχετο τῷ λόγῳ διαμαρτυρόμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις

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[92] The historical Corinth was sacked by the Roman consul, L. Mummius, in 146 B.C.E. and re-founded as a Roman colony around 44 B.C.E. On the re-founding of Corinth see Benjamin W. Millis, "The Social and Ethnic Origins of the Colonist in Early 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, 2010), 13–36.

[93] It is unclear whether Aquila and Pricilla were Christians before Paul's arrival. Luke does give the impression that they were. So Sanders, *Jews in Luke-Acts*, 275.

[94] Many commentators take the phrase "διελέγετο δὲ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ"("he was reasoning in the [Jewish] *synagogue*") as a locative description of the place where Paul reasoned. So e.g., Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 626; Malina and Pilch, *Acts*, 130. Cf. the NRSV: "Paul argued in the synagogue." However, the deponent verb, διαλέγομαι, is followed by a dative of *person* rather than dative of *location*. See *LSJ* s.v., B. On this reading, Luke indicates that Paul reasons with those gathered during the weekly [Jewish] assemblies. Cf. Tessa Rajak and David Noy, "Archisynagogoi: Office, Title and Social Status in the Greco-Jewish Synagogue," *JRS* 83 (1993): 76.

εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν) (18:5).[95] When Silas and Timothy arrive, Luke's Paul thus shifts his focus from Jews and Greeks in the Jewish association to speaking with Jews. The shift results in a change in response to Paul's message by (some) Jews in Corinth. These Jews begin resisting Paul and defaming him, so Paul departs from their association and enters the home of a God-fearer who lived next to the Jewish association hall (18:6-7). After beginning work from this new location, a Jewish association leader, Crispus, and his household join Paul's community (18:8).[96] Following Crispus actions, many Corinthians "trusted" and were initiated into community meeting at Titius Justus' home through baptism (18:8).

One night Luke's Paul has a dream and hears the voice of the Lord (ὁ κύριος) (18:9). The Lord tells Paul, "do not be afraid, but speak and do not be silent because I am with you and no one will do you harm for I have many people in this city" (μὴ φοβοῦ, ἀλλὰ λάλει καὶ μὴ σιωπήσῃς, διότι ἐγώ εἰμι μετὰ σοῦ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιθήσεταί σοι τοῦ κακῶσαί σε, διότι λαός ἐστίν μοι πολὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ) (18:9-10).[97] With this vision from the Lord, Luke's Paul remains in the city for a year and a half before a group of Jews in Corinth confront him (18:11). They take him before the tribunal, Gallio, and accuse Paul of persuading people to worship God contrary to the law (18:12-13). Gallio dismisses their complaint (18:14-16) and all those around begin

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[95] Cf. 17:3. On συνέχω as "wholly absorbed" see *BDAG*, *s.v.*, 6.

[96] On the title ἀρχισυνάγωγος see Rajak and Noy, "Archisynagogoi." Rajak and Noy note that an ἀρχισυνάγωγος was not necessarily a Jew but could be a benefactor of the Jewish community ("Archisynagogoi," Appendix I).

[97] On the translation of εἴναι with the dative and predicate noun see BDF §190(1).

beating a Jewish association leader, Sosthenes, in front of an indifferent Gallio (18:17). After the beating of Sosthenes, Paul remains in Corinth for a "considerable number of days" (ἡμέρας ἱκανάς) (18:18) and then departs for Syria makes stops in Ephesus, Caesarea, Jerusalem, before spending some time in Antioch (18:19-22) and heading back to the regions of Galatia and Phrygia (18:23).

As in Thessalonica, Luke's depiction of Paul in Corinth uses ethnic rhetoric both to marginalize the local Jewish association in the *polis* and to reinforce the Jewishness of Christians in the city. The scene in Corinth also develops these two themes from Thessalonica in three important ways for discussing Jewish identity and the ethnic rhetoric of Acts. First, it narrates a response by Paul to opposition from Jews (18:6). Second, it depicts Christians separating from a Jewish association in Corinth (18:7-8). Third, it portrays Christians and Jews disputing in the civic sphere (18:12-17). In each of these cases, Luke demonstrates the Jewishness of Christians and privileges them in the *polis*.

Paul Responds to His Opposition

As in Thessalonica, when Paul begins testifying in earnest in the Jewish association, he faces opposition (cf. 19:8). This time, however, Paul shakes off his garments and says to them, "Your blood is on your head. Clean [of your blood], I will now go to the *ethnē*" (ἀντιτασσομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ βλασφημούντων ἐκτιναξάμενος τὰ ἱμάτια εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· τὸ αἷμα ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν

ὑμῶν·[98] καθαρὸς ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν[99] εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πορεύσομαι) (18:6). Paul's actions and words represent a symbolic discharge of responsibility, as Fitzmyer and others have claimed,[100] though many scholars have attempted to narrow the meaning of Paul's actions and words further. Interpretations of Paul's saying range from a simple removal of responsibility to "a reference to the death of the Jews, presumably by violence (bloodshed)."[101] Pervo moderates this view, but he also claims that Paul's actions suggest that, "those who reject his [Paul's] message will bear the consequences."[102] On this view, Paul condemns those Jews who oppose him and leaves them to their own destruction.

The relationship, however, between Paul's claim to be "clean" (καθαρός) and the connection with blood (αἷμα) indicates that his statement is not necessarily a

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[98] On the ellipsis of the verb see *BDF* §480.5.

[99] In Luke and Acts the phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν is used with future tense verbs to convey a distinction between a future and present action. See Luke 1:48; 5:10; 12:52; 22:18, 69. Based on LXX use, the phrase is best understood as "now" rather than "from now on." To indicate continuation authors used qualifying phrases like εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον (1 Mac. 11:36) or καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος (Psa 112:2). Cf. Gen 46:30; 1 Kings 18:29; 2 Chr 16:9; Tob 7:12; 11:9; 1 Mac 10:41; 11:35; 15:8; Psa 113:26; 120:8; 124:2; 130:3; Ode 9:48; Sir 11:23–24; Mic 4:7; Is 9:6; 18:7; 48:6; 59:21; John 8:11; 2 Cor 5:16. See also, Josephus, *Ant*. 13.50, 128.

[100] Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 627; see also Pervo, *Acts*, 453. Cf. Acts 13:51; Matt 10:14; Mark 6:11. Henry J. Cadbury, "Dust and Garments," in *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part 1: The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Kirsopp Lake and F. J. Foakes-Jackson, vol. 5 (New York: Macmillan, 1933) repr., Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979. Cadbury finds no clear parallels to Paul's actions. Fitzmyer associates this with Neh 5:13. There, Nehemiah shakes out his ἀναβολήν ("cloak") as a prophetic symbol of God "shaking out" those who οὐ στήσει τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ("will not stand in this word"). See *LSJ s.v.,* II. 2.

[101] Sanders, *Jews in Luke-Acts*, 276.

[102] Pervo, *Acts*, 453.

condemnation of those Jews who opposed him, but could merely represent a removal of Paul's responsibility for and to them.[103] Paul makes a similar statement to the elders of the Christians from Ephesus, also connecting αἷμα and καθαρός. He exclaims: καθαρός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος πάντων ("I am clean of the blood of all [of you]") (20:26).[104] Luke's Paul follows this proclamation with an exhortation to the leaders of the Christians in Ephesus saying, "I commend you to God and to the message of his grace" (20:32). After telling those gathered that they would never see him again, Paul prays with the Ephesians and "there was much weeping among them all" because they would not meet again (20:37-38). Paul's declaration to these Ephesians that he is "clean of the blood of all" need not imply condemnation, indicate negative consequences, or suggest bloodguilt for "the Jews." Rather it can suggest a general release of responsibility. Paul has commended the Ephesians to God and encouraged them "to shepherd the assembly of God" (20:28). Paul's statement in Corinth, when read in light of 20:26, serves as a release

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[103] So Robert C. Tannehill, "Rejection by Jews and Turning to Gentiles: The Pattern of Paul's Mission in Acts," in *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives*, ed. Joseph B. Tyson (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1988), 90. Contra Sanders, *Jews in Luke-Acts*, 276; Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 459. This interpretation does not alleviate the anti-Jewish readings of this text that continue to haunt Acts.

[104] Cf. the similar juxtaposition of "blood" passages (Mt 26:28; 27:25) in Tobias Nicklas, "Versöhnung Mit Israel Im Matthäusevangelium?," *Bibel Und Liturgie* 88 (2015): 17–24. Nicklas contends that you cannot understand Mt 27:25 ("his blood be on us and our children") without reading Mt 26:28 ("blood of the covenant").

of responsibility that does not necessarily entail a verdict of destruction or a condemnation of Jews more generally.[105]

After Paul's proclamation in Corinth, he turns to non-Jews (ἔθνη) (18:6).[106] Paul's turn to non-Jews does not imply a corresponding condemnation of "the Jews" either.[107] Rather, as Brawley also argues, Luke more likely employs Paul's turn to non-Jews as a means of further legitimating Paul's mission in Acts.[108] Moreover, the context of Acts 18:1-17 suggests that Paul's "turn" is primarily locative and not "religious" or "ethnic." When read in relation to the Salutaris Foundation processions that begin at the Roman-centric upper agora and then move to the Hellenistic portion of the city, Paul's "turn" from Jews to non-Jews establishes a connection between the Jewish association and those Jews and non-Jews to whom Luke's Paul turns. Both groups are represented as Jewish, just as both the Roman and non-Roman citizens of Ephesus are both Ephesians, or at least they are from the perspective of the Salutaris Foundation. As in Thessalonica,

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[105] Brawley, *Luke-Acts*, 73.

[106] Acts 18:6 is the second time that Luke's Paul has preached in a Jewish association, faced opposition, and "turned" to non-Jews. See Acts 13:44-47. Many scholars view this as part of a pattern in Acts that culminates in 28:28 with Paul's proclamation that the salvation of God has been sent to the non-Jews because they will listen. See e.g., Pervo's comments on the Acts 13:13-52: "This lengthy episode may stand for all of the Pauline mission that follows" (*Acts*, 344). Cf. Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 459; Tyson, *Images*, 142. Cf. Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 57. "Paul's response to his Jewish opposition…is intentionally more provocative than programmatic."

[107] Contra Sanders, *Jews in Luke-Acts*; cf. Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*; Haenchen, *Acts*.

[108] Brawley, *Luke-Acts*, 68–83.

Paul enters the *polis* through the metaphorical "gate" of a Jewish association. In Corinth, however, Luke's Paul forms a new Jewish community.

The Association in Titius Justus' Home

Acts' narrative depicts Paul leaving the Jewish association hall, heading next door, and forming his own Jewish association in Corinth. Luke writes,

> (18:7) καὶ μεταβὰς ἐκεῖθεν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς οἰκίαν τινὸς ὀνόματι Τιτίου Ἰούστου σεβομένου τὸν θεόν, οὗ ἡ οἰκία ἦν συνομοροῦσα τῇ συναγωγῇ. (8) Κρίσπος δὲ ὁ ἀρχισυνάγωγος ἐπίστευσεν τῷ κυρίῳ σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀκούοντες ἐπίστευον καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο.
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> (18:7) And after departing from there, he entered into the house of a certain venerator of the [Jewish] God named Titius Justus, whose house was next door to the [Jewish] association hall.[109] (8) And Crispus, a leader of the Jewish association, with his whole household trusted in the Lord, and hearing, many of the Corinthians were trusting and being baptized.

Like Jason from Thessalonica, there is no mention of Titius Justus in Acts beyond Luke's brief statements here. Luke identifies him as a God-fearer (σεβομένος τὸν θεόν) without a qualification like proselyte (cf. 13:43). This indicates that Titius Justus is a non-Jew.[110]

Paul's turning to non-Jews can be interpreted as indicating a locative change that leads to the formation of a new Jewish association in Corinth. Nevertheless, the move from the Jewish association hall to the home of a God-fearer whose residence bordered

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[109] According to BDAG, the verb συνομορέω ("border upon"/"be next door to") occurs for the first time in Acts 18:7.

[110] The only other person identified as a venerator of the God of the Jewish people (σεβομένη τὸν θεόν) with this exact syntax is Lydia who is from the city of the Thyatirans (πόλεως Θυατείρων; 16:14). See discussion of Lydia's ambiguous identity in Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 133–35. Cf. Acts 13:43. Titius Justus is not identified as "trusting" or joining Paul, the two phrases that Luke has used to identify "Christians" in Acts 15:30-18:23.

upon (συνομορέω) the meeting place of the previous Jewish association reveals, at the very least, that Luke imagines a continued social proximity of the two groups.[111] Now two Jewish associations exist next door to each other in Corinth.[112]

Paul's move from the Jewish association to a neighboring house indicates that Paul is no longer responsible to the leaders of the Jewish association who opposed him. Paul founds a new Jewish association with its own place in the civic hierarchy. Titius Justus serves as one of its benefactor by hosting the community in his home, and Crispus, a leader of the Jewish association (ἀρχισυνάγωγος), legitimates the new Jewish community both for Jews and for Corinthians by joining Paul.

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[111] Cf. m. Avod. Zar. 3.8 which describes the Jewish ritual purity issues involved with rebuilding a house next to a temple. The implication being that Jewish homes (theoretically) existed next to temples.

[112] There is, of course, historical evidence for the existence of multiple Jewish associations in single cities throughout the Greek and Roman world. In Rome, for example, the inscriptions from the so-called "Jewish" catacombs indicate that there were between eleven and fourteen Jewish associations in the city. Following Mary Smallwood, the Jewish associations in Rome are thought to be independent structures that jointly form the Jewish community in Rome (*Jews*, 133–34). See Margaret Williams, who contends that there was a "supra-synagogal" structure that governed the entirety of the Jewish community in Rome (*Jews among Greeks and Romans*, 224–26). On the Jewish communities in Rome see Harry J. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome: Uptaded Edition* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995) originally published, Philadelphia : Jewish Publication Society of America, 1960. See also Leonard Victor Rutgers, *The Jews in Late Ancient Rome: Evidence of Cultural Interaction in the Roman Diaspora* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 126; Leiden: Brill, 1995). Elsewhere in Acts, Luke depicts multiple Jewish associations existing in single cities, as well (cf. 6:9; 9:2, 20; 13:5). The Greek term translated as "Jewish association" (συναγωγή) occurs 19 times in Acts (6:9; 9:2, 20; 13:5, 14, 43; 14:1; 15:21; 17:1, 10, 17; 18:4, 7, 19, 26; 19:8; 22:19; 24:12; 26:11). Cf. Josephus who uses συναγωγή only 8 times in his entire corpus (*Ant*. 1:10; 15:346; 19:300, 305 (2x); *J.W*. 2:285, 289; 7:44).

As discussed in relation to the Salutaris Foundation, the specific people included and excluded from the processions serve to both legitimate the Ephesian identity of the participants and marginalize those who are excluded. The explicit inclusion of an *archisynagōgos* in Paul's new community in Corinth serves a similar function. Because of ambiguity in the identification of *archisynagōgoi,* Crispus can serve to legitimate both the Jewish identity of Paul's community and its place in the hierarchy of Corinth.

Ἀρχισυνάγωγος, a term that appears twice in Acts 18,[113] occurs frequently in inscriptions from the Greco-Roman period.[114] Evidence from the inscriptions indicates that *archisynagōgoi* is a term denoting both a functionary in a Jewish community (cf. Acts 13:15) and a benefactor of the community. Tessa Rajak and David Noy have catalogued the relevant evidence and contend that *archisynagōgos* became associated specifically with Jewish communities in the Greco-Roman world and that the term describes a range of ways that Jews and (possibly) non-Jews could connect with Jewish

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[113] Cf. Mark 5:22, 35-36, 38; Luke 8:49; 13:14; Acts 13:15; 14:2 (D-Text); 18:8, 17; Justin, *Dial*. 137.2. Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer*. 1.1.16; Origen, *Cels*. 2.48. On the literary shift in uses of *archisynagōgos* that occurred after Constantine see Rajak and Noy, "Archisynagogoi," 80–81. Cf. the rabbinic use of the Hebrew phrase ראש הכנסת ("head of the congregation;" m. Yoma 7.1; m. Sota 7.7, t. Meg. 4.21). See *CIJ* 714 for the mention of a Ἰουδαῖα ἀρχισυνάγωγος, Rufina. See discussion in Ross Shepard Kraemer, *Unreliable Witnesses: Religion, Gender, and History in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 179–241.

[114] Rajak and Noy list 38 occurrences in epigraphic sources dating from the first to sixth centuries CE ("Archisynagogoi," Appendices I and II). A search on Packard Humanities Institute, "Greek Inscriptions" includes 50 occurrences. When examining titles in Greek and Roman associations, Rajak and Noy point out that outsiders, women, non-group members, children, deceased, deities could be given titles ("Archisynagogoi," 85).

associations in civic contexts.[115]. Rajak and Noy observe that often *archisynagōgoi* "operate essentially like Greco-Roman benefactors within a 'euergetistic' framework."[116] *Archisynagōgoi* could serve a liturgical role and as a benefactor of a Jewish association.

Interpreting *archisynagōgos* as both a functionary and honorific title helps explain Luke's connection between Crispus "trusting in the Lord" (ἐπίστευσεν τῷ κυρίῳ) and the subsequent "trusting" and baptism of many Corinthians.[117] On the one hand, Crispus' initiation marks an ethnic association leader's shift from one Jewish association to another. On the other, it indicates the connections between a patron of a Jewish association and a broader civic context.

After Luke's Crispus affiliates with Paul, many "Corinthians" join Paul's group as well. Luke depicts a titled donor/benefactor of the Jewish association in Corinth moving to support Paul. This triggers a flow of Corinthians from one Jewish association into

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[115] Rajak and Noy, "Archisynagogoi." Previous scholars identified *archisynagōgoi* as "people who made prayer their business and who were assigned to the sphere of the sacred" ("Archisynagogoi," 83). For a critique of Rajak and Noy see Kraemer, *Unreliable Witnesses*, 234–38.

[116] *Archisynagōgoi* are listed as donors of buildings/repairs (*CIJ* 722, 744, 766, 1404), mosaics (*CIJ* 803, 804; *SEG* 20.462), columns (*Salamine XIII* 200) and chancel screens (*CIJ* 756). See quote and discussion in Rajak and Noy, "Archisynagogoi," 87.

[117] Cf. 1 Cor. 1:14 where (the historical) Paul indicates that he baptized Crispus. Acts does not indicate that Crispus was baptized. The shift in verb tense from the first half of 18:8 to the second and the repetition πιστεύω, first in the aorist and then in the imperfect, indicates that it is only the multitude of Corinthians who are baptized.

another.[118] Luke presents these Corinthians following a recognized civic benefactor in the formation of a new Jewish civic association.

The claim that "Corinthians" join Paul is significant for the civic identity of Paul's association. Corinthian identity, Ephesian identity, and Jewish identity were malleable and contested, negotiated, disputed, and leveraged by elites and citizens, patrons and clients.[119] The claim of Corinthian identity therefore conveyed a connection to the Greek past with its associated civic status and honor. By affiliating Corinthians with Paul's group, Luke makes a claim for the place of Paul's group on the Corinthian civic hierarchy. Crispus, as a civic benefactor, serves as the bond connecting Corinthians with Paul's Jewish association. Many Corinthians join Paul's new Jewish association after hearing that a recognized civic patron and leader of another Jewish association, Crispus, joins Paul.

This sequence again situates Jewish identity as hybrid. As a leader of the Jewish community Crispus' Jewishness is affirmed, yet he demonstrates his role as a Corinthian by influencing other Corinthians to join Paul's Jewish association. Like Luke's Paul, the

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[118] Cf. Acts 18:4.

[119] See e.g., the negotiated civic identity of Favorinus, the mid-second century CE sophist, in Corinth. Maud W. Gleason, "The Semiotics of Gender: Physiognomy and Self-Fashioning in the Second Century C. E.," in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. David M. Halperin, Froma I. Zeitlin, and John J. Winkler (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 389–413; Concannon, *When You Were Gentiles*.

Jew who is also Roman, and Salutaris, the Roman who is also Ephesian, Crispus is Jewish while also Corinthian.[120]

Luke's inclusion of Crispus creates space to legitimate Paul's understanding of Jewish sacred traditions (e.g., the Messiah is Jesus, Christian non-Jews do not need circumcision) while at the same time maintaining the Jewishness of Paul's gathering in Corinth. This dual negotiation highlights the way Acts leverages the gods-people-place connection in civic and ethnic space to situate Jesus followers as Jews. As the scene in Corinth unfolds, Luke presents Christians as a better Jewish association for the *polis*.

The Jews before Gallio

Acts again highlights the Jewishness of Christians' civic and ethnic space in the affair with Gallio. Luke writes:

> (18:12) Γαλλίωνος δὲ ἀνθυπάτου ὄντος τῆς Ἀχαΐας κατεπέστησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα (13) λέγοντες ὅτι παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἀναπείθει οὗτος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους σέβεσθαι τὸν θεόν. (14) μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου ἀνοίγειν τὸ στόμα εἶπεν ὁ Γαλλίων πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους· εἰ μὲν ἦν ἀδίκημά τι ἢ ῥᾳδιούργημα πονηρόν, ὦ Ἰουδαῖοι, κατὰ λόγον ἂν ἀνεσχόμην ὑμῶν, (15) εἰ δὲ ζητήματά ἐστιν περὶ λόγου καὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ νόμου τοῦ καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς, ὄψεσθε αὐτοί· κριτὴς ἐγὼ τούτων οὐ βούλομαι εἶναι. (16) καὶ ἀπήλασεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος. (17) ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ πάντες Σωσθένην τὸν ἀρχισυνάγωγον ἔτυπτον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος· καὶ οὐδὲν τούτων τῷ Γαλλίωνι ἔμελεν.
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> (18:12) But when Gallio was proconsul of Achaia, the Jews rose up against Paul in one accord and led him to the tribunal (13) saying, "This guy is misleading people to venerate the [Jewish] God contrary to law." (14) When Paul was about to open his mouth, Gallio said to the Jews, "If there were some crime or serious wrongdoing, Jews, I would be justified in accepting your complaint; (15) but if you have questions about words and names and your own law, see to it yourselves; I do not desire to be a judge of these things." (16) And he dismissed

[120] Contra Pervo who states that Luke "made Crispus a Jew" (*Acts*, 448).

> them from the tribunal. (17) Then seizing Sosthenes, the *archisynagogos*, they all beat him before the tribunal. And none of these things were a concern for Gallio.

Luke here provides another insight into how Paul's community relates to other Jewish associations.[121] In this narrative climax of Paul's time in Corinth, Luke uses the highest ranking Roman official depicted in Acts, the proconsul Gallio, to silence Paul—which goes against the Lord's command to Paul (18:9)—and to proclaim that the problems some Jews had with Paul are indeed Jewish issues.[122] The Jewish community in Corinth, Paul and the association that met at Titius Justus' home included, needed to deal with these issues themselves according to this Roman regional official.[123]

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[121] Cf. the similar charges in Acts 16:21; 17:7

[122] On Acts 18:12-17 as the narrative climax see Haenchen, *Acts*, 538; cf. Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 57. Steve Walton understands these issues as intra-Jewish issues. See Steve Walton, "Trying Paul or Trying Rome? Judges and Accused in the Roman Trials of Paul in Acts," in *Luke-Acts and Empire: Essays in Honor of Robert L. Brawley* (ed. David M. Rhoads, David Esterline, and Jae-won Lee; Princeton Theological Monograph Series 151; Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011), 129. On Paul's silence before Gallio see Daniel Lynwood Smith, *The Rhetoric of Interruption: Speech-Making, Turn-Taking, and Rule-Breaking in Luke-Acts and Ancient Greek Narrative* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012) esp. chapter 6, "Interrupted Speech in the Acts of the Apostles."

[123] Much is made of Luke's mention of Junius Annaeus Gallio, a well-connected Roman *equites* who lived during the middle of the first century CE. Gallio, born as Marcus Annaeus Novotus, was adopted by Lucius Junius Gallio and was proconsul of Asia in 51 CE (Tajra, *Trial*, 51). The date of Gallio's service as proconsul appears in an inscription from Delphi (SIG 2, 801d, translated in J. Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Corinth: Texts and Archaeology* [Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1990], 149–50). See Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World*, trans. Lionel R. M. Strachan (New York: George H. Doran, 1927), 5 n. 1. On Gallio and his family see Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.8; 14.53; 15.73; 16.17; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 31.33; Dio Cassius 41.20; 62.25. Lake, Foakes-Jackson, and Cadbury provide discussion of Gallio's family and career (*The Beginnings of*

In his discussion of Gallio's ruling, Steve Walton points out that by granting legal immunity to Paul, Gallio "*de facto* treats the group meeting in Titius Justus' house as a subspecies of Judaism."[124] In the terms of ethnic rhetoric, Luke's Gallio identifies both the previously existing Jewish association and those now gathered in Titius Justus' home

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Christianity. Part 1: The Acts of the Apostles, vol. 5 [New York: Macmillan, 1933], 4:226). Notably, he is the brother of the orator Seneca and the uncle of the satirist Lucian.

Because of Luke's inclusion of Gallio, scholars have focused on two aspects when interpreting this passage: describing the historical Gallio and examining Luke's presentation of Gallio to detect whether it is pro-Roman or anti-Roman. See Tajra, *Trial*, 45–61. See also discussion in Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 630–31. Scholars evoke Luke's Gallio in order to date (the historical) Paul's time in Corinth and to lend historical credibility to the narrative of Acts and have interpreted Luke's depiction of Gallio in both positive and negative ways. For a more positive view Moyer V. Hubbard, "Urban Uprisings in the Roman World: The Social Setting of the Mobbing of Sosthenes," *NTS* 51 (2005): 416–28; Walton, "Trying Paul"; for more negative views see Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 57–62; Tajra, *Trial*, 56, 59, 61; Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Corinth: Texts and Archaeology*, 168–69. See discussion of Luke's stance toward Rome in Raymond Pickett, "Luke and Empire: An Introduction," in *Luke-Acts and Empire: Essays in Honor of Robert L. Brawley*, ed. David M. Rhoads, David Esterline, and Jae-won Lee, Princeton Theological Monograph Series 151 (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011), 1–22; Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 1–2. Many interpret the passage as Luke's attempt to situate "Christianity" as a legal entity before Rome. See e.g., Haenchen, *Acts*, 541; Bruce W. Winter, "Gallio's Ruling on the Legal Status of Early Christianity (Acts 18:14-15)," *TynBul* 50 (1999): 213–24.

Steve Walton offers a slightly different perspective. He finds the key to understanding this passage in Paul's dream in Acts 18:9-10. In the dream, the Lord says that no one will harm Paul. This sets the stage for the trial scene in 18:12-15 by foreshadowing the resolution between Jews and a Roman. Walton concludes, "Luke's literary focus in presenting this incident appears less on the role of the Roman proconsul and more on God's action in taking the mission forward, and thus in protecting his servants. Gallio is one chess piece in God's hands" ("Trying Paul," 131).

[124] Walton, "Trying Paul," 129. Walton echoes Winter, "Gallio's Ruling," 217.

as part of the Jewish community in Corinth.[125] Kavin Rowe also contends that Gallio's response marks the disagreement between Paul and the Jews who accuse him as an "intra-Jewish theological debate."[126] Since this was an intra-Jewish debate, Gallio did not need to rule on the matter. The charge against Paul is not that he introduces foreign customs (cf. 16:21), but he persuades people to venerate the God of Israel contrary to law. Luke thus uses Gallio to legitimate the Jewishness of Paul's community.

Luke's representation of the conflict in Corinth does not stop with Gallio's ruling, however. After Gallio drives Paul and his accusers from the tribunal, bystanders (πάντες) grab Sosthenes, an until-now-unmentioned-*archisynagōgos* in Corinth, and beat him before he can get away from the tribunal. Gallio, Luke suggests, is indifferent to these events (18:16-17).

The narrative referent of πάντες is ambiguous.[127] No matter who are included in the "all" Luke depicts the beating of a benefactor in the center of the city. This has the narrative effect of shaming Sosthenes and his Jewish association.[128] Some scholars

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[125] Cf. Winter, "Gallio's Ruling," 217–18. Elsewhere, Winter writes, "Whether Jewish Christian or Gentile Christians, Roman citizens, or provincials, they [Christians] were all seen as 'a party' operating under the Jewish umbrella. Therefore being a Christian in the province of Achaea was not a criminal offence, according to Gallio" ("Gallio's Ruling," 222).

[126] Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 58.

[127] Some MSS include the qualifier Ἕλληνες, but the earliest MSS leave the referent open. The D-Text includes "Greeks" while $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$, א 01, A 02, B 03, do not. See full list in Swanson, *Variant Readings*, 321.

[128] Many scholars take the depiction Sosthenes's mobbing as an example of Greco-Roman anti-Jewish bias. For the tendency to interpret this verse as an example of anti-

understand πάντες as referring to only the Jews who have accused Paul and take the mobbing as frustration at the dismissal of the legal case.[129] Malina and Pilch, for example, see Sosthenes' beating as a public shaming by Jews for his failure to obtain a favorable verdict.[130] Moyer Hubbard contends that πάντες makes the most narrative sense as referring to Paul's Jewish accusers *and* the Greeks who gathered in the Corinthian agora.[131] He points to the fact that Luke has identified no group other than Jews in the scene.[132] But, he contends that the verses depict a common Roman fear, the uprising of the urban masses.[133] He concludes that it is a mistake "to reduce this incident to simply or even primarily racial enmity and ignore the wider socio-economic issues fueling such disturbances throughout the Greco-Roman world."[134] The fear of urban unrest adequately explains how Luke depicts Sosthenes beating.[135]

Jewish bias see discussion in Hubbard, "Urban Uprisings," 416–17. Cf. Jervell, who sees the mobbing against all of the Jewish accusers. He concludes "Was Lukas mit dieser Szene beabsichtigt, lässt sich nicht sagen. ("What Luke intends with this scene can not be said") (*Apostelgeschichte*, 462).

[129] Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 630; Pervo, *Acts*, 454–55; Malina and Pilch, *Acts*, 132; cf. Tajra, *Trial*, 58.

[130] Malina and Pilch, *Acts*, 132.

[131] Hubbard, "Urban Uprisings." Following Barrett, *Acts*, 875.

[132] Hubbard, "Urban Uprisings," 418; cf. Pervo, *Acts*, 455.

[133] Hubbard, "Urban Uprisings." Cf. Wills, "Jews in Acts."

[134] Hubbard, "Urban Uprisings," 427.

[135] However, Hubbard and others unnecessarily limit the referents of πάντες with reference to Jews and Greeks and thereby exonerate Paul and his community from participation in the violence. Cf. Pervo, *Acts*, 455. Pervo remarks that the beating of

Given the nature of the accusations and Gallio's response, it is likely that Luke's πάντες included both Greeks and Jews, some of whom were also Christians.[136] Those individuals whose identity could be questioned, like Titius Justus, have the most to lose if Paul is found guilty of persuading people to venerate the God of Israel contrary to Jewish ancestral customs. Paul's neck is on the line, but the legitimacy of Paul's community, especially Christian non-Jews, is also at stake.

Luke, therefore, uses the beating of an *archisynagōgos* to situate the Jewish associations in a civic context. The public beating of Sosthenes is significant for the status of his Jewish association. The beating of a benefactor in the heart of the *polis*, shames the entire association. Sosthenes' shame is heightened when contrasted with Crispus. Jews and Greeks alike publically shame a benefactor of one Jewish association while the benefactor of Paul's Jewish association inspires "many Corinthians" to honor God. Through the mob violence of the indiscriminant πάντες, Luke establishes Paul's Jewish association as both a legitimate Jewish association and as attractive to the citizens of Corinth.

After the beating of Sosthenes, Paul remains, undisturbed, in Corinth (18:18). He eventually leaves for Syria, taking Pricilla and Aquila with him. He makes stops in Ephesus, Caesarea, and Jerusalem, before spending some time in Antioch (18:19-22) and

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Sosthenes is the point in the story where "Christians" hearing it told would have jumped up and cheered.

[136] There is no contextual reason to think that Luke's Paul himself is not involved in the public beating. In fact, given Paul's proclivity for violence and the strong opposition he inspires throughout Acts, it is possible that Luke imagines Paul's involvement.

heading back to the regions of Galatia and Phrygia (18:23). Luke brings this journey of Paul, which began when Paul left Jerusalem (15:35), to a close. Paul and his companions have travelled the Mediterranean and expanded their reach from Antioch to Macedonia, Greece, and Asia while delivering the decision reached by the apostles and elders. They encouraged the assemblies in the *poleis* (16:4-5) thus creating a unified, empire-wide community of Christians populated by Jews—born Jews, like Paul, and proselytes, like the Christian non-Jews.

Conclusion: Gods-People-Places and Ethnic Rhetoric

In 104 CE, Salutaris proposed, and the Ephesian council approved, a foundation that enacted a change in the way that Ephesians interacted with Artemis and their *polis*. The great goddess could now travel with the Emperors as her companions, and she processed through their space and under the shadow of their temples, avoiding the route to the place of her mythic birth. Salutaris and the Ephesian council negotiated Ephesian identity for the Roman era *polis* through their ancestral goddess, her people, and the urban landscape of her *polis* in ways that unified Ephesian identity in a changing present. Salutaris' Foundation legitimates this ethnic change by deploying the ancestral connections between gods, their people, and their geographical place. Thus, ethnic reasoning provided a means of identifying wealthy Romans as Ephesians in relation to Artemis, Ephesians, and Ephesus.

At the outset of his journey depicted in Acts 15:30-18:23, Luke's Paul desires to see how the communities he had previously formed are doing (15:36). Throughout the rest of the journey, Paul repeatedly creates, strengthens, and encourages Christian

associations in the *polis*. When taken together, Paul's movement through narrative space—Lystra, Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, and beyond—calls into existence a unified identity for his association within the Roman era *polis*. Luke's Paul journeys with God, guided by the Holy Spirit and the spirit of Jesus. He travels with Timothy, the symbolic representation of the Jewishness of Christians, whom he leaves behind, thus extending his own unifying presence once he departs a given location. Paul and his entourage fuse the Christian community, not as a civic league, but as a cohesive Jewish association under the authority of God and that God's Messiah. They do this in stark contrast to the local Jewish associations they encounter along the way. Reading Paul's movement from Jerusalem through the Roman world and back to Jerusalem in relation to the movement of the Salutaris Foundation processions provides a path to compare the ethnic rhetoric of Acts' depictions of Jews within the context of the Roman era *polis*. Ethnic reasoning provides a means of identifying Christian non-Jews as the best Jews for the *polis* in relation to God, Jews, and their local associations.[137]

[137] This Lukan rhetoric identifies Christians as Jews, but in doing so it appropriates and manipulates Jewishness in ways that have had significant historical consequences. What I have argued was an internal distinction among Jewish civic associations quickly became anti-Jewish rhetoric and was leveraged by later interpreters to condemn Jews and promote violence.

Chapter Six: Conclusion: Christian Non-Jews and the *Polis*

As we have seen, the images of Jewish and Christian identity in Acts of the Apostles exist within a much wider context of ethnic claims in the Roman era *polis*. These claims, and the ethnic, civic, and religious identities they purported to describe, did not specify or identify static or fixed categories but were enacted in specific rhetorical situations. Identity labels were negotiable and remarkably flexible, intersecting with one another in complex and meaningful ways. Within this meaningful intersection, ancient authors, civic benefactors, and other "cultural producers" found the space to inscribe social, cultural, religious, and political change. The writer of Acts, for his part, capitalizes on this fluidity by depicting Jewish identity in a way that the category included Christian non-Jews without circumcision. In his account, "the Jews" were not simply a theological foil for Christians. Rather, Jewishness was an ethnic identity, but simultaneously and inseparably a religious and civic identity as well. From this point of view, "being Jewish" was an inherited characteristic that regulated one's place within a *polis,* but also an achievable identity that could be attained through worship and other mechanisms. Among first and second century Jews, the claim that honoring the God of the Jews in specific ways could make one "Jewish" was not innovative; rather adherence to this God was an accepted way of assimilating non-Jews into a Jewish community from at least the Second Temple period onward. Many Jews would agree with Luke that such non-Jewish adherents to the God of Israel could become Jewish proselytes. Not every Jew would have accepted the Jewishness of proselytes, but as Acts 2:5-13 suggests, the author of

Acts agreed with those who did. From this perspective, proselytes are Jewish even as they remain distinct from those who are Jewish by lineage. One can be both Jewish and Carian, both Jewish and Cretan, both Jewish and Roman, or a non-Jewish *Jewish* proselyte, for example, and still qualify for the label "Jew."

Similar forms of multiple, hybrid, and fluid ethnic reasoning are found throughout Roman era cities, and not only among Jews. Carved into walls, fashioned into images of the divine and the mundane, and enacted through civic processions, the hybrid character of ethnic categorization was both referenced and enacted in a variety of media. Thus, the benefactors who commissioned the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias of Caria linked the mythical ethnic tie between Aphrodite, the city's patron goddess, and Aeneas, the legendary founder of Rome, legitimating Aphrodisian Roman-ness even as they preserved Carian difference. At the same time, they deployed a Roman model of ethnic rhetoric that depicted subjected populations as a collection of conquered *ethnē,* promoting a distinction between their own city and those other conquered populations. Aphrodisians portrayed themselves as "Roman," and others less so. In a similar way, Salutaris and his Foundation from Ephesus represented wealthy Roman immigrants as "true" Ephesians who honor both Artemis Ephesia and the Roman imperial family. Though they remained Roman, they were also integrated into the mythical, religious hierarchy of the city, incorporated into the tribe of the Sebaste and therefore placed within the ancient civic tribal structure. Salutaris appears to have viewed himself as every bit as Ephesian as any other resident of the city. The involvement of Salutaris and those like him in the ancient

hierarchies of Ephesus was thereby normalized, legitimating the changes taking place in the city at the beginning of the second century CE.

Acts also utilized religious, ethnic, and civic identity markers to navigate social change. In Acts 15, the narrative of the Jerusalem council emphasized the power of God to determine how non-Jews could be welcomed into Christian (that is Jewish) communities. God, Acts claims, accepts non-Jews without circumcision, an symbol that, by the Roman period, had come to indicate how a non-Jew joined the Jewish people and became Jewish. To justify this acceptance of non-Jews without circumcision, Luke's James pointed to instructions regarding the προσήλυτοι drawn from Leviticus (LXX). By connecting portion of the Jewish scriptures that used the term προσήλυτος to the debate surrounding the circumcision of Christian non-Jews, Luke has used the ancient term προσήλυτος, a term meaning "resident alien," to affect the concept of the Jewish proselyte. These ancient proselytes, Luke argues, did not need circumcision, but had to follow a set of standard, "well-known" regulations. So to, his Christian non-Jews did not need circumcision but only a set of regulations to be identified as proselytes. Acts thus played on the flexible meaning of proselyte in ways that both undermined contemporaneous claims that equated proselyte identity with circumcision and bolstered James' (that is, Luke's) own assertion that his regulations, which did not require circumcision of Christian non-Jews, were both ancient and ancestral. With this innovative move, Luke identified Christians, both born Jews and proselytes, as Jews, independent of circumcision. This move provided space for Luke to situate Christian communities as a type of Jewish community within the city.

As Luke's Paul moved throughout the Mediterranean world in Acts 15-18, he proclaimed the Jerusalem council's message about the acceptance of non-Jews. In a few places, Paul and his traveling companions are portrayed as facing opposition from the leaders of local Jewish communities, an opposition that Luke situated within both Jewish and civic discourses. By combining Paul's movements with his interactions with Jewish communities in various cities, the writer depicted Christian communities as a unified Jewish association that stretches beyond civic boundaries and across the Mediterranean. Moreover, by juxtaposing Christian leaders like Paul with the leaders of other local Jewish associations, he represented Christian communities as a better, more peaceful type of Jewish community for the city, utilizing geography to naturalize a specific, Christianized form of Jewish identity. Luke thus positioned Christian communities in relation to Jewish associations and within broader civic structures in ways that legitimated Christians' place within the Roman era cities of the Mediterranean world.

Acts, Ethnic reasoning, and beyond Christian origins

Throughout this project I have pushed against the view that Christian identity is un-ethnic, and in turn, a dichotomized view of Jews and Christians in Acts, particularly one that views Jew as an ethnic category and "Christian" as its universalizing, non-ethnic opposite. I argue instead that Acts' rhetoric of Jewish and Christian identity should be situated within the context of Roman era cities, in which ethnic, civic, and religious identities were inseparable. Placing Acts within this broader ethnic discourse emphasizes the Jewishness of Christians, even in Acts. By reading Acts' with an eye to the writer's ethnic reasoning, it becomes clear that Luke did not represent Jews as a static group but

instead presented Jewish identity in multiple, hybrid, and complex ways that allowed for the identification of Christian non-Jews as Jews. Debates and conflicts between Christians and other Jews in places like Jerusalem (5:17-42; 7:1–8:1; 22:1-21), Antioch (13:13-52), and Rome (28:17-31) are therefore presented as intra-Jewish debates about the implications of following the God of Israel. Luke also employs the ethnic, religious, and civic aspects of Jewish identity to privilege those Jews (and non-Jewish Jews) who follow Jesus. For example, near the end of Acts, Luke has Paul speak to a Roman tribunal in Greek, identifying himself as a Jew and a Tarsian of Cilicia (21:39-40). Then when Luke's Paul addresses the crowd gathered in Jerusalem in the "Hebrew dialect," he identifies himself as a Jew who was born in Tarsus but educated in Jerusalem according to the ancestral laws (22:2-3). In a world of competitive identity claims, Paul's dual self-identifications—first as a Tarsian, and second as someone who had been born in Tarsus—are not insignificant. They are a form of ethnic reasoning that enable Paul to embody multiple ethnic categories simultaneously.

Luke also situates Christians ethnically within the civic hierarchies of every city where they are placed. For example, Luke's Paul claims to know the identity of the unknown god that the Athenians honor (Acts 17:23). This god, according to Luke's Paul, is the God who made all *ethnē* from a single ancestor (17:26). Moreover, "Paul" argues humans are the γένος of this God (17:28, 29), a rhetorical claim that is reminiscent of the Aphrodisian-Carian claim to be "Roman" by means of a shared divine ancestry. Luke situates the God of the Jews within the pantheon of Athenian deities as the Highest God while at the same time claiming that all humanity is linked ethnically both to one another

and to this God. Luke thus uses ethnic and religious rhetoric to inform and guide Paul's speech in Athens and to establish a relation between Athenians and the God of Israel.

As attention to ethnic reasoning has further demonstrated, Acts' so-called "Christian universalism"—that is, salvation was only available to Jews, but is now available to all through Christ—should be abandoned in its current form. If Acts marks all Christians as Jews and Christian communities as Jewish communities, as I have argued, then the concept of "Christian universalism" should be understood as a particular form of "Jewish universalism." Non-Jews can join Jews if they become Jewish through Christ. On the one hand, this interpretation shifts the discussion away from whether Acts is anti-Jewish or not toward how Luke imagines an intra-Jewish debate about the Jewishness of non-Jews. On the other hand, it does not alleviate the incipient supersessionist impulse of Acts—Luke's Christians have still appropriated the God of Isarel and Jewish scriptures as their own. It is within this double deployment of Jewishness that Luke is able to situate Christians as both Jewish and distinct from other Jews. It is also how later Christian interpreters are able to reposition Christians as the "true Israel," even as they are becoming more and more distinct from their Jewish origins, and it is how early Christians quickly move from identifying as a Jewish sect to positing anti-Jewish interpretations of Acts and Christianity. These features of Acts' interpretive history haunt Luke's images of Jews and Jewishness in Acts and cannot and should not be separated from interpretations of the historical document.[1]

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[1] See Denise Buell who contends that "[c]laims of peoplehood in texts *re-membered* as Christian are resources from which hegemonic religious, ethnic, national, and racial

This reconsideration of the intersection between ethnic, religious, and civic identity in early Christian rhetoric reconnects life in the *polis*, ethnic identity, and religious practices, demonstrating that these connections were both inextricably bound up, one to another, and fundamental to the development of Christian identity in Acts and beyond. As we have seen, civic, ethnic, and religious were intertwined throughout the *polis*, and Luke both knew and made the most of this phenomenon. Reading Acts in an urban context shows that Luke was engaged in close conversation with the visible, material, and practical signs of civic life. His decision to represent Christian communities as a unified, peaceful Jewish civic association, in part, by identifying Christian non-Jews as Jewish proselytes, shows that his polemic was directed at particular Jews, not at Jewishness in general, which he sought to claim for his version of Christian ethnic identity. Through this form of ethnic reasoning, Acts situated Christians in the city's bustling (and hierarchical) topography as Jews.

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belonging have subsequently been constructed." She posits "haunting" as a powerful way to speak about forces that affects us yet remain "invisible and elusive." See See Denise Kimber Buell, "God's Own People: Specters of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in Early Christian Studies," in *Prejudice and Christian Beginnings: Investigating Race, Gender, and Ethnicity in Early Christian Studies*, ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza and Laura Nasrallah (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2009), 159, 166–167.

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Curriculum Vitae

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