The Collective Designation of Christ-Followers as *Ekklēsiai*

BEFORE 'CHURCH': POLITICAL, ETHNO-RELIGIOUS, AND THEOLOGICAL

IMPLICATIONS OF THE COLLECTIVE DESIGNATION OF PAULINE CHRIST-

FOLLOWERS AS *EKKLĒSIAI*

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Before 'Church': Political, Ethno-Religious, and Theological Implications of the

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In this study I situate socio-historically the adoption of the term *ekklēsia* as a permanent identity by some groups of early Christ-followers. Given pre-existing usages of the word *ekklēsia* in Greco-Roman and Jewish circles, I focus on three investigative priorities: What source(s) lie(s) behind the permanent self-designation of some Christ-followers as an *ekklēsia*? What theological need(s) did that collective identity meet? What political and ethno-religious ideological end(s) did the appropriation of *ekklēsia* as a sub-group identity serve?

In addressing these questions, particularly in relation to Paul's use of the word *ekklēsia*, I contribute to at least three areas of *ekklēsia* research. First, I build upon and develop the preliminary observation by Runesson, Binder, and Olsson (2008) that *ekklēsia* can refer either to a gathering of Jews or to the self-designation of a Jewish community, i.e., that *ekklēsia* should be understood as one among several terms referring to what is translated into English as "synagogue." This problematizes, from an institutional perspective, suggestions common in scholarship that Paul was "parting ways" with Judaism(s), 'Jewishness,' or Jewish organizational forms. Second, given both that non-Jewish Christ-followers could not be designated using the ethno-religious term "Israel" and that *ekklēsia* is a Jewish synagogue term, Paul's designation of his multi-ethnic communities as *ekklēsiai* allowed gentiles qua gentiles to share with Torah observant Jews qua Jews in God's salvation history with Israel. *Ekklēsia*, thus, does not

indicate an inherently supersessionist identity for communities designated by this term. Third, Paul's adoption of a political identity (civic *ekklēsia*) for his communities need not imply his promotion of counter-imperial civic ideology. Greek literary (e.g., Plutarch) and inscriptional evidence suggests that if an Imperial period non-civic group (e.g., voluntary association) self-designated as an *ekklēsia*, it could have been perceived as a positive, rather than as an anti-Roman, participant in society.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

Epigraphy: Primary Sources

Agora 15	Meritt and Traill, 1974.
Agora 16	Woodhead, 1997.
Agora 17	Bradeen, 1974.
Agora 19, Horoi	Lalonde, 1991.
Agora 19, Leases	Walbank, 1991.
Agora 19	Langdon, 1991.
Agora 21	Lang, 1976.
Amyzon	McCabe, 1991.
Aphrodisias	McCabe, 1991.
BMC Lydia	Head, 1901.
Bosch, *Quellen Ankara*	Bosch, 1967.
Cabanes, l'Épire	Cabanes, 1976.
CIG	Boeckh, Franz, et al., 1828–77.
CIJ/*CII*	Frey, 1936–1952.
CIRB	Struve, et al., 1983.
CPJ	Tcherikover, Fuks, et al., 1957–64.
EKM 1.Beroia	Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos, 1998.
Ephesos	McCabe, 1991.
Epigr. tou Oropou	Petrakos, 1997.
FD III	Bourguet, Colin, et al., 1929–.
IAlexandriaK	Kayser, 1994.
Gonnoi	Helly, 1973.
Halikarnassos	McCabe, 1991.
Hornblower, *Mausolus*	Hornblower, 1982.
IAsMinLyk I	Benndorf and Niemann, 1884.
IBouthrotos	Cabanes and Drini, 2007.
ID/*IDelos*	Durrbach, Roussel, et al., 1926–1972.
IDid/*IDidyma*	McCabe, 1985.
IEph	McCabe, 1991.
IG	Kirchoff, Hiller von Gaertringen, et al., 1873–; 1924–.
IG I^2	Hiller von Gaertringen, 1924.
IG I^3	Lewis and Jeffery, 1981–.
IG II	Koehler, 1877–1895.
IG II²	Kirchner, 1913–1940.
IG III	Dittenberger, 1878–1882.
IG IV^2	Hiller von Gaertringen, 1929.
IG IV^2,1	Hiller von Gaertringen 1929.
IG VII	Dittenberger, 1892.
IG IX,1	Dittenberger, 1897.
IG IX,1^2	Klaffenback, 1932–1968.
IG IX,2	Kern, 1908.

IG X,2	Edson, 1914.
IG X,2.1	Edson, 1972.
IG XI,4	Roussel, 1914.
IG XII,1	Hiller von Gaertringen, 1895.
IG XII,3	Hiller von Gaertringen, 1895.
IG XII,5	Hiller von Gaertringen, 1903–1909.
IG XII,Suppl	Hiller von Gaertringen, 1939.
IG XIV	Kaibel, 1890.
IGLAM/LBW	Le Bas and Waddington, 1870; repr., 1972.
IGLSyrie I	Jalabert and René Mouterde, 1929.
IGR III	Cagnat et al., 1902–1906; repr., 1975.
IGRR	Cagnat, Toutain, et al., 1911–1927.
IGSK	Ameling, Blümel, et al., 1972–.
IGUR	Moretti, 1968–1990.
IHerapJ	Judeich, 1898.
IIasos	McCabe, 1991.
IKourion	Mitford, 1971.
IK Kios	Corsten, 1985.
IK Laodikeia am Lykos	Corsten, 1997.
ILS	Dessau, 1892–1916.
IMagn	McCabe, 1991.
IMagnMai	Kern, 1900.
IMT	Barth and Stauber, 1993.
IMT Adram Kolpos	Barth and Stauber, 1993.
IMT NoerdlTroas	Barth and Stauber, 1993.
IMT SuedlTroas	Barth and Stauber, 1993.
IMylasa	McCabe, 1991.
IosPE I²	Latyshev, 1916.
IK Pessinous	Strubbe, 2005.
IPrusaOlymp	Corsten, 1991–1993.
Iscr. di Cos	Segre, 1993.
ISelge	Nollé and Schindler, 1991.
ISmyrna	McCabe, 1988.
IScM III	Avram, 2000.
IThess I	Decourt, 1995–.
IvO	Dittenberger and Purgold, 1896.
JIGRE	Horbury and Noy, 1992.
LSCGS	Sokolowski, 1962.
LSCG	Sokolowski, 1969.
MAMA	Calder, Herzfeld, et al., 1928–93.
MAMA III	Keil and Wilhelm, 1931.
MAMA XI	Balance, forthcoming 2014.
IMilet	Wiegend, Kawerau, et al. 1889–1997.
Miletos	McCabe, 1984.

Mon. Ant.	Monumenti antichi (Milan).
OGIS	Dittenberger, 1903–5/1960.
Pan du désert	Bernand, 1977.
Peek, Asklepieion	Peek, 1969.
RECAM II	Mitchell, 1982.
Rigsby, Asylia	Rigsby, 1996.
RIChrM	Feissel, 1983.
Samos	McCabe, 1986.
Sardis VII	Buckler and Robinson, 1932.
Schwenk, Athens Alexander	Schwenk, 1985.
SE	Alpers, Halfmann, et al., 1995.
SEG	Hondius, Woodhead, et al., 1923–.
SGDI II	Baunack, Collitz, et al., 1885–1899.
SIG[3]	Dittenberger, Hiller von Gaertringen, et al., 1915–1924.
Sinuri	McCabe, 1991.
St.Pont. III	Anderson, Cumont, et al., 1910.
TAM	Kalinka, Heberdey, et al., 1920–.
TAM II	Kalinka, 1920–1944.
TAM III	Heberdey, 1941.
TAM V,1	Hermann, 1981 and 1989.
Teos	McCabe, 1985.
Tit. Calymnii	Segre, "Tituli Calymnii," *ASAtene* 22–23, (1944–1945 [1952]): 1–248.

Epigraphy: Secondary Sources

AE	*L'Année épigraphique*. Cagnat, Merlin, et al., 1888–.
AGRW	Ascough, Harland, Kloppenborg, 2012.
ASSB	Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, 2008.
BE	*Bulletin epigraphique*. Haussoullier, Reinach, et al., 1888–.
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* (Paris).
GRA	Kloppenborg and Ascough, 2011.
Meletemata	Kentron Hellenikes kai Romaikes Archaiotetos (Ethnikon Hidryma Ereunon). Athens 1985–.
Hesperia	*Hesperia*. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
Historia	Historia (Milan).
JÖAI	Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien (Vienna).
MbBerlin	*Monatsberichte der preussischen (deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin).
MDAI(A)	*Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*. Athenische Abteilung (Berlin).

Greek Writers

Aeschin.	Aeschines
Arist.	Aristotle
Dem.	Demosthenes
Dio Chrys.	Dio Chrysostom
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus
Hor.	Horace
Philostr.	Philostratus
Plut.	Plutarch
Polyb.	Polybius
Suet.	Suetonius
Tac.	Tacitus
Thuc.	Thucydides
Xen.	Xenophon

Introduction

1. Ekklēsia *as Christ-follower Sub-Group Identity*

Before "church," there was *ekklēsia*.[1] Before the *ekklēsia* of first-generation

Christ-followers, there was the *ekklēsia* of Israel in the Septuagint (LXX). Before all

Jewish uses of the word *ekklēsia*, there was the civic *ekklēsia* of classical Athens.

The use of *ekklēsia* terminology by some early Christ-followers was distinctive in

at least one respect from Jewish and Greek sources.[2] Some sub-groups of Christ-

followers, which were trans-locally connected, adopted *ekklēsia* as a permanent collective

identity. Greek sources do not use *ekklēsia* as a permanent group designation. *Ekklēsia*

occurrences in Greek literary and epigraphic sources refer either to the public gathering

of the citizenry (*dēmos*) of a *polis* or to a temporary collective identity assumed by the

dēmos during the course of that public gathering.[3] The semantic range of *ekklēsia* in

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[1] The Greek word often translated "church" in modern versions is *ekklēsia*. Its meaning in the ancient world was simply "assembly." As such, I will generally avoid using the anachronistic term "church" throughout this study and either transliterate the Greek word (*ekklēsia*) or translate "*ekklēsia*" as "assembly" or "meeting."

[2] I use the term "Christ-followers" in technical fashion for members of the Jesus movement during the first century CE. I will use the term "Christian" only in reference to Late Antique Christ-followers. I use the term "Christ-follower" rather than "Christ-believer" because it represents not just beliefs, but also practice. Regarding the need to avoid anachronistic designations, see Paul Trebilco, *Self-designations and Group Identity in the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 3; Steve Mason, "Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History," *JSJ 38* (2007): 457–512, esp. 482–88; and Anders Runesson, "Paul and 'Jewish Christianity': Terminological and Conceptual Issues" (paper presented at the annual SBL conference, Atlanta, GA, 22 November 2010), idem, "Inventing Christian Identity: Paul, Ignatius, and Theodotius I," in *Exploring Early Christian Identity* (WUNT 226; ed. B. Holmberg; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 59–92.

[3] Mogens Hermann Hansen notes that scholarly consensus defines a Greek *polis* as "a community of citizens rather than a territory ruled by a government" ("City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity," in *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* [HE 108; ed. M. H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996], 169–196, esp. 169 and 192). P. J. Rhodes and David M. Lewis note the challenges inherent in trying to identify whether the enacting community of a decree (i.e., ἔδοξεν τῆι…) is a *polis*. He says that a community could be a *polis*, or "a smaller unit within a *polis* or a larger unit containing *poleis*, or some other kind of body. A *dēmos* may be the body of citizens of a *polis*, or of a federation of *poleis*, or it may be smaller unit within a *polis*…A dependent community may call itself a *kome* or a *chorion*; it may

Jewish sources, while including the concept of a public gathering, also refers to a permanent group identity. In the LXX that permanent group identity is a supra-local one: the ethno-religious nation of Israel. Only in three of Philo's works does the possibility surface that the term *ekklēsia* might refer to a regional group identity, that is, to a local group of Jews in Egypt. Philo gives no indication, however, that this local *ekklēsia* was trans-locally connected with other Jewish *ekklēsiai* outside of Egypt. Given Greek and Jewish usages of the word *ekklēsia*, three questions naturally arise. Together, these three questions encapsulate my investigative priorities in this study: What source(s) lie(s) behind the permanent self-designation of some Christ-followers as an *ekklēsia*? What theological need(s) did that collective identity meet? What political and ethno-religious ideological end(s) did the appropriation of *ekklēsia* as a sub-group identity serve?

The term *ekklēsia* is not the only group designation adopted by first-generation Christ-followers. Acts and 1 Peter speak of *Christianoi* (Acts 11:26; 26:28; 1 Pet 4:16), Acts and the Pauline epistles mention *hoi hagioi* (e.g., Acts 9:13; Romans 15:25, 26, 31), the author of 3 John writes of *hoi philoi* (vv. 6 and 10), and Acts alone records that some were called followers of "the Way" (Acts 9:2; 24:14).[4] The one identity-signifying term

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call itself a *dēmos* or a *koinon* or it may even call itself a *polis*" (*The Decrees of the Greek States* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997], 102).

[4] Commenting on Acts 9:13, Richard I. Pervo implies that the group designation by which (Hebrew) Jewish Christ-followers in Jerusalem self-identify is the term *hoi hagioi* (*Acts: A Commentary* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009], 248). Richard Bauckham makes that implication explicit: "there is good reason to suppose that it [*hoi hagioi*] goes back to the early Jerusalem church" ("James and the Jerusalem Community," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* [ed. O. Skarsaune and R. Hvalvik; Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 2007], 55–95, esp. 57). Trebilco gives greater specificity to Bauckham's claim: "the use of οἱ ἅγιοι as a self-designation originated with Aramaic-speaking Jewish Christians in Jerusalem at a very early point" (*Self-designations and Group Identity in the New Testament* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012], 134). Trebilco explains his rationale: "In any case it is clear he [the author of Acts] does not seem to introduce οἱ ἅγιοι as a self-designation for purposes of variety; that he only uses it four times [Acts 9:13, 32, 41; 26:10] and then only in connection with

which came to dominate by the end of the first century CE, however, was the designation *ekklēsia*. The question remains as to why this terminological development took place and what hermeneutical developments were at play in the process.

My investigation of *ekklēsia* usage among early Christ-followers in Part III will focus extensively upon *ekklēsia* occurrences within the Pauline tradition. The reason for this approach is simple. Out of the 114 references to the word *ekklēsia* within the New Testament writings,[5] Paul's undisputed writings predominate with 44.[6] The book of Acts is second at 23 occurrences, while the deutero-Pauline letters account for another 18.[7] Thus, Paul, together with later writers who claim some affiliation with him, account for 85 of the *ekklēsia* references in the New Testament.

There are at least four areas of *ekklēsia* research which still bear further investigation, particularly as they apply to Paul's usage of the term. The first is a methodological lacuna. Most studies which interpret *ekklēsia* usage among early Christ-followers privilege literary sources, such as Greek writers, Jewish literature of the Second Temple period, and early Christ-follower sources. Some studies include Greek epigraphic

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Jerusalem, Lydda and Joppa, and so with a very limited geographical range, argues against this… which suggests that he is using a Palestinian source here (either oral or written), which spoke of Christians at Jerusalem, Lydda and Joppa as οἱ ἅγιοι…[The term] 'the saints' was originally connected with the earliest Jerusalem church…I also note here that in these four uses, Luke does not include Gentile Christians among 'the saints'" (*Self-designations*, 117).

[5] The word *ekklēsia* occurs 114 times in the writings of the New Testament (*BDAG*). Occurrences are found in Matthew (3x), Acts (23x), Romans (5x), 1 Corinthians (22x), 2 Corinthians (9x), Galatians (3x), Ephesians (9x), Philippians (2x), Colossians (4x), 1 Thessalonians (2x), 2 Thessalonians (2x), 1 Timothy (3x), Philemon (1x), Hebrews (2x), James (1x), 3 John (3x), and Revelation (20x).

[6] The seven undisputed letters of Paul, listed in canonical (not compositional) order are: Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon. The 44 Pauline usages of *ekklēsia* are found in: Romans (5x; 16:1, 4, 5, 16, 23); 1 Corinthians (22x; 1:2; 4:17; 6:4; 7:17; 10:32; 11:16, 18, 22; 12:28; 14:4, 5, 12, 19, 23, 28, (vv. 33b, 34, 35; disputed authorship); 15:9; 16:1, 19 [2x]); 2 Corinthians (9x; 1:1; 8:1, 18, 19, 23, 24; 11:8, 28; 12:13); Galatians (3x; 1:2, 13, 22); Philippians (2x; 3:6; 4:15); 1 Thessalonians (2x; 1:1; 2:14); Philemon (1x; Phlm 2).

[7] *Ekklēsia* occurs in Ephesians (9x; 1:22, 3:10, 21; 5:23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 32), Colossians (4x; 1:18, 24; 4:15, 16), 2 Thessalonians (2x; 1:1, 4), and 1Timothy (3x; 3:5, 15; 5:16).

sources, but none exhaustively so.[8] This is problematic not least since approximately

2100 mentions of the word *ekklēsia* are extant in the Greek inscriptional record. It is only

with the rise of electronic resources that it has become possible fully to mine this

treasure-trove of information relative to *ekklēsia* usage in extant epigraphical sources.

A second area of research involves a desideratum identified already in 1999 by

Donald Binder. Binder includes Christ-follower *ekklēsiai* within his discussion of "what

we might imprecisely label 'sectarian synagogues,' those synagogues belonging to the

Essenes, the Theraputae, and the Samaritans."[9] He writes that "the emergence and

development of the Christian *ekklêsia*, [however], deserves an examination beyond what

can be given in this study."[10] Anders Runesson, Donald Binder and Birger Olsson take an

important step in this direction within their synagogue sourcebook. They include the

word *ekklēsia* as one among many synagogue terms used within Jewish sources, but can

do little more than provide a cursory analysis of each occurrence.[11] In Part II (*Ekklēsia* in

Jewish Sources) I build extensively upon their observations. I provide analysis of Jewish

sources within which the word *ekklēsia* is used for a gathering of Jews and for the self-

designation of a Jewish community. I will examine seven Jewish sources which use the

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[8] Epigraphy means "a writing upon" and has reference to any process (e.g., etching, inscribing, writing with ink) by which words are 'permanently' placed upon a material (e.g., stone, wood, papyrus, pottery). Inscriptions are a sub-set of epigraphy. When it comes to sourcing epigraphic examples electronically, unless otherwise noted, I have accessed them from the website of the Packard Humanities Institute (http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main; accessed beginning May 22, 2010). The same decree is not infrequently found replicated in multiple inscriptions with different titles. As such, when I state that the word *ekklēsia* occurs "x" amount of times, I do not mean to say that there are "x" amount of extant *ekklēsia* references within the inscriptional record, but only that the word *ekklēsia* is listed at least "x" amount of times in the database of inscriptions of the Packard Humanities Institute (as of 2013).

[9] Donald Binder, *Into the Temple Courts: The Place of the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period* (Atlanta: SBL, 1999), 24.

[10] Binder, *Into the Temple Courts*, 24.

[11] Anders Runesson, Donald Binder, and Birger Olsson, *The Ancient Synagogue from its Origins to 200 C.E.: A Source Book* (AJEC 72; Leiden: Brill, 2008), esp. l59–63, 328.

word *ekklēsia* (the LXX, Ben Sira, Judith, 1 Maccabees, Josephus, Philo, and the apostle

Paul). Of these seven, the combined witness of four (Ben Sira, Josephus, Philo, and Paul)

suggests that *ekklēsia* was actual group terminology adopted by some Jews in Judea and

in Egypt. Within these Jewish sources, the word *ekklēsia* can be said to denote both semi-

public voluntary associations[12] and public assemblies within which are addressed a broad

range of issues relevant to all members of a regional community.[13] Its appropriation by

intra muros groups within pluriform Second Temple Judaism,[14] and its subsequent

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[12] Anders Runesson helpfully clarifies the three social levels on which 'religion' "played out" in antiquity: "a. Public level (civic/state/empire concerns); b. Semi-Public level/Association level (voluntary groups/cults and their concerns); c. Private level (domestic, familial concerns)" ("Was there a Christian Mission before the 4th Century? Problematizing Common Ideas about Early Christianity and the Beginnings of Modern Mission," in *The Making of Christianity: Conflicts, Contacts, and Constructions* [ConBNT 47; ed. M. Zetterholm and S. Byrskog; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012], 205–47, esp. 213). Semi-public/association synagogues are for members and sympathizers only (Anders Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-Historical Study* [ConBNT 37; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2001], 213–32). One could call these a Jewish form of Greco-Roman voluntary associations known as *thiasoi* or *collegia* (Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 354, 480). Two examples of association synagogues in the land of Israel are Philo's reference to the Essenes (*Prob*. 80–83), and the community associated with the 1st century CE synagogue in Jerusalem mentioned in the Theodotus inscription (*CIJ* II 1404; see John S. Kloppenborg, "Dating Theodotus (*CIJ* II 1404)," *JJS* [51.2]: 243–80). An example of an association synagogue which is based in Jerusalem but comprised of diasporic Jews is found in Acts' mention of the "synagogue of the Freedmen" (Acts 6:9). See further in Anders Runesson, "Rethinking Early Jewish–Christian Relations: Matthean Community History as Pharisaic Intragroup Conflict," *JBL* 127/1 (2008): 95–132, esp. 112; idem, "Behind the Gospel of Matthew: Radical Pharisees in Post-War Galilee?" *CurTM* 37:6 (December 2010): 460–471, esp. 463.

[13] In his survey of 1st century CE sources, Lee Levine notes that the public *synagōgē* building was used for "the entire gamut of [public] activities connected with any Jewish community…[such] as a courtroom, school, hostel, a place for political meetings, social gatherings, housing charity funds, a setting for manumissions, meals (sacred or otherwise), and, of course, a number of religious-liturgical functions [such as public Torah reading, rituals, festival observance]" (*The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* [2d ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005], 29). See also Richard A. Horsley ("Synagogues in Galilee and the Gospels," in *Evolution of the Synagogue: Problems and Progress* [ed. H. C. Kee and L. H. Colick; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press, 1999], 46–69) and Runesson ("Behind the Gospel of Matthew," 463).

[14] When I speak of "Judaism," I follow the definition of "common Judaism" offered by E. P. Sanders. Sanders defines "*common* Judaism [as being] that of the ordinary priest and the ordinary people… *Common* is defined as what is agreed among the parties, and agreed among the populace as a whole" (*Judaism: Practice and Belief—Early Roman Period (63 BCE to 66 CE)* [Philadelphia: TPI, l992], 11–12). More specifically, "common Judaism" is the convergence of four beliefs among 1st century CE Jews: "belief that their God was the only true God, that he had chosen them and had given them his law, and that they were required to obey it" and that "the temple was the visible, functioning symbol of God's presence with his people and it was also the basic rallying point of Jewish loyalties" (*Judaism*, 241).

adoption by Pauline Christ-followers, becomes another factor by which to problematize scholarly suggestions that Paul was "parting ways" with the *Ioudaioi* (Jews),[15] that is, with Judaism(s), 'Jewishness,' or Jewish organizational forms.[16]

A third lacuna within *ekklēsia* research is an investigation into how Paul's designation of his communities as *ekklēsiai* solved a key ethno-religious conundrum. Since non-Jewish Christ-followers could not be called "Israel," Paul's communities required another inherently Jewish group identity which could integrate gentiles qua gentiles into theological continuity with God's salvation history for covenantal Israel.[17] I will assess five ways in which Paul's incorporation of gentiles into the new dyadic identity *ekklēsia* reinforces their theological continuity with ethno-religious Israel. The first two are by lexical association (the *ekklēsia* of Israel as well as Jewish synagogue associations and public assemblies named *ekklēsia*). The other three are by literary depiction. Paul theologically transforms his *ekklēsiai* into three examples of Jewish sacred space: the temple of God, the body of the Jewish *Christos*, and a sacred Jewish synagogue wherein occurs metaphorical manumission from sin. To my knowledge, there

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[15] Throughout this study, I will use the term "Jewish" rather than "Judean," in contradistinction to Steve Mason's approach. Mason asserts that Ιουδαϊκός is better translated as "Judean" rather than the traditional "Jewish" ("Jews, Judeans, Judaizing, Judaism," 457–512). For a judicious critique of Mason's position, particularly as it relates to (1) Mason's "terminological distinction between ancient contexts…and the late antique and modern situation," and (2) "the name of the place associated with Jew," see Runesson "Inventing Christian Identity," 64–70.

[16] For suggestions that the ways parted by the end of the 1ˢᵗ century CE, see the essays in *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways A.D. 70 to 135* (ed. J. D. G. Dunn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999). For opinions that Christ-followers and Jews continued to exhibit social interaction in their dealings with one another even into the Late Antique period, see the collection of essays in *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (ed. A. Becker and A. Yoshiko Reed; Tübingen/Minneapolis: Mohr Siebeck/Fortress, 2003/2007). See also, Stephen Spence (*The Parting of the Ways: The Roman Church as a Case Study* [ISACR 5; Leuven/Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004]).

[17] By "gentiles qua gentiles" I mean that gentiles could become fully constituted followers of the Jewish *Christos* without being required to become Jewish proselytes and/or or take up any one, or all, of the Jewish covenantal identity markers such as circumcision, dietary restrictions, and festival observances.

has not yet been a study which integrates all five of these ethno-religious and theological

depictions of Paul's *ekklēsiai* when assessing questions relative to the "the parting of the

ways" between 'Christians' and Jews. I will suggest that the combined witness of Paul's

five portrayals links his *ekklēsiai* with, rather than separates them from, pluriform Second

Temple Judaism. This possibility favours viewing Paul as being non-supersessionist

rather than supersessionist relative to other forms of Judaism.[18] In its essence, the term

"supersessionism," otherwise known as "replacement theology"[19] or "fulfillment

theology," holds that the "promises and covenants that were made with the nation of

Israel…now allegedly belong to another group that is not national Israel."[20] Such a

theological claim has socio-cultural ramifications, specifically with respect to the

continuation of Jewish ethnic identity within the *ekklēsiai* of Pauline Christ-followers.[21]

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[18] Leonhard Rost is an early 20th century proponent of supersessionism. He claims that early Christ-followers were supersessionist in their adoption of *ekklēsia* because it expressed their conviction that they were the new Israel, the true people of God (*Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im Alten Testament* [BWANT 4, Folge Heft 24; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938], 154). Some supersessionist scholars differ from Rost in that they still see continuity in salvation history between the 'Church' and historic Israel, such that Torah observance and faith in Christ are compatible (J. D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of the Apostle Paul* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 508; N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991], 237; Terrance L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997], 306).

[19] Bruce K. Waltke ascribes to a "replacement theology" in which "national Israel and its law have been permanently replaced by the church and the New Covenant" ("Kingdom Promises as Spiritual," in *Continuity and Discontinuity: Perspectives on the Relationship between the Old and New Testaments* [ed. J. S. Feinberg; Westchester, IL: Crossway, 1988], 263–87, esp. 274). See also Hans K. LaRondelle, *The Israel of God in Prophecy*, *Principles of Prophetic Interpretation* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1983), 101.

[20] Michael Vlach, *Has the Church Replaced Israel?* (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 2010), 10.

[21] While lauding Paul's challenge to Jews on how they could "ethically construct a particular identity…without falling into ethnocentrism or racism of one kind or another," Daniel Boyarin identifies what he considers to be some negative implications of Paul's apparent alternative: "Paul's universalism seems to conduce to coercive politico-cultural systems that engage in more or less violent projects of the absorption of cultural specificities into the dominant one" (*A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* [Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994], 228–29). More specifically, Boyarin asserts that "the negative evaluation of genealogy as a ground for identity can be traced to Paul, the fountainhead, as I am claiming, of western universalism. In his authentic passion to find a place for the gentiles in the Torah's scheme of things…Paul had (almost against his will) sown the seeds for a Christian discourse that would

A fourth window of opportunity in *ekklēsia* research relates to the third player in the identity construction game—Roman Imperial ideology.[22] The matrix of Jewish and 'Christian' contexts is incomplete by itself as a paradigm for understanding group identity formation among sub-groups of Christ-followers. As William Campbell emphasizes, and Mikael Tellbe clearly demonstrates, there are three, rather than two, micro-identities which Paul, in particular, needed to nest under one macro-identity for his diasporic, multi-ethnic communities.[23] This leads some scholars to presume, however, that Paul's adoption both of a political identity (*ekklēsia*)[24] and of political terminology (e.g., *kyrios*, *sōtēr*) reflects counter-imperial ideology.[25] Such a political assumption bears reassessment in light of an emerging consensus among ancient historians on politics in

completely deprive Jewish ethnic, cultural specificity of any positive value and indeed turn it into a 'curse' in the eyes of the gentile Christians" (Ibid, 229).

[22] William S. Campbell explores the reality of what it meant for Paul's mission to grow within a tripartite context: "Christians," Jews, *and* Roman civic authorities. Campbell approvingly cites Tellbe's study of how tripartite interactions account for the differing self-understanding and identity of the "Christian" communities in Thessalonica, Rome, and Philippi. Paul's theology cannot not be reduced to simply a Jewish-"Christian" dialogue. Imperial ideology is an equal partner in his "theologizing" (*Paul and the Creation of Christian Identity* [London: T&T Clark, 2006], 69; cf. Mikael Tellbe, *Paul Between Synagogue and State: Christians, Jews and Civic Authorities in 1 Thessalonians, Romans, and Philippians* [Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2001]).

[23] The three micro-identities with which Paul had to deal are: (1) a Jewish Christ-follower who, through his ethnically Judean heritage is a part of historic Israel and its covenantal status with God, but who through faith in the Jewish Christ, has become a part of the new covenant available to historic Israel; (2) a gentile Christ-follower who, given his ethnically gentile heritage is excluded from historical Israel and its covenantal status with God, but who through faith in the Jewish Christ, has become part of the new covenant that is available to historic Israel; and (3) both the Jewish and the gentile Christ-follower who together live within Greco-Roman society, one which is permeated with Roman imperial ideology

[24] Richard A. Horsley comments that "it is clear that the [Pauline Christ-follower] movement thought of itself in political terms as an *ekklēsia*…an 'assembly' alternative to the established city-assembly" (*First Corinthians* [ANTC; Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1998], 14).

[25] See, for example, John Dominic Crossan and Jonathan L. Reed (*In Search of Paul: How Jesus' Apostle Opposed Rome's Empire with God's Kingdom* [New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005]), Brigette Kahl (*Galatians Re-Imagined: Reading with the Eyes of the Vanquished* [PCC; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010]), and Richard A. Horsley ("Paul's Assembly in Corinth: An Alternative Society," in *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation: Essays in Honour of Krister Stendahl* [Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000], 371–95; idem, "1 Corinthians: A Case Study of Paul's Assembly," in *Christianity at Corinth: The Quest for the Pauline Church* [ed. E. Adams and D. G. Horrell; Louisville and London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004], 227–240).

the Greek East during the Imperial period (27 BCE–284 CE).[26] The exponential rise in

euergetism, otherwise known as benefaction,[27] during the 1st century CE is testimony to

the development of a political culture,[28] which informally enfranchised the political

influence of a middle stratum (e.g., voluntary associations) in Imperial Greek cities.[29] The

existence of such a political culture in the Greek East, particularly in Asia Minor, forms

the basis from which I suggest that an Imperial period non-civic group (e.g., voluntary

association),[30] which self-designates as an *ekklēsia* could have been perceived as a

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[26] See, for example, Onno van Nijf's summary ("Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age: Introduction and Preview," in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age* [ed. O. van Nijf and R. Alston, with the assistance of C. G. Williamson; Leuven: Peeters, 2011], 1–26).

[27] For an extensive list of epigraphic references to Imperial period benefactions, see Arjan Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (GCRW; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 160–66. Examples of euergetism include fund distributions, festival sponsorships, and the construction of public buildings (e.g., agoras, theatres, odeia, baths/gymnasia, stoas, temples).

[28] For example, Onno van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* (DMAHA XVII; Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1997); idem, "Public Space and the Political Culture of Roman Termessos," in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age* (ed. O. van Nijf and R. Alston, with the assistance of C. G. Williamson; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 215–242; Arjan Zuiderhoek, "On the Political Sociology of the Imperial Greek City," *GRBS* 48 (2008): 417–445; idem, *Politics of Munificence* (2009). See Part III, §2.2.6. (*Paul's* Ekklēsia*: Socio-Ethnic* Dēmokratia *and Counter-Oligarchic Civic Ideology?*).

[29] I follow Onno van Nijf's definition of "Imperial Greek city" as a city (*polis*) in the Greek East during the first three centuries CE, that is, between the reigns of Augustus and Diocletian ("Politics, Culture and Identities: Towards a Political History of the Imperial Greek City," keynote address presented Oct. 22 at *Urban Dreams and Realities: An Interdisciplinary Conference on the City in Ancient Cultures* [Oct. 21-22, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB], 1).

[30] I use the word "non-civic" as an umbrella term both for unofficial groups, such as voluntary associations, and for official groups such as 'boards' in charge of administering temples or other similar institutions, and age-based 'organizations' connected with the gymnasia (e.g., *epheboi*, *gerousia*). Philip defines "associations" as "social groupings in antiquity that shared certain characteristics in common and that were often recognized as analogous groups by people and by governmental institutions. Associations were 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" (*Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians: Associations, Judeans, and Cultural Minorities* [New York/London: T&T Clark, 2009], 26). See a more extensive yet concise definition of "associations" in David Instone-Brewer and Philip A. Harland, "Jewish Associations in Roman Palestine: Evidence from the Mishnah," *JGRJCh* 5 (2008): 200–21, esp. 202, 203. John S. Kloppenborg provides a select list of 50 voluntary associations with details given for each as to the type of association (e.g., *oregeōnes*, *thiasōtai*) and the size of its membership ("Membership Practices in Pauline Christ Groups," *EC* 4, no. 2 [2013], 183–215, esp. 209–214).

positive, rather than as a counter-imperial, participant in society. The widespread

"*ekklēsia* discourse" evident among Second Sophistic writers such as Plutarch, Dio

Chrysostom, and Theon increases this possibility.[31] In Part I, I will explore this political

culture with a view to applying my findings within Part III, where I explore the political

implications of early Christ-followers self-designating collectively as *ekklēsiai*.

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[31] For example, Giovanni Salmeri, "Dio, Rome, and the Civic Life of Asia Minor," in *Dio Chrysostom: Politics, Letters, and Philosophy* (ed. S. Swain; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 53–92; idem, "Reconstructing the Political Life and Culture of the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire," in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age* (ed. O. van Nijf and R. Alston, with the assistance of C. G. Williamson; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 197–214; Anna Criscinda Miller, "*Ekklesia*: 1 Corinthians in the Context of Ancient Democratic Discourse," (PhD diss., Harvard University, July 7, 2008). See Part III, §2.2.6. (*Paul's* Ekklēsia*: Socio-Ethnic* Dēmokratia *and Counter-Oligarchic Civic Ideology?*).

2. Christ-follower Ekklēsiai*: Three Investigative Questions*

The four lacunae within *ekklēsia* research, which I have identified, give rise to three investigative questions that will direct the balance of this study. First, which non-civic group in antiquity was the first to self-designate as an *ekklēsia*? Second, did Greco-Roman outsiders perceive the adoption of a permanent *ekklēsia* identity by early Christ-followers as being reflective of counter-imperial or of pro-*dēmokratia*, ideology? Third, was the self-designation of early Christ-followers as *ekklēsiai* a supersessionist move or did it, conversely, identify those self-same Christ-followers with a Jewish heritage, and perhaps even, as *intra muros* communities of pluriform Second Temple Judaism? Each of these three questions has been answered in many different ways by previous scholarship. A review of the *status quaestionis* for each follows below.

2.1. Ekklēsia *as Group Identity: Who Was First?*

The combined witness of John Kloppenborg, Richard Ascough, and Philip Harland initially painted a picture of four Greco-Roman voluntary associations which adopted *ekklēsia* as a permanent group identity (*IGLAM* 1381–82; *IDelos* 1519; *Samos* 119; *OGIS* 488).[32] In due course, Kloppenborg and Harland reversed some of their initial findings. They now acknowledge that only two of those five inscriptions were inscribed by voluntary associations (Tyrian merchants, *IDelos* 1519; a gymnastic association, *Samos* 119), and that none use *ekklēsia* as a collective identity, only as a name for the

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[32] John S. Kloppenborg, "Edwin Hatch, Churches, and Collegia," in *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity* (ed. B. H. Maclean; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 212–38, esp. 231; Richard Ascough, "Matthew and Community Formation," in *The Gospel of Matthew in Current Studies* (ed. D. E. Aune; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 97–126, esp. 113; Philip Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 106 and 182; idem, *Dynamics of Identity*, 44.

assembly of each inscription's sponsoring community. My research will add one more

such inscriptional example of a non-civic group naming their assembly an *ekklēsia*: the

syngeneia ("family clan") of Pelekōs (*Sinuri* 73/8; 4th cent. BCE).

　　At least one Jewish source, though, does appear to use *ekklēsia* as a collective

identity for a semi-public association—Philo. Runesson, Binder, and Olsson identify

three *ekklēsia* references in Philo, which, if contemporaneous with his time, suggest that

up to two Jewish non-civic associations in Egypt may have self-designated collectively as

an *ekklēsia* (*Virt*. 108, *Deus* 111), and one Jewish voluntary association, with a different

group identity (*hieros syllogos*), called their publicly accessible assembly an *ekklēsia*

(*Spec*. 1.324-325). My research will provide further substantiation of their initial

assessments. In so doing, I will argue that Jewish groups in Philo's Alexandria are the

first extant examples of communities using *ekklēsia* as a permanent group identity.

　　If Jews in Alexandria were the first, then a corollary question arises: which sub-

group in the Jesus movement was the first to self-designate collectively as an *ekklēsia*?

The recent arguments of Paul Trebilco and George H. van Kooten encapsulate the

interpretive options. Trebilco makes two claims. First, he forwards pre-Pauline

Hellenistic Jewish Christ-followers in Judea as being the first sub-group in the Jesus

movement to self-designate collectively as *ekklēsiai*.[33] Second, he postulates that their

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[33] Paul Trebilco, "Why Did the Early Christians Call Themselves ἡ ἐκκλησία?" *NTS* 57 (2011): 440–460. In this, Trebilco (Ibid, 440, 442–444) follows on from Andries du Toit who states that "the ἐκκλησία title originated within Greek-speaking early Christian circles in Jerusalem, spreading from there to Antioch" ("*Paulus Oecumenicus*: Interculturality in the Shaping of Paul's Theology," *NTS* 55 [2009]: 121–143, esp. 133). See also, Lucien Cerfaux, *The Church in the Theology of St. Paul* (New York: Herder and Herder/London: Nelson, 1959), 95–117; Peter Stuhlmacher, *Gottes Gerechtigkeit bei Paulus* (FRLANT 87; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1965), 211 n. 2; W. G. Kümmel, *Kirchenbegriff und Geschichtsbewusstsein in der Urgemeinde und bei Jesus* (2d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,

inspiration for doing so derived from how the LXX used the word *ekklēsia*. Van Kooten

differs with Trebilco on two fronts.[34] First, he forwards Paul as being the initial Christ-

follower to appropriate *ekklēsia* as a group designation.[35] Second, he states that Paul's

primary inspiration for doing so was the prevalence, and continued political relevance, of

civic *ekklēsiai* throughout the Greek East of the Roman empire.[36] With this assertion van

Kooten locates himself within the trajectory of other political interpreters of Paul's

ekklēsiai like Dieter Georgi, Karl Donfried, and Richard Horsley, to name a few.[37]

There is substantive evidence for each of the above viewpoints, making any

claims of a definitive answer problematic. I will suggest, though, that there is room for

another interpretive approach. I too will forward Paul as being the first Christ-follower to

adopt *ekklēsia* as a permanent group designation. I will argue, however, that neither the

ancient *ekklēsia* of the LXX nor the contemporary *ekklēsiai* of Greco-Roman *poleis* were

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1968) 16–19; W. Schenk, "Die ältesten Selbstverständnisse christlicher Gruppen im ersten Jahrhundert," *ANRW* II 2/2: 1357–1467; J. Roloff, *Die Kirche im Neuen Testament* (GNT 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 82–83; idem, "ἐκκλησία, ας, ἡ," *EDNT* 1.410–415, esp. 411–12; Rost, *Die Vorstufen*, 154. Rost argues that Jesus was the first to designate his followers collectively as an *ekklēsia*.

[34] George H. Van Kooten, "Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ: The 'Church of God' and the Civic Assemblies (ἐκκλησίαι) of the Greek Cities in the Roman Empire. A Response to Paul Trebilco and Richard A. Horsley," *NTS* 58/4 (Oct. 2012): 522–48.

[35] "Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 536.

[36] Van Kooten states that the "Graeco-Roman political meaning [of *ekklēsia*] in the sense of 'civic assembly' was decisive in its adoption by Paul, and that Paul wishes to portray his community as an alternative organization existing alongside the civic assemblies" ("Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 522; cf. also 532–35). Other scholars who assert the preeminence of Greek backgrounds by which to explain New Testament appropriations of *ekklēsia* as a group designation include Erik Peterson (*Die Kirche* [München: Beck, 1929], 14–15, and nn. 18–19), Jürgen Becker (*Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993], 427). See also Wayne O. McCready, who assesses the socio-religious value for Paul's gentile mission of the Greco-Roman backgrounds to the word *ekklēsia* ("*Ekklēsia* and Voluntary Associations," in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* [ed. J. S. Kloppenborg and S. G. Wilson; London and New York: Routledge, 1996], 59–73).

[37] Dieter Georgi, *Theocracy in Paul's Praxis and Theology* (trans. David E. Green; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991); Karl Donfried, *Paul, Thessalonica, and Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002); Richard A. Horsley, ed., *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International/New York & London: Continuum, 1997).

sufficient precedents for solving Paul's key ethno-religious conundrum for his multi-ethnic group identity construction project. His ideological agenda would have been particularly reinforced if examples existed of contemporary *ekklēsia* referents with Jewish roots.

2.2. Ekklēsia as Political Identity: Counter-Imperial Ideology?

Numerous political interpreters of Paul explore how his political terminology, including the term *ekklēsia*, intersects with Roman Imperial ideology. Opinions diverge, though, when it comes to determining if Paul's use of terms and concepts from a Greco-Roman political milieu reflect a pro-imperial,[38] a neutral-imperial,[39] or a counter-imperial message.[40] Horsley is a leading voice in the polyphonic chorus of scholars who explore how Paul negotiated the demands of imperial ideology upon his theocratic communities.[41] Four aspects of Paul's ostensibly counter-imperial ideology are generally forwarded: the Gospel of Imperial salvation,[42] patronage and power,[43] an alternative Gospel,[44] and the assemblies (*ekklēsiai*) of an alternative international society.[45]

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[38] Bruno Blumenfeld claims that "Paul upholds political sovereignty and reaffirms the authority of the state while making it fully compatible with faith" (*The Political Paul: Justice, Democracy and Kingship in a Hellenistic Framework* [JSNTSup 210; London and New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001/London: T. & T. Clark, 2003/2004], 283–84, see also 391).

[39] Seyoon Kim asserts that Paul uses political language simply as a *lingua franca* through which more effectively to communicate the message about Jesus the *Christos* (*Christ and Caesar: The Gospel and the Roman Empire in the Writings of Paul and Luke* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008]).

[40] Counter-imperial interpreters of Paul's acknowledged writings include: Robert Jewett (Romans); Richard Horsley (1 Corinthians); Davina Lopez, Brigitte Kahl (Galatians); Peter Oakes (Philippians); and Karl Donfried (1 Thessalonians).

[41] Other examples of Richard Horsley's edited works include *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation: Essays in Honour of Krister Stendahl* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), and *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008).

[42] The Gospel of imperial salvation was disseminated through the emperor cult which came into existence during the reign of Augustus (27 BCE–14 CE). The imperial cult was more prevalent in the Greek East, dominated public space through dedicated buildings and statues, and, through its integration of traditional Greek religion, created a pervasive presence of imperial munificence and salvation.

Horsley sees the rhetorical target of Paul's *ekklēsiai* as being the Roman *imperium* in all of its political and religious expressions. He claims that Paul's rhetoric in the Corinthian correspondence de-constructs the three-legs of imperial ideology: the patronage system, the imperial cult, and the rhetoric of peace and concord (*pax romana*). Paul is said to achieve this deconstruction by constructing his Corinthian Christ-followers into an alternative socio-political community. The Corinthian *ekklēsia* is said to be organized by egalitarian principles, rather than along the lines of the Roman patronage system.[46] Horsley identifies at least five social functions within Pauline *ekklēsiai* which he claims challenge Imperial authority: (1) a trans-local network of missionally-united, household-based *ekklēsiai*; (2) communal affairs that are adjudicated autonomously of local authorities (e.g., lawsuits); (3) isolation from "fundamental forms of social relations in the dominant society" (e.g., abstinence from eating food offered to idols); (4) the embodiment of radically different economic relations (avoidance of patronage); and (5) the initiation of an economic practice that was "unprecedented and probably unique in antiquity" (the collection for poor Christ-followers in Jerusalem).[47]

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[43] Patronage and power were both a means of social control and social cohesion. Patronage involved reciprocal exchanges of goods and services, with mutual-aid societies known as *collegia* (or *thiasoi*) being the focus of such reciprocity.

[44] If one assumes that Paul's terminological and definitional parallels with Roman imperial ideology are intentional (e.g., *euangelion*, *sōtēria*), then the possibility arises that Paul's gospel includes counter-imperial elements. Some elements include Paul's apparent disdain for Roman imperial "peace and security" (1 Thessalonians), his proclamation of impending doom for "every rural ruler and every authority in power" (1 Corinthians) such that "this [republican imperial] world is passing away."

[45] Paul's *ekklēsiai* in Asia Minor and Greece, which self-presented in many ways as Greco-Roman voluntary associations, incorporated alternative social patterns than those associated with the hierarchical social stratification that was intrinsic to Imperial period Roman society.

[46] Horsley, "1 Corinthians," 251. See also Richard Horsley, "Building an Alternative Society: Introduction," in *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (ed. R. Horsley; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1997), 206–14, 213; idem, *First Corinthians*, 163–65.

[47] Horsley, "Building an Alternative Society," 206–14; idem, *First Corinthians*, 36.

Donfried reinforces Horsley's counter-imperial claims with evidence from 1 and 2 Thessalonians.[48] One of his arguments is of particular note. Donfried contends that an anomalous phrase in Paul's *adscriptio* displays counter-imperial rhetoric: "to the *ekklēsia thessalonikeōn* in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ."[49] Paul's use of the "city-ethnic" (*nomen gentilicium*) *thessalonikeōn* is atypical in his undisputed writings. Donfried tries to explain Paul's intent in this by pointing to numismatic evidence from Thessalonica. The word *thessalonikeōn*, but not *ekklēsia*, occurs with some regularity as a legend on late Hellenistic and early Roman period Thessalonican coins. The obverse side displays the heads of Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Gaius along with the legends *Theos*, *Kaisar Sebastos*, and *Gaios Sebastos Huios*, respectively.[50]

From this numismatic evidence Donfried draws the conclusion that "the apostle is clearly distinguishing and separating two types of assemblies in Thessalonica, each comprising different groups of people with substantially different allegiances and loyalties."[51] He identifies Paul's phrase "*tei ekklēsia(i) thessalonikeōn*" (1 Thess 1:1) as being "primary among these…language and thought-patterns that these former pagans were familiar with and which still surround them and encircle them."[52] Donfried claims that Paul's mimicry of the Thessalonican "city-ethnic" implies that he views his Christ-followers as the true *ekklēsia* of Thessalonica, a patently counter-imperial statement.

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[48] Donfried, *Paul, Thessalonica, and Early Christianity* (2002).
[49] The Greek text of 1 Thess 1:1 (cf. 2 Thess 1:1) reads, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικέων ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.
[50] Donfried, *Paul, Thessalonica*, 140–41.
[51] Donfried, *Paul, Thessalonica*, 143.
[52] Donfried, *Paul, Thessalonica*, 143.

Leif Vaage takes a different tack. He focuses not upon counter-imperial intentionality but upon the inevitability of a clash between the Roman *imperium* and the empire-wide association of Christ-follower *ekklēsiai*.[53] This socio-political clash develops, in his mind, not because Christ-followers intentionally sought to usurp Roman political structures and authority. Rather, it develops because Christ-followers used political terms and concepts, like *ekklēsia*, which germinated into political aspirations that eventually grew to fruition in Constantine's 'Christian' empire. Vaage believes that "Christianity's cultural destiny was, in fact, decisively shaped by the fact that so much of its core religious vocabulary is expressly political and so frankly imperial."[54]

Georgi focuses his rhetorical analysis of Paul's "*ekklēsia* ideology" upon its intersection with municipal politics rather than with the *imperium*. He views Paul's assemblies as being "in competition with the local political assembly of the [city's] citizenry"[55] in that they form an "alternative social utopia" which reflects three "central ideals of Hellenistic society": "its libertarian and democratic universalism, its socially egalitarian pluralism, and its urban basis."[56] In this, Georgi views the Pauline *ekklēsiai* as reflecting a civic ideology which is directed against oligarchic rule and hierarchical society rather than against the Roman empire itself.

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[53] Leif E. Vaage, "Why Christianity Succeeded (in) the Roman Empire," in *Religious Rivalries in the Early Roman Empire and the Rise of Christianity* (SCJ 18; ed. L. E. Vaage; Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier Press, 2006), 253–78.

[54] Vaage, "Why Christianity Succeeded," 255.

[55] Georgi, *Theocracy*, 31, 51, 57.

[56] Georgi, *Theocracy*, 51. See also, Karl P. Donfried, "The Imperial Cults of Thessalonica and Political Conflict in 1 Thessalonians," in *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (ed. R. A. Horsley; Harrisburg, PA: TPI/New York & London: Continuum, 1997), 215–23.

Van Kooten follows the lead of Georgi in also labeling the Christ-follower *ekklēsia* as an alternative society. His distinctive contribution lies in his claim that the alternative society of Christ-follower *ekklēsiai* paralleled three levels of political organization: municipal/regional,[57] provincial,[58] and empire-wide.[59] Van Kooten does not follow Horsley, however, in claiming that counter-imperial ideology lies behind any attempts by Pauline *ekklēsiai* to become politically organized.

My focus in this study is not upon Paul's political ideology in general. Rather, it is upon Paul's adoption of one particular political identity for his communities—the Greek democratic institution *par excellence*, the *ekklēsia*. My interpretive assessment of Paul's "*ekklēsia* ideology" mirrors Georgi's more neutral-imperial, counter-*polis* approach, but adds a more positive political spin (pro-*dēmokratia*) and a distinctively Jewish element (*ekklēsia* as Jewish sacred space). My postulate is that Paul presents his *ekklēsiai* as sacred, multi-ethnic Jewish synagogue communities, which inculcate Greek socio-democratic ideals, and whose alternative civic ideology implicitly critiques the oligarchic privilege and socio-economic stratification within Imperial Greek cities.

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[57] In each city wherein Christ-followers reside, van Kooten claims that Paul creates an antithesis between his *ekklēsia* and the civic *ekklēsia* (1 Cor 1:2; 11:6; 2 Cor 1:1; Rom 16:1; 1 Thess 1:1; 2:1).

[58] Van Kooten, "Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 536. Van Kooten sees a provincial level of organization in the phrases "the *ekklēsiai* of Galatia" (1 Cor 16:1; Gal 1:2), "the *ekklēsiai* of Asia" (1 Cor 16:19), "the *ekklēsiai* of Macedonia" (2 Cor 8:1), and "the *ekklēsiai* of Judea" (Gal 1:22; cf. 1 Thess 2:14).

[59] Van Kooten states that there appears to be a "universal, even global notion of ἐκκλησίαι, [which] was unparalleled in the Greek world and the Roman empire" ("Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 537). He specifically cites Rom 16:4 in this regard and claims that it indicates "an alternative, non-ethnic, global community, which takes the form of a collective of assemblies from the nations…the political overtones [of which] cannot be missed" (Ibid, 537).

My postulate intersects with previous scholarship in the following fashion: Paul's *ekklēsia* ideology reflects civic ideology (Gillihan)[60] for the creation of an alternative society (Georgi),[61] that is not counter-imperial (*contra* Horsley),[62] nor a trans-local parallel political organization (*contra* van Kooten),[63] but rather a trans-local Jewish voluntary association (Runesson)[64] that is socially accessible to Greco-Romans (McCready),[65] and which could have been viewed as a pro-'democratic,' counter-oligarchic participant in the ubiquitous "*ekklēsia* discourse" (Salmeri, Miller) of the newly developing political culture of 1st century CE Greco-Roman society, particularly in Asia Minor (Wörrle, Mitchell, Sherk, van Nijf, Zuiderhoek).[66] In sum, self-designating as *ekklēsiai* gave Paul's multi-ethnic communities the potential to present both as *intra muros* Jewish synagogue communities and as Greco-Roman voluntary associations, with a civic ideology that is both pro-*dēmokratia* and counter-oligarchic.

2.3. Ekklēsia *as Ethno-Religious Identity: Supersessionist Ideology?*

Paul's Jewish heritage brings to the fore the need to consider ethno-religious optics when assessing Paul's rationale for adopting a permanent *ekklēsia* identity for his multi-ethnic, diasporic communities. My analysis of *ekklēsia* occurrences in Jewish sources (Part II) provides answers to my third investigative question, which, when

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[60] See Part III, §2.2.1. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *Alternative Civic Ideology?* Yonder Moynihan Gillihan, *Civic Ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls: A Comparative Study of the Covenanters' Sect and Contemporary Voluntary Associations in Political Context* (STDJ 97; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 75–78.
[61] See Part III, §2.2.1. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *Alternative Civic Ideology?*
[62] See Part III, §2.2.2. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *Counter-Imperial Ideology?*
[63] See Part III, §2.2.3. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *A Trans-local Parallel Political Organization?*
[64] See Part III, §2.2.4. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *A Trans-local Jewish Voluntary Association?*
[65] See Part III, §2.2.5. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *A Trans-local Greco-Roman Voluntary Association?*
[66] See Part III, §2.2.6. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *Socio-Ethnic* Dēmokratia *and Counter-Oligarchic Civic Ideology?*

restated, reads: "Did Jews and gentiles within Pauline *ekklēsiai* self-perceive as having superseded ethno-religious Israel in God's salvation history?"

Christopher Zoccali cogently summarizes the various positions taken by scholarship relative to the relationship between the 'Church' and Israel.[67] The first position is supersessionist: the 'Church' has superseded Israel in God's salvation history.[68] There are two interpretive options. First, is the view championed by Ernst Käsemann which sees discontinuity between the 'Church' and historic Israel.[69] Thus, Torah observance and faith in Jesus as Messiah are incompatible. Second, J. D. G. Dunn and N. T. Wright spearhead the view that there is continuity in salvation history between the 'Church' and historic Israel.[70] Thus, Torah observance and faith in Christ are compatible for Jews who have become Christ-followers.

There is also a post-supersessionist position: the 'Church' does not displace or replace historic Israel, but rather is emplaced within Israel. This position is taken by scholars of the so-called "Radical Perspective on Paul,"[71] also known as "Beyond the New Perspective on Paul" (BNP).[72] They argue that Israel and the 'Church,' that is, the

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[67] Christopher Zoccali, *Whom God Has Called: The Relationship of Church and Israel in Pauline Interpretation, 1920 to the Present* (Salem, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2010).

[68] Rost, *Die Vorstufen*, 154.

[69] Zoccali, *Whom God Has Called*, 23ff. See, for example, Käsemann's work *Leib und Leib Christi* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1933).

[70] Dunn, *Theology*, 508; Wright, *Climax*, 237; Donaldson, *Paul*, 306.

[71] Kathy Ehrensperger, *That We May Be Mutually Encouraged: Feminism and the New Perspective in Pauline Studies* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 39; Magnus Zetterholm, *Approaches to Paul: A Student's Guide to Recent Scholarship* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009), 127–63; Pamela Eisenbaum, *Paul Was Not a Christian: The Real Message of a Misunderstood Apostle* (New York: HarperOne, 2009), 216.

[72] For a discussion of the similarities and differences between scholars in the New Perspective and Beyond the New Perspective (BNP) 'camps,' along with a carefully nuanced comparative analysis of different views within the BNP 'camp,' see J. Brian Tucker, *Remain in Your Calling: Paul and the Continuation of Social Identities in 1 Corinthians* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011), 7–10. BNP scholars include, but are not limited to, William S. Campbell, Kathy Ehrensperger, Anders Runesson, Magnus Zetterholm, Mark Nanos, David Rudolph, Pamela Eisenbaum, John Gager, Stanley Kent Stowers,

universal, multi-ethnic community of Christ-followers, are distinct yet covenantally

related socio-religious entities.[73] As such, so the argument goes, by faith in the Jewish

Christ, gentiles qua gentiles share with Torah observant Jews qua Jews in God's salvation

history with historic Israel.[74] As William Campbell succinctly states, "The church and

Israel [are] related but separate entities which should not be dissolved or merged in such

a way that the sub-group identity of the one is lost or unrecognized."[75]

Lloyd Gaston, Krister Stendahl, Markus Barth, Markus Bockmuehl, and J. Brian Tucker (Tucker, *Remain in Your Calling*, 8).

[73] David Rudolph argues for the inclusion of a Messianic Jewish perspective in Christian theology ("Messianic Jews and Christian Theology: Restoring an Historical Voice to the Contemporary Discussion," *Pro Ecclesia* XIV/1 [2005]: 58–84). Rudolph envisions a five-fold post-supersessionist perspective which Messianic Jews would bring to Christian theology: "(1) God's covenant fidelity to the Jewish people, (2) that Jesus was Israel's Messiah and participated in the unique identity of the God of Israel, (3) that the *besorah* (gospel) was for Jews and Gentiles, (4) that Jesus-believing Gentiles were full members of God's people without becoming Jews, and (5) that Jesus-believing Jews should continue to live as Jews in keeping with Israel's calling to be a distinct and enduring nation" (http://mjstudies.squarespace.com/about-post-supersessionist/; accessed 1.29.2012).

[74] Zoccali states that Nanos and Campbell appear to presume that "while the church existed for Paul under the umbrella of Israel, in as much as it consists of Jewish and gentile Christ followers it can equally be seen as a larger entity encompassing both Israel and the nations" (*Whom God Has Called*, 135). See Mark Nanos ("Challenging the Limits that Continue to Define on Paul's Perspective on Jews and Judaism," in *Reading Israel in Romans: Legitimacy and Plausibility of Divergent Interpretations* [ed. C. Grenholm and D. Patte; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2000], 212–24, esp. 221) and Campbell (*Paul*, 138). For a volume which extensively explores the inter-relationship between 1st century CE Jewish Christ-followers and a Jewish heritage, see *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* (ed. O. Skarsaune and R. Hvalvik; Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 2007), esp. 3–418.

[75] Campbell, *Paul*, 101. Campbell notes that one cannot merely distinguish Israel from the Church in the conviction that God's purposes for historical Israel are not yet fully realized (*Paul*, 99). One must rather establish to what degree Israel and the (predominantly gentile) Church are mutually distinct entities in Paul's theology. The question is whether Paul envisions one inclusive or two parallel covenants. Campbell, Nanos, Dunn, Wright, and Donaldson all agree that there is only one covenant for both Jews and gentiles and that trust in God's act in Christ is the ultimate basis for covenant membership. Gaston and Harink see trust in God's act in Christ as being a necessary prerequisite only for gentiles. Lloyd Gaston proposes a two covenant view, one through Sinai for Jews, one through Christ for gentiles (*Paul and Torah* [Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987], 33–34, 143–44). Douglas Harink, while agreeing with Gaston's claim of discontinuity relative to the Christ event, focuses upon Paul's apocalyptic theology wherein there exists a sharp antithesis between the old world and the new creation that was inaugurated by the Christ event (*Paul Among the Postliberals: Pauline Theology Beyond Christendom and Modernity* [Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2003], 68–72, 80–81, 168ff). Zoccali identifies five primary interpretive approaches to the key exegetical battleground of Romans 9–11, particularly in relation to the phrase "And so all Israel will be saved" (Rom 11:26): (1) "eschatological miracle"; (2) ecclesiological; (3) Roman mission; (4) two-covenant; (5) total national elect (*Whom God has Called*, 91–102).

Campbell argues that Pauline Christ-followers would not have seen themselves as some sort of new, a-cultural, universal association which is disconnected from its Jewish roots, but rather as Jews and other ethnicities who, while ethnically diverse, are united under the transforming influence of Christ, and who express that diverse unity within their individual cultures.[76] Campbell contends, therefore, that Paul is a non-sectarian, Jewish reformist who sought to establish groups that were theologically united with, yet socially distinct from, the greater synagogue community, but who still accepted Jewish ethno-religious identity markers in their worship of the Jewish *Christos*.[77]

In a parallel vein, Denise Buell claims that Paul's views do not contain the supersessionist seeds of some 2nd century CE Christ-followers who conceived of themselves as a "third race." These later Christ-followers downplayed the importance of ethnic and racial identity, and in some cases even erased it. Buell bases her argument upon a conversionist paradigm which rests "on Christian collective self-definition in ethical/racial terms."[78] While Buell moves in the right direction, her conclusions would have been strengthened, specifically in relation to the Roman and Corinthian communities, had she assessed early Christ-followers' collective self-definition along *socio-religious* (i.e., sub-group identities), rather than only along ethnic/racial, lines.

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[76] For an assessment of Campbell's argument, see Ralph J. Korner, on-line review of William S. Campbell, *Paul and the Creation of Christian Identity*, Bryn Mawr Classical Review (2009.07.42).

[77] Campbell, *Paul*, 66. Campbell makes this point very clear in his analysis of Paul's discussion on the weak and the strong in Romans 14:1–15:13. Campbell states that Paul "feels obliged to make it clear that accommodation to those living a Jewish way of life, far from being in conflict with his gospel, is demanded by it, if the conviction of fellow Christ-followers so requires" ("The Addressees of Paul's Letter to the Romans: Assemblies of God in House Churches and Synagogues?" in *Between Gospel and Election: Explorations in the Interpretation of Romans 9–11* [ed. F. Wilk and J. R. Wagner, with the assistance of F. Schleritt; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010], 171–95, esp. 188).

[78] Denise Buell, *Why This New Race? Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 164.

3. Methodological Considerations: Identity, Social History, Epigraphy

3.1. Identity Precedes Theology

Although personal identity can be described from social, religious, ethnic, political, and economic perspectives,[79] it is not complete without an assessment of the group identities which impinge upon an individual. This is true not least since "ancient Mediterranean cultures focused on the collective rather than on individuals."[80] Bruce Malina even goes so far as to categorize the Mediterranean personality type as "dyadic" or "collectivistic."[81] Thus, in no small measure, group identity is constitutive of, though not solely determinative for, personal identity formation.[82]

A focus on group identity construction is, therefore, particularly important for understanding the ideology behind a variety of theological constructs in the New Testament. Campbell emphatically reinforces that fact when he states that "*identity precedes theology and that in fact theological constructions emerge to solve the problem of identity rather than create it*."[83] When applied practically to Paul's letters, for example, this truism suggests that Paul's metaphorical appropriation of Jewish sacred space imagery for the communities of Christ-followers he addresses in Rome and Corinth

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[79] For example, ethno-religious terminology used in scholarship for individual Christ-followers begins with base descriptors such as "Jews," "Christians," "Judeans," "Christ-believers," and "Christ-followers," to which are added ethnicity modifiers ("Jewish," "non-Jewish"/"Gentile") and/or theological modifiers ("non-messianic Jews," "messianic Jewish"). Social identities include slave, freedperson, *paterfamilias*, and wife. Socio-political identities include Greek, Roman, "barbarian," Jew.

[80] Mikael Tellbe, "The Prototypical Christ-Believer: Early Christian Identity Formation in Ephesus," in *Exploring Early Christian Identity* (WUNT 226; ed. B. Holmberg; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 115–138, esp. 120.

[81] Bruce Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 62.

[82] Tellbe claims that "'Social identity' is thus the outcome of a process whereby an individual models his or her thoughts, feelings and actions on the thoughts, feelings and actions attributed to significant group members and then incorporates these into a mental image" ("The Prototypical Christ-Believer," 120).

[83] Campbell, *Paul*, 52 (author's emphasis).

(temple of God, body of the Jewish *Christos*) is not theology for its own sake, but rather

is a theological means to the end of resolving socio-religious divisions. In other words,

Paul uses a theology of sacred space, to which both Jerusalem and Pauline loyal Christ-

followers can adhere (e.g., fictive temple imagery: 1 Pet 2:5 and 1 Cor 3:16, 17), as a

basis from which rhetorically to engender cooperation and harmony between

differentiated sub-groups of Christ-followers in Rome and in Corinth ("I belong to

Paul…Cephas"; 1 Cor 1:12). These apostolically differentiated sub-groups may even

hold to different sub-group identities (*hoi hagioi* and *ekklēsia*, respectively).[84]

3.2. Social History and Epigraphy

A comprehensive analysis of *ekklēsia* occurrences within New Testament texts

requires at least three sociological approaches:[85] social description ("what does the

artefact mean?"),[86] social history ("how does the text inform us of the socio-cultural

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[84] For example, in the book of Romans Paul addresses his comments to the *klētoi hagioi* (1:7). Robert Jewett claims that "when the term 'saints' is used as a description of specific Christian groups in contrast to all Christians, it refers to Jewish Christians, loyal to or associated with Jerusalem" (*Romans: A Commentary* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Augsburg/Fortress, 2007], 114). Jewett cites other examples in Romans 15:25, 26, 31; 1 Cor 16:1 (Ibid, 114; see also Horst Balz, "ἁγίοις κτλ.," *EDNT* 1.17). Some scholars come close to Jewett's suggestion when they say that the phrase κλητοῖς ἁγίοις is "almost titular" (C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans* [2 vols.; ICC; London/New York: T&T Clark, 1979/2006 reprint], 1.69). See also, Ulrich Wilckens (*Der Brief an die Römer* [3 vols.; EKKNT VI; Ostfildern/Einsiedeln/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Patmos/Benziger/ Neukirchener, 1982–1997], 1.68 n. 39). For a detailed discussion of the term *hoi hagioi* and its use as a group identity by early Christ-followers loyal to, or associated with, Jerusalem, see Trebilco, *Self-designations*, 104–37. Paul does not speak of an *ekklēsia* in his Roman epistle until the final chapter wherein he requests that greetings be sent by the addressees of his Roman epistle to the *ekklēsia* which meets in the home of Aquila and Priscilla (16:3-5).

[85] See the concise comparison of the terms "social description," "social history," and "sociology of knowledge" in David Rhoades, "Social Criticism: Crossing Boundaries," in *Mark and Method: New Approaches in Biblical Studies* (ed. J. C. Anderson and S. D. Moore; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008), 145–180.

[86] "Social description" incorporates all the information we have from antiquity such as literature, archeology, art, numismatic evidence, and inscriptions. Scholars organize this data for the purpose of describing every aspect of the social environment (e.g., occupations, economics, villages and cities, laws, social classes, patron-client relations, gender roles). Once organized, social description enhances our

context of the narrative's timeframe?"),[87] and sociology of knowledge ("how does the

text inform us of the community behind its writing?").[88] My socio-historical methodology

affirms the principle of variegated 'Christianities,' which together exhibit apostolic

(Matthean, Johannine,[89] Pauline, Petrine), regional (Asia Minor, Greece, Judea, Rome,

Syria), and epochal (pre-70 CE, post-70 CE) variations, and whose attestation is found in

textual, archaeological, and/or inscriptional artefacts.[90] The importance of supplementing

literary artifacts[91] with material evidence is emphasized by Harland.[92] He makes the point

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understanding of the daily cultures and customs in specific geographical locations in the ancient world (see Rhoades, "Social Criticism," 145–180).

[87] Philip Harland uses the phrase "social history" to mean at least three things: (1) "the actual social and religious life of persons and groups (from various levels of society) living within a particular region"; (2) being "concerned with social relations and, more specifically, with issues regarding the relationship between groups and surrounding sociocultural institutions and values…[which includes] issues concerning interactions between groups (associations, synagogues, or assemblies) and others within the structures of society, including the elites"; and (3) using "methods and insights from the social sciences [such as] sociological studies of social networks…anthropological insights [regarding] the meaning of rituals…social-scientific studies of acculturation and assimilation among minority cultural groups" (*Associations*, 14–15).

[88] For usage of "sociology of knowledge" as a way of understanding the community behind a piece of literature, see the work of Anthony Saldarini on the Matthean community (*Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994]), and Raymond Brown's diachronic analysis of the Johannine community (*An Introduction to the Gospel of John* [ed. F. J. Moloney; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007], esp. 62–84). Rhoades succinctly summarizes the interrelationship between "social description" and "sociology of knowledge." He notes that while social description focuses on the material realities of a society, sociology of knowledge deals with how that society organizes and interprets those realities. Sociology of knowledge makes us aware of the relativity of cultures and challenges the idea that cultures are fixed. Each society interprets, organizes, and experiences life in its own way and has a set of common values and customary ways in which people interact. Together these social factors make up a given culture's "common knowledge." Since people are born into their cultural paradigm, they seldom question the "common knowledge" ("Social Criticism," 145–180).

[89] I use the term "Johannine" here for the sake of expediency in referring to the authors of the Johannine epistles and to the book of Revelation, not necessarily implying thereby that both sets of literary works are written by the same "John."

[90] For example, Bengt Holmberg emphasizes the need for integrating social historical backdrops when reading the Pauline corpus. He calls for a recognition of the fact that Paul's ethical and theological pronouncements need to be situated within the context of "social factors like stratum-specific behaviour patterns operative in the everyday life of these Christians" ("The Methods of Historical Reconstruction in the Scholarly 'Recovery' of Corinthian Christianity," in *Christianity at Corinth: The Quest for the Pauline Church* [ed. E. Adams and D. Horrell; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004], 161).

[91] Unless otherwise noted, text copied from Greek literary works is taken from the Perseus website (http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/; accessed beginning November 2010).

that only archaeological evidence allows for the emergence of a "grass roots level"

perspective on non-elite life within Greco-Roman society, a perspective which is too

easily masked by literary texts that are the product of social elites.[93] This literary *tendenz*

towards ideological representation is evident both in Greek[94] and Roman authors.[95]

Epigraphic evidence, when available, is less susceptible, although not immune, to

ideological self-presentations. This fact undergirds my choice to focus upon epigraphic

occurrences of the word *ekklēsia* to a degree much greater than has previous scholarship.

In so doing, however, I affirm four limitations noted by Robert Sinclair relative to

conclusions one can draw from inscriptional evidence.[96] First, public inscriptions only

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[92] Harland emphasizes the need to add local archeological and epigraphic materials as evidence for associations in the world of early Christ groups and Judean gatherings (*Dynamics of Identity*, 2).

[93] Harland, *Dynamics of Identity*, 2, 3.

[94] One Greek literary example is Aristotle's corpus, wherein, while writing about the *boulē* and *ekklēsia* of 4th century Athens, he substitutes original 5th century terminology. Susanne Carlsson cogently compares the historical value of literary sources and epigraphic sources (*Hellenistic Democracies: Freedom, Independence and Political Procedure in Some East Greek City-States* [HE 206; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010], 17–18): "In contrast to ancient literary sources which are often written many years after the course of events they describe and which are known only from medieval manuscripts, inscriptions are original texts and thus constitute not only sources, but also archaeological artefacts."

[95] One Roman example is official documents of the Julio-Claudian era which portray a rather negative view of voluntary associations as being subversive social entities which were in need of control. The inscriptional record, however, predominantly paints a positive picture of the involvement of voluntary associations in Greco-Roman societal life. See the studies by Jean-Pierre Waltzing (*Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'empire d'Occident* [Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiée par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique 50; 4 vols.; Brussels: Hayez, 1895–1900]); Francesco M. De Robertis (*Storia delle corporazioni e del regime associativo nel mondo romano* [Bari: Adriatica, 1938/repr., 1971]); and G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981). For descriptions of inscriptional content from associations in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, see Harland (*Associations*, esp. 1–112), John S. Kloppenborg and Richard Ascough, eds. (*Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace*. Vol. 1 of *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary* [BZNW 181; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011]), and Richard Ascough, Philip Harland, and John Kloppenborg, eds. (*Associations in the Greco-Roman World: a Sourcebook* [Berlin/Waco: de Gruyter/Baylor University Press, 2012]).

[96] Robert K. Sinclair, *Democracy and Participation in Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 86.

represent the "tip of the epigraphic iceberg," so to speak.[97] Second, a statistical analysis

of only extant stone or bronze inscriptions neglects a much larger body of epigraphic

evidence, which is either lost to posterity, given the happenstance nature of

archaeological discoveries, or permanently lost through decay and destruction.[98] Third,

since stone *stelae* are not infrequently of a fragmentary or eroded nature, a historian

cannot *prima facie* assume that the epigraphist has correctly reconstructed the text.[99]

Fourth, variations in terminology and decree formulae may still reflect a similar

provenance and compositional date.[100]

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[97] Public display was reserved for more important decisions such as alliances with foreign states. An exponentially greater number of inscriptions were archived, and, thus, ultimately lost to posterity. As such, any socio-historical conclusions reached relative to public inscriptions will of necessity reflect only a limited cross-section of that *polis*' actual socio-political reality. Aeschines (3.187) mentions that all Athenian *psēphismata tou dēmou* are filed in the Metroon by an overseer known simply as the "public servant" (δημόσιος) (see also, Dem. 19.130; Paus. 1.3.5). In ancient Athens, the Old Metroon initially functioned as "the record office and repository of the laws" (Photias, Souda, Agora III no. 487). However, between the years 410/9 and 405/4, following the completion of the new Bouleterion, the records of the *boulē* were moved and organized into a centralized public archive within the old Bouleterion, which now became known as the new Metroon. See the discussion by T. Leslie Shear, Jr. ("Bouleterion, Metroon, and the Archives at Athens," *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* [HE 95; ed. M. H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995], 157–90, esp. 173–89).

[98] Civic decrees were engraved and written not only on stone and bronze, but also on less durable materials, such as wooden tablets and papyrus. Their increased susceptibility to decay over time means a treasure trove of insights into ancient socio-political life has been forever lost. The clearest statement that copies of decrees were written on wooden tablets is found in *IG* I[3], 165 ADD, lines 6–11 (430–420 BCE?).

[99] Carlsson notes that there are two divergent approaches taken by schools of thought involved in editing inscriptions. The one school does "small restorations of occasional letters without any need of defence" and the other follows the "'Principle of Extreme Freedom' where attention is focused not on the exact wording but on what one thought was the original substance" (*Hellenistic Democracies*, 19). Carlsson stresses that there is a need for the historical interpreter to distinguish between what has been restored by an epigraphist and what can actually be read on the original stone. This confirmatory process, though, is time-consuming and is the purview of only highly qualified linguists.

[100] I offer two sets of examples not noted by Sinclair. The first set involves the use of two different morphemes within the same inscription for the same case of definite article (e.g., τᾶ and τᾶι) and its accompanying noun (e.g., ἐκκλησία and ἐκκλησίαι, respectively): (1) *IG* XII,Suppl 139 (167? BCE; Aegean Islands, Lesbos, Nesos, and Tenedos, Ionia — Miletos); ἐν τᾶ ἐκκλησία and ἐν τᾶι ἐκκλησίαι; (2) *IMT NoerdlTroas* 4 (2nd cent. BCE; Asia Minor, Troas, Lampsakos [Lapseki]); ἐν τῇ ἐκλησίᾳ and ἐν τῇι δε<υ>[τέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν]; and (3) *IMilet* I 3, 146A (209/208 BCE; Asia Minor, Ionia, Ephesos, Notion, Klaros); εἰς τὴμ πρώτην ἐκκλησίαμ and ἐπί τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. The second set involves different morphemes of the same definite article occurring in different inscriptions linked by similar timeframes and regions: (1) 2nd half of the 1st cent. BCE: ἐπὶ τὰν ἐκκλησί[α]ν (*FD* III 1:463; central Greece,

The import of epigraphic evidence on the meaning of the word *ekklēsia* in New Testament writings remains, to a large extent, untapped. In order more effectively to address this lacuna in *ekklēsia* research, I have created a searchable database of the extant inscriptional occurrences of the word *ekklēsia*,[101] along with the concomitant political and religious terminology that accompanies each *ekklēsia* reference.[102] Whenever I use the transliterated lexeme *ekklēsia* in reference to *epigraphic* evidence, the resultant data reflects the collated evidence from five Greek lexemes (ἐκκλησία, ἐκλησία, ἐκκλησίη, ἐκκλεσία, and ἐγκλησία), and their morphological variations. There are approximately 2100 inscriptional mentions of the word *ekklēsia* dating from the 5th century BCE to the 11th century CE,[103] which can be reorganized by region, city, date, syntactical locutions (e.g., adjectives, verbs), and a number of other investigative categories, within my epigraphic database.[104] In Part I, which deals with *ekklēsia* usage in Greek and Roman sources, I identify a number of correlations between *ekklēsia* occurrences in the epigraphic record not yet noted by scholarship.

Phokis, Delphi) and ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκλησίαν (*SEG* 55:608; Thessalia, Pelasgiotis— Larisa); (2) 2nd half of the 1st cent. CE: ἐπὶ] [τὰν ἐκ]κλησίαν (*BCH* 52 (1928) 174[2]; central Greece, Phokis, Delphi); and εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν (*IG* II² 1028; Attica, Athens).

[101] My spreadsheet is largely based upon an electronic search of morphologically tagged inscriptions stored in the website sponsored by the Packard Humanities Institute (hereafter PHI). (http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main; accessed beginning Nov. 2010).

[102] Enactment formulas are one type of political and legislative terminology related to the institution of *dēmokratia* which can be electronically searched. There are three types of enactment formulae: *bouleutic* (ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι); *probouleutic* (ἔδοξε τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι or ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῆι ἐκκλησίαι); *ecclesiastica/non-probouleutic* (ἔδοξε δήμωι or ἔδοξεν τῆι ἐκκλησίαι).

[103] As already noted, any one inscription may be known by different titles and, as such, its content may appear more than once in PHI. Thus, any statistics I cite relative to the number of *ekklēsia* occurrences in the inscriptional record reflect the number of times the word *ekklēsia* occurs in the database of PHI and other sources not incorporated by PHI. Thus, the statement "2100 inscriptional mentions of the word *ekklēsia* from the 5th cent. BCE to the 11th cent. CE" indicates merely the number of times *ekklēsia* occurs within the database of PHI, not necessarily the number of times the word *ekklēsia* actually occurs across differentiated inscriptions in the extant epigraphic record.

[104] See Appendix #4 for definitions of the 39 searchable categories in my database.

Part I: *Ekklēsia* in Greek and Roman Sources

1. Introduction

My primary focus here in Part I is upon examining the way in which the word *ekklēsia* is used in Greek and Roman sources dated from the 5th century BCE up to, and including, the 2nd century CE.[105] My purpose in this is three-fold. First, I will assess whether a non-civic group, which self-designated collectively as an *ekklēsia*, could have been perceived by Roman authorities as being politically seditious. Such an assumption gains purchase if civic *ekklēsiai* in the Greek East still retained sufficient democratic power (*dēmokratia*) to have been perceived as a political threat by Rome.

A second political assumption requiring attention is the view of some scholars that Greek civic *ekklēsiai* were 'secular' institutions; they did not mix politics with religion. This leads some to conclude that, since Jewish synagogues mixed religion and politics, any Jewish writer (e.g., Josephus) who calls a Jewish assembly an *ekklēsia* is not using authentic Jewish terminology but rather is viewing it through Greek eyes.

Third, I will reinforce the research of John Kloppenborg and Philip Harland that no example exists of a Greco-Roman non-civic group (e.g., a voluntary association) using *ekklēsia* as a permanent group designation. I accomplish this through an investigation of all extant references to the word *ekklēsia* within the Greek inscriptional record (5th century BCE to 35 CE).[106]

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[105] There are at least 1858 *ekklēsia* mentions in the inscriptional record which are dated from the 5th cent. BCE up to and including the 2nd cent. CE.

[106] There are at least 1780 *ekklēsia* mentions in the inscriptional record which are dated from the 5th cent. BCE up to 35 CE.

2. **Ekklēsiai** *in the Imperial Period: The Politics of Oligarchy, Hierarchy, and Democracy*

My first investigative focus in Part I can be re-stated as a question: How might a non-civic group, which adopted civic terminology, specifically the word *ekklēsia*, have been perceived, socially, by Greco-Roman outsiders and, politically, by Roman authorities? Two taxonomical issues require clarification before one can answer this question. First, three civic institutions require definition and, second, the three key political players in Imperial period *poleis* require identification.

2.1. Civic Terminology

An Imperial period *polis* in the Greek East had three primary institutional bodies for political decision-making: the council (*boulē*),[107] the people (*dēmos*),[108] and the

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[107] Imperial period *boulai* were not infrequently of similar size to their classical Athenian ancestor—500 councilors (*bouleutai*)—and often mimicked the Athenian political year. In classical Athens, 50 *bouleutai* were drawn from each of the ten *phylai* ("tribes") of Attica. Each *phylē* presided over the affairs of the Athenian city-state for a 35 (or 39 day) period called a *prytaneia*. During each *prytaneia*, the presiding tribe designated 50 *bouleutai* to act as *prytaneis*. These 50 *prytaneis* gave oversight to the other 450 members of the *boulē*, and thus over each *ekklēsia* held during their *prytaneia*. Although the Athenian *dēmos* was sovereign, its *boulē* was the chief power broker among the official political institutions of the state, including the magistrates (*archontes*) (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1322b12–18). See further in Robert K. Sinclair (*Democracy and Participation in Athens* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988], 105, 229) and in Mogens Hermann Hansen (*The Athenian Assembly in the Age of Demosthenes* [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987], 220). Aristotle lists some of the officials who were subordinate to the *boulē* in the age of Demosthenes (*Ath. Pol.* 54:3–5): "They also appoint by lot the officer called Clerk for the Presidency (γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν), who is responsible for documents, is keeper of the decrees that are passed and supervises the transcription of all other documents, and who attends the sittings of the Council. Formerly this officer was elected by show of hands…but now it has been made an office elected by lot. [4] They also elect by lot another officer to superintend the laws (ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους), who attends the sittings of the Council, and he also has copies made of all the laws. [5] The People also elect by show of hands a clerk (γραμματέα) to read documents to the Assembly and to the Council; he has no duties except as reader."

[108] The word *dēmos* refers generally to "the whole mass of clans assembled under one rule, whether it was conceived in terms of the country or its inhabitants" (Gustave Glotz, *The Greek City and Its Institutions* [New York: Barnes and Noble, 1929/1969], 9). The *dēmos* constituted an *ekklēsia* when it assembled together as the body of the full citizenry in Athens for the purpose of conducting civic business. The full citizenry, or *dēmos*, was comprised only of males (Sinclair, *Democracy*, 15). Rhodes nuances Glotz's definition in his note that δῆμος could also refer to the "deme," of which there were 139 following Cleisthenes' political reforms. However, whenever the term δῆμος occurs within an enactment formula (e.g., ἔδοξε δήμωι) that was motioned and approved before an ἐκκλησία (*ekklēsia*), δῆμος never has

assembly (*ekklēsia*).[109] Beginning with the Classical period, members of the *boulē*

(*bouleutai*) had administrative oversight of civic, foreign and regional affairs. They

reported their recommendations during an *ekklēsia* by bringing forward resolutions

(*probouleumata*) for ratification or revision by the *dēmos*.[110] Each *probouleuma* was

placed on the agenda (*programma* or *prographē*) of the *ekklēsia*.

The *ekklēsia* represents a different political category than either the *boulē* or the

dēmos. An *ekklēsia* is a juridically defined event during which members of the *dēmos*

assemble in a particular time and location to carry out specific governmental functions.

Usually the two terms are clearly differentiated.[111] Not infrequently, though, the referent

for the term *ekklēsia* is left ambiguous, such that it can refer either to the public assembly

reference to a geographically regional deme, but always to the "whole mass of clans," that is, to the body of the full citizenry in Athens (P. J. Rhodes, "Epigraphical Evidence: Laws and Decrees," in *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State. Symposium August 24–27, 1994, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre*, vol. 2 [HFM 72; ed. M. H. Hansen; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1995], 91–112, esp. 93).

[109] Although not a political institution, *per se*, there was one more important governing institution in classical Athens, and in other democratic *poleis*. It was the *dikastēria* or popular courts. In classical Athens, each *dikastērion* consisted of several hundred jurors (*dikastēs*) each of whom was chosen by lot from a pool of 6000 jurors. Private actions had a jury of 201 or 401 *dikastai*, while most public actions were heard by 501 *dikastai*. The popular courts of ancient Athens heard civil and criminal cases and "examined the magistrates, passed judgement in political trials and sometimes reviewed the decrees of the people and the laws (*nomoi*) of the *nomothetai* to see if they were unconstitutional. The people's court met between 150 and 200 times a year" (Hansen, *Athenian Assembly*, 211).

[110] P. J. Rhodes and David M. Lewis note that "proposers of probouleumatic decrees had to be members of the council" (*The Decrees of the Greek States* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997], 28). A comment by Aeschines (389–314 BCE) problematizes that view with respect to Athenian democracy in the mid-4th century. Although no inscriptional corroboration survives, Aeschines (III. *Ctes.* 125–27) suggests that a citizen who was not a member of the *boulē* could influence the enactment of a decree. In order to do so, a citizen who was not a councilor (*bouletēs*) would need first to find a sponsoring *bouletēs*. The amenable *bouletēs* would put forward that citizen's motion as a *probouleuma* to the *boulē*. The other option would be for the sponsoring *bouletēs* to present the non-member and his proposal before the gathered *ekklēsia* in an open *probouleuma*.

[111] Three inscriptional examples of a differentiation in meaning between *boulē* as "council," *dēmos* as "people," and *ekklēsia* as "meeting" are: (1) *IG* XII,1 3 (Rhodes, 1st cent. BCE or CE): [ἔδοξεν τῶι δ]άμωι ἐν τᾶ ἐκ<κ>λησίᾳ ἐν τῶι Ἀρταμιτίωι μηνί·; (2) *Bosch*, *Quellen Ankara* 184, 144 (Ankyra/Ankara, N. Galatia, n.d.): [... φυλὴ ἐνάτη Ἱε]ρὰ Βουλαία ἀνέστησεν ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς εὐνοίας ἕνεκεν ἀναγορευθέντα ἐν ἐκλησίᾳ ὑπό τε βουλῆς καὶ δήμου. φυλαρχ(οῦντος) Νεικηφόρου Ἀλεξάνδρο[υ]; and (3) *Bosch*, *Quellen Ankara* 265, 202 (Ankyra/Ankara, N. Galatia, n.d.): τειμη[θέ]ντα ἐν ἐκλησίαις ὑπ[ὸ] [β]ουλῆς κὲ δήμου ἀνδρι[ά]σι κὲ ἄλλαις τειμαῖς.

or to the *dēmos* for the duration of its gathering in that public assembly.[112] The terms

boulē and *dēmos*, on the other hand, only refer to continuously existing groups of human

beings.[113] Interaction between *boulai* and *dēmoi* within *ekklēsiai* is described in both

literary and epigraphic sources dated from the 5th century BCE into the Imperial period.

Literary sources include, but are not limited to,[114] Plato (429–347 BCE),[115] Xenophon (*c.*

430–355 BC),[116] and Plutarch (*c.* 46–120 CE).[117] Epigraphic sources span the centuries

(5th cent. BCE to the early 3rd cent. CE),[118] and hail from geographically diverse regions

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[112] Of the over 1896 inscriptional *ekklēsia* references (5th cent. BCE to 3rd cent. CE), at least 507 are ambiguous enough to be read as identifying either a public assembly (*ekklēsia*) or the *dēmos* while they are gathered together in assembly. Their occurrence by region is as follows: Aegean Islands (25x; late 5th cent. BCE–100 BCE); Asia Minor (177x; 332 BCE–160 CE); Attica (159x; 403 BCE–40 BCE); central Greece (83x; 341 BCE–117 CE); North Shore of the Black Sea (15x; 275 BCE–210 CE); Northern Greece (23x; 400 BCE–1CE); Peloponnesos (13x; 303 BCE–130 BCE); Scythia Minor (7x; 230 BCE–100 CE); and Thrace (5x; 300 BCE–200 BCE).

[113] In many locales in Peloponnesos and in the northwest of Greece, the body of citizens fictively called themselves "the *polis*" ("city"). For example, an enactment decree made by the *politai* of Orchomenus in Arcadia reads, "resolved by the *polis*" (*ISE* 53, *SEG* 33:317) and "resolved by the *boulē* and the *polis*" (*SEG* 33:391) (Rhodes, "Epigraphical Evidence," 95).

[114] Greek writers who reference an *ekklēsia* are: Aeschines, Andocides, Appian, Apollodorus, Aristophanes, Aristotle, Athenaeus, Demades, Demosthenes, Diodorus, Dinarchus, Diogenes Laertius, Euripides, Herodotus, Hyperides, Isaeus, Isocrates, Lucian, Lycurgus, Lysias, Pausanias, Plato, Plutarch, Polybius, Pseude-Xenophon, Strabo, Theophrastus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. The number of their combined references to a civic *ekklēsia* totals at least 1063 (See Appendix #6).

[115] Plato writes about a civic *ekklēsia* 13 times. For example, *Laws* book 8, section 850b: καὶ πιστεύῃ πείσειν βουλὴν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν, ἤ τινα ἀναβολὴν τῆς ἐξοικήσεως ("and if he believes that he can persuade the Council and Assembly to grant his request") (*Plato. Platonis Opera* [ed. John Burnet; Oxford University Press, 1903]).

[116] Xenophon mentions a civic *ekklēsia* 20 times. For example, *Hellenica* book 6, chapter 5: [33] ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι...ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν κατὰ δόγμα βουλῆς. ("When the Athenians heard of all these things…by resolution of the Senate they called a meeting of the Assembly") (*Xenophon. Xenophontis opera omnia*, vol. 2 [2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921/repr. 1971]).

[117] Plutarch speaks of a civic *ekklēsia* 142 times. One wonders, though, whether his descriptions of the classical *ekklēsia* more reflect *praxis* within *ekklēsiai* of his day. For example, Plutarch claims to be authoritative even in his description of Solon's reforms (*Solon* 16.3: ...καὶ τὸν Σόλωνα τῆς πολιτείας διορθωτὴν καὶ νομοθέτην ἀπέδειξαν, οὐ τὰ μέν, τὰ δ᾽ οὐχί, πάντα δ᾽ ὁμαλῶς ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἀρχάς, ἐκκλησίας, δικαστήρια, βουλάς. ([3] "They also appointed Solon to reform the constitution and make new laws, laying no restrictions whatever upon him, but putting everything into his hands, magistracies, assemblies, courts-of-law, and councils") (*Plutarch. Plutarch's Lives*. [trans. Bernadotte Perrin; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press/ London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1914]).

[118] For inscriptional references to the civic *ekklēsia* during, and surrounding, the 1st century CE, see Appendices #1–3.

such as the Aegean Islands (e.g., Delos),[119] central Greece (e.g., Delphi),[120] and Asia

Minor (e.g., Pisidia[121] and Caria[122]).

Since the words *ekklēsia* and *dēmos* are often used interchangeably, enactment

decrees which mention either term, but not the *boulē*, imply an autonomous exercise of

political authority by the people. This type of decree is called a non-probouleutic, or

ecclesiastical decree (e.g., *edoxen tōi dēmoi*).[123] There are three potential non-

probouleutic decrees from the 1st or 2nd centuries CE which use the word *ekklēsia*.[124]

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[119] For example, *IDelos* 1502 (Delos, 148/7 BCE) reads, δεδόχθαι τεῖ [βουλεῖ τοὺς λαχόν]τας προέδρους εἰς [τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν] χρηματίσαι περὶ [τούτων.

[120] For example, *FD* III 4:47 (Delphi, 98 CE) reads, θεός. τύχα ἀγαθᾶ. ἄρχοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς Τ. Φλαουίου Σωκλάρου, μηνὸς Ἐνδυσποιτροπίου ζ, ἐν προσκλήτῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, δόγμα βουλῆς καὶ δήμου.

[121] For example, *Mon. Ant.* 23.1914.259,172 (Pisidia, Sagalassos, 4th/3rd cent. BCE) reads, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Τ(ίτον) Αἴλιον Αὐρηλιανὸν Τυδέα τὸν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν, υἱὸν βουλῆς, υἱὸν ἐκκλησίας, υἱὸν πόλεως, φιλόπατριν.

[122] For example, *BCH* 1972, 435–36 (Caria, found at Aphrodisias, 2nd/1st cent. BCE) reads, δεδόχ[θαι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι,] κυρωθέντος τοῦδε τοῦ ψη[φίσματος·... στεφ[α]νῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῆι ἐκλ[ησ]ίαι θαλλοῦ στ[ε]φάνωι·.

[123] For detailed definitions of bouleutic, probouleutic, and non-probouleutic/ecclesiastical decrees see Roger Alain De Laix, *Probouleusis at Athens: A Study in Political Decision-Making* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 195–98 and Sinclair, *Democracy*, 94, 229. A non-probouleutic decree implies that the decision reached in the *ekklēsia* did not derive from a *probouleuma* of the *boulē*. Examples from the Greek East wherein the people (*dēmos*) on their own are stated to have made a decision include: *IPrusaOlymp* 1006–1011 (all 1st or 2nd cent. CE); *ISmyrna* 676 (117–138? CE); *TAM* V.2 1264 (Hierocaesarea, 25?CE); *ISelge* 31 (late 1st/early 2nd cent. CE), 32 (Imperial); *IKourion* 87 (113/4 CE); and *IGLSyrie* I 167 (Nicopolis, Imperial; cf. Arjan Zuiderhoek, "On the Political Sociology of the Imperial Greek City," *GRBS* 48 [2008]: 417–445, esp. 419 n. 3).

[124] There are no 1st cent. BCE inscriptions within which the word *ekklēsia* occurs either in an enactment formula (ἔδοξεν τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ) or in a motion formula (δεδόχθαι τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ; "Let it be resolved by the *ekklēsia*"). There are three occurrences within 1st and 2nd cent. CE inscriptions, but their fragmentary nature precludes any definitive readings. Only one hails from Asia Minor proper: *SEG* VII 2 (Parthia, Susiana, Seleucia on the Eulaeus [Susa]; 21 CE/ Parthian year 268, Audnaeus 17). It is a letter from Artaban III, king of Parthia, to Seleucia approving the election of a city treasurer. It reads, βασιλευόν[τος Σελευκου, ἔτους] ϛλ' καὶ ρ', μη[νὸς- - -], ἐν Σελευκ[είαι δὲ τῆι πρὸς τῶι] Εὐλαίωι Λ[ῴου- - -, ἐπὶ] Ἀμμωνί[ου. ἔδοξε τῆι ἐκκλησίαι·. See its discussion by Robert K. Sherk ("The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities IV. The Register Part III: Thrace, Black Sea Area, Asia Minor (continued)," *ZPE* 93 [1992]: 223–272). The other two are from Kos and Arsa (Scythia Minor): *Iscr. di Cos EV* 75bis (Cos and Calyma, Kos — Kos, 1st or 2nd cents. CE; [— — ἔδο]ξε τ[ᾶι ἐκκλησίαι(?) — —]); *IScM* III 34, (Thrace and the Lower Danube, Scythia Minor, Kallatis [Mangalia] — Arsa; 50–100 CE; [ἔ]δοξε τᾶ ἀρχι[ερα]τικᾶ [ἐκ(κ)λησίᾳ]).

There are more, though, which use the word *dēmos*.[125] This implies that more than three

examples of popular assemblies exercising political autonomy existed in the early

Imperial period. A full analysis of the data, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis:

early Christ-followers self-designated as *ekklēsia*; they did not self-identify as *dēmos*.

The confluence of the three civic terms (*boulē*, *dēmos*, *ekklēsia*) within one

inscription indicates a population centre called a *polis* ("city-state").[126] Onno van Nijf

uses the term "Imperial Greek city" to indicate a *polis* in the Greek East during the first

three centuries CE, that is, from the reign of Augustus up to, and including, Diocletian

(27 BCE–284 CE).[127] The governance model of Imperial Greek *poleis* continued to use

all three Classical-era political institutions (*boulē*, *dēmos*, *ekklēsia*), yet, as a rule, without

the concomitant *dēmokratia* that empowered their Classical ancestors.[128]

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[125] An example of a non-probouleutic/ecclesiastical decree from Asia Minor in which only the *dēmos* is mentioned comes from Cyzicus (*Syll*[3] 798 = *IGR* IV 145; Mysia, 37 CE). Therein, the *dēmos* commissioned the *archontes* to draft and propose a decree, which was then discussed and passed at a later meeting (Rhodes and Lewis, *Decrees of the Greek States*, 416). An example from the 2nd century CE has the *dēmos* electing the city's treasurers (*tamiai*) (*ISmyrna* 771; *c*. 117–138 CE). Of note is one non-probouleutic/ecclesiastical decree which uses both terms *ekklēsia* and *dēmos* but not synonymously (*IG* XII,1 3, Rhodes, 1st century [BCE or CE]; [ἔδοξεν τῶι δ]άμωι ἐν τᾶ ἐκ<κ>λησία ἐν τῶι Ἀρταμιτίωι μηνί‛).

[126] Rhodes notes that only inscriptions of a *polis* mention both a *boulē* and a *dēmos* in the enactment formula (e.g., ἔδοξε τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι). This is because only a (larger) *polis* has a *boulē* and, along with it, a legislative procedure called *probouleusis*. By contrast, some smaller cities (e.g., in Arcadia) do not appear to have had a *boulē* ("Epigraphical Evidence," 94). The enactment formula is but one of five standardized elements within enactment decrees: the enactment formula (ἔδοξεν τῆι…; "resolved by…"), the proposer of the motion ("X" εἶπεν; "'X' proposed"), the motivation clause (ἐπειδὴ…; "since…"), the motion formula (δεδόχθαι…; "Let it be resolved…"), and the substance (the action to be taken) (Rhodes and Lewis, *Decrees of the Greek States*, 551–52). See also the detailed discussion of decrees by B. H. McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C.–A.D. 337)* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002), 215–27.

[127] The start of Octavian/Augustus' reign can be placed either in 31 BCE, after his defeat of Mark Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium, or in 27 BCE when Octavian officially became Augustus by award of the Senate. Diocletian reigned from 284 BCE until 305 BCE.

[128] Onno van Nijf also notes at least five distinctive architectural features of an Imperial Greek city: (1) a theatre; (2) an *odeion*; (3) a gymnasium; (4) monumental stoas on the agora; and (5) a large collonaded street, which van Nijf calls, somewhat tongue in cheek, "the ultimate fashion statement of the era" ("Public Space and the Political Culture of Roman Termessos," in *Political Culture in the Greek City*

2.2. Political Players in Imperial Greek Cities

Arjan Zuiderhoek identifies three public, and often competing, dimensions to civic politics in Imperial Greek cities: "The sources point to a strong element of oligarchy as well as to a continuing tradition of popular politics, against a background of a growing social and political hierarchisation."[129] Van Nijf adds a fourth: "political culture."[130] Political culture is the social expression of the underlying mentality and practices that inform political practice. It is particularly evident in inscriptions of Asia Minor *poleis*.[131]

The first dimension of Imperial period political life in the Greek East was civic governance by oligarchs. Oligarchs represent the top of the social hierarchy. They also came to predominate in the *boulē* where council membership was restricted to property holders who passed the census qualification.[132] Aelius Aristides (mid-2nd cent. CE) calls

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after the Classical Age [ed. O. van Nijf and R. Alston, with the assistance of C. G. Williamson; Leuven: Peeters, 2011], 215–242, esp. 217).

[129] Zuiderhoek, "Political Sociology," 418.

[130] Onno van Nijf defines "political culture" as "a 'menu of approaches' developed in political science, but adopted also by historians involving both the ideals and the operating norms of a political system. Political culture includes subjective attitudes and sentiments as well as objective symbols and creeds that together govern political behaviour and give structure and order to the political process" ("Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age: Introduction and Preview," in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age* [ed. O. van Nijf and R. Alston, with the assistance of C. G. Williamson; Leuven: Peeters, 2011], 1–26, esp. 5). See also Stephen Mitchell ("Festivals, Games, and Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor," *JRS* 80 [1990]: 183–193) and H. W. Pleket ("Political Culture and Political Practice in the Cities of Asia Minor in the Roman Empire," in *Politische Theorie und Praxis im Altertum* [ed. W. Schuller; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998], 204–216). They argue that politics permeated cultural forms and religious life.

[131] For example, van Nijf, "Public Space," 215–242.

[132] Mogens Hermann Hansen notes that while participation in the *ekklēsia* was usually open to all citizens, "the holding of (major) offices only was restricted to [natural born citizens] who passed the census qualification" ("The Hellenic Polis," in *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures: An Investigation*, vol. 21 [ed. M. H. Hansen; Copenhagen: Special-Trykkeriet Viborg a-s, 2000], 141–88, esp. 166). See also, A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 180; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 720 (on *Ep*. 10.110.2); C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Cambridge, MS/London: Harvard University Press, 1978), 96; Friedemann Quass, *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens* (UPSEHRZ; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1993), 343, 383; Pleket, "Political Culture," 206; Tonnes Bekker-Nielsen, *Urban Life and Local Politics in Roman Bithynia: The Small World of Dion Chrysostomos* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2008), 174.

oligarchs "the most important and powerful" people (*megistoi kai dynatōtatoi*) from across the Empire.[133] New councilors technically could no longer come from the *zeugetai* or *thetēs* census classes, as in Athens of old,[134] but only from respectable elite families.[135] In reality, the fact that urban elites were "heavily stratified internally" brings Zuiderhoek to state that there were "lower echelons of the bouleutic order…[consisting of] a group of well-to-do non-elite citizens from whom these new councilors could be recruited."[136] Where popular elections still existed, such as for magisteries, it was the *bouleutic ordo* which drew up the list of potential candidates.[137] Zuiderhoek states that oligarchization developed to such a degree that councilors sat for life and they and their families "increasingly came to have a corporate identity as a ruling class, and began to refer to

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[133] Aelius Aristides emphasizes the high status of these provincials associated with Rome: "Many in each city are citizens of yours no less than of their fellow natives…There is no need of garrisons holding acropolises, but the most important and powerful in each place guard their countries for you" (*Or*. 26.64).

[134] Solon founded democratic rule in Athens (late 590's BCE). He divided the citizenry into four census classes: *pentakosiomedimnoi* (producers of at least 500 'bushels' or *medimnoi*, of grain per year), *hippeis* (knights or cavalrymen—300 and more *medimnoi* per year), *zeugitai* (hoplites—200 and more *medimnoi* per year), and *thētes* (labourers—under 200 *medimnoi* per year) (Sinclair, *Democracy*, 2). For a nuanced analysis of the socio-economic dynamics associated with each census class in classical Athenian society, see Jeffrey A. Writers, *Oligarchy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 78–85. Writers sub-divides "hoplites" into two categories ("lower hoplites," "upper hoplites"), and names the top 1,200 richest Athenians "Trierarch-Oligarchs." He sub-divides this category into the "Lower 900 Trierarch-Oligarchs," the "290 of the 'Three Hundred'" and the "Top 10 Trierarch-Oligarchs" (*Oligarchy*, 79–83).

[135] Pliny *Ep*. 10.79 (Bithynia and Pontus). For council membership in other *poleis* in the Greek East, see Quass (*Die Honoratiorenschicht*, 384–94) and Stephen Mitchell (*Anatolia I* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993], 88–89 [Galatia]).

[136] Arjan Zuiderhoek, "Oligarchs and Benefactors: Elite Demography and Euergetism in the Greek East of the Roman Empire," in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age* (ed. O. van Nijf and R. Alston, with the assistance of C. G. Williamson; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 185–196, esp. 190–91. Zuiderhoek argues that it was "conditions of high mortality" which gave rise to this strategy for keeping "the *ordo* at a fixed numerical strength" (Ibid, 191). He names some of the urban non-elites who were candidates for the lower echelons of the *bouleutic* order: "rich craftsmen, traders, manufacturers, owners of medium sized estates, perhaps even professional men such as doctors, teachers, and rhetoricians" (e.g., a gymnastic trainer [*paidotribes*] in Smyrna [*ISmyrna* 246]; a shipowner [*naukleros*] councilor in Nikomedeia [*TAM* IV.1.304]) (Ibid, 191).

[137] Pleket, "Political Culture," 206. With respect to the *boulē* in Prusa (early 2nd cent. CE), Bekker-Nielsen notes that "the social standing of its members and the fact that the council united almost all the powerful and wealthy men of the city meant that in addition to its probouleutic function, it was often the real locus of decision-making" (*Urban Life*, 67).

themselves collectively as the βουλευτικὸν τάγμα, the bouleutic order (or *ordo decurionum*)."[138] In Bithynia, at the very least, these socio-political elites even received constitutional recognition under Roman *leges provinciae*.[139]

Rome 'deputized' the oligarchic elites as rulers of each *polis* on its behalf. This indirect approach is evident in an inscription from Oinoanda (Oenoanda) in Lycia (Asia Minor). It describes the organization of a festival processional during Hadrian's reign (*SEG* 38:1462; 124–125/126 CE).[140] The involvement of Roman elites amounted only to the granting of official approval and to being given assurances that neither civic nor state revenues would be required for the successful implementation of the new quadrennial sacred crown festival. The local *dēmos* took full control of festival planning and of enacting all arrangements. Mitchell notes that "few imperial documents more clearly indicate the division of responsibility between a city and the central authorities."[141]

The Romans not only indirectly supported these Greek models of civic governance within existing *poleis*, they also built new Imperial Greek cities. This does not necessarily mean, though, that the Romans encouraged *dēmokratia* itself. Rather, the *boulai*, *ekklēsiai*, and magistrates of new *poleis* were heavily weighted towards oligarchy.

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[138] E.g., *CIG* 4411a, b, 4412b; *RECAM* II 195; *SEG* 33:1123; See Quass (*Die Honoratiorenschicht*, 388 n. 170) and Pleket ("Political Culture," 205–206).

[139] Zuiderhoek, "Political Sociology," 429. For example, see especially Pliny the Younger's summary of the *lex Pompeia* of 65 BCE for Bithynia and Pontus (*Ep*. 10.79).

[140] At 117 lines, *SEG* 38:1462 is by far the longest record of the establishment of a quadrennial, or, in Greek terminology, a penteteric agonistic ("sacred crown") festival. This particular festival was endowed by one of Oinoanda's eminent citizens, C. Iulius Demosthenes, with the approval of emperor Hadrian. See Richard Wörrle (*Stadt und Fest in kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien. Studien zu einer agonisticschen Stiftung aus Oinoanda* [BAG 39; München: C. H. Beck, 1988], 4–17), Mitchell ("Festivals," 183–193), Guy MacLean Rogers ("Demosthenes of Oenoanda and Models of Euergetism," *JRS* 81 [1991]: 91–100), Onno van Nijf (*The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* [DMAHA XVII; Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1997], 131–46, 191–206), and Arjan Zuiderhoek ("The Ambiguity of Munificence," *Historia* 56 [2007]: 196–213, esp. 205–206).

[141] Mitchell, "Festivals," 188.

This type of scenario unfolded in Egypt during Hadrian's rule with his construction of a Greek *polis* known as Antinoopolis or Antinoë (130 CE).[142] Robert Sherk notes that, although privilege was extended to citizens, there is no indication that non-elite citizens enjoyed a greater degree of political influence than elsewhere in Egypt.[143]

As a rule, oligarchs slowly increased their stranglehold on the formal, and even more importantly, on the informal reins of power as the Imperial period progressed. One strategy was particularly effective in broadening their regional standing and deepening their Imperial influence. Judith Perkins notes that oligarchs from across the Greek East created informal trans-local alliances between their *poleis* based upon educational, cultural, and political commonalities.[144] She observes that "the elite proclaimed their

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[142] For a full bibliography and discussion of items such as the city's foundation, excavations, citizenship, and institutions, see M. Zahrnt, "Antinoopolis in Ägypten: Die hadrianische Gründung und ihre Privilegien in der neueren Forschung," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.10.1 (ed. H. Temporini; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 669–706.

[143] Sherk writes that Hadrian "organized [Antinoopolis] as a typical Greek city and granted its citizens special privileges, freeing them from the obligation to perform the liturgies in the other cities. It had magistrates, boule and demos. The eponymous official was almost certainly a prytanis" ("Eponymous Officials," 267). Bell identifies other privileges allotted to the citizens of Antinoopolis, each of whom considered themself a "New Greek." Examples include the granting of citizenship to children from the marriage of an Antinoite male and an Egyptian woman, exemption from tax on sales of real property and slaves, and exemption from the poll tax (and thus eligibility for service in the legions), allotments of land, and, not least by 151 CE, the right of Imperial support for children of Antinoite citizens, if registered within the first 30 days of birth (H. I. Bell, "Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt," *JRS* 30.2 [1940], 133–47, esp. 142–43). Sherk ("Eponymous Officials," 267 n. 124, 266 n. 129) cites the work of A. K. Bowman that the prytany system of classical Athens is replicated in Antinoopolis, but with a twist. Rather than having ten tribally based *prytaneiai*, which each year assumed leadership only for a 36 (or 39) day period, the *boulē* of Antinoopolis used a ten-year cycle of ten *phylai*. One of the names of the *phyai* is preserved for posterity. It is Ἀθηναΐς (Orelli, No. 4705). During the year of a particular *phylē*'s leadership its *prytaneia* provided a board or college of *prytanikoi* (A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* [ASP; Toronto: A. M. Hakkert, 1971], 1–19).

[144] Judith Perkins states that "across the territories of the Greek east, the Greek elite shared educational and cultural interests that allowed them to cement their solidarity and to constitute a group identity of *pepaideumenoi*, the educated, of persons from divergent locales and different ethnicities. These educated persons also acquired, it seems, a system of allegiances and attitudes that constituted them not only as the educated, but also as an empire-wide power elite, a ruling 'class,' positioned to administer empire" (*Roman Imperial Identities in the Early Christian Era* [RMCS; New York: Routledge, 2009], 23–24).

superiority through their *paideia* and their civic benefactions, [a strategy which] …naturalizes and legitimates political and economic dominance."[145] On the flip side, the wide use of benefaction by elites implicitly affirms the high degree of political influence still held by the main beneficiary of that oligarchic munificence—the *dēmos*.

Formal alliances also developed. A. D. Macro identifies the most prestigious in Asia Minor as being "the *koinon* of Asia."[146] He anachronistically describes it as an exclusively religious organization which oversaw the provincial imperial cult situated in Pergamon.[147] An imperial cult, however, was more than a religious institution; it was inherently political.[148]

Oligarchs were not the only ones who formed trans-local alliances. Two non-civic associations appear also to have done so. Yonder Moynihan Gillihan, following on from Diskin Clay, claims that Epicurean associations tended toward this strategy.[149] Gillihan

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[145] Perkins, *Roman Imperial Identities*, 25.

[146] The seven *poleis* of the *koinon* of Asia were Sardis, Cyzicus, Philadelphia, Laodicea, Lycum, Miletos, and Tralleis (A. D. Macro, "The Cities of Asia Minor under the Roman Imperium," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. 2, Principat. Bd. 7 [Politische Geschichte; ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980], 658–97, esp. 671).

[147] Macro, "The Cities of Asia Minor," 674–75. See also, Harland, *Associations*, 121–25. Simon Price notes that prior to Domitian's time, only three provincial imperial cults had ever existed in Roman Asia (Pergamon, 29 BCE; Smyrna, 23 CE; Miletos, *c*. 40 CE), with one of those being discontinued after the death of Gaius (Miletos). Ephesos dedicated a cult to the Sebastoi (i.e., Titus, Vespasian, and Domitian) in the late first century CE (*Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984], 249–74 ["Catalogue of Imperial Temples and Shrines in Asia Minor"]). See also Steven J. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 27–28. Pergamon was one of the seven *poleis* where Revelation's addressees lived (Rev 2:12-17). Three other *poleis* in the *koinon* of Asia also contained a community to which the book of Revelation is addressed (Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea; Rev 3:1-22).

[148] Even if the regular functions of the *koinon* dealt only with the imperial cult, there was a significant political dimension inherent in its cultic responsibilities. A key political element involved making representations to the emperor. This included determining which *poleis* were included, whose officials were authorized, and what sorts of honours were given.

[149] Epicureans enacted their fictive commonwealth of world citizens through the establishment of trans-local networks of local groups, which Yonder Moynihan Gillihan, not unproblematically, claims "formed alternative commonwealths whose territory and towns mirrored, even rivaled, those of empires" (*Civic Ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls: A Comparative Study of the Covenanters' Sect*

suggests that the "Epicureans' sense of membership in an alternative commonwealth was

surely reinforced by the existence of *oikoi* spread throughout the Mediterranean world,

counterparts to the *poleis* and territories of state order."[150] Gillihan does have a point, but

needs more evidence by which to make that point. It is true that the writings of Diogenes

of Oenoanda confirm that a network of Epicurean communities, as originally envisioned

by Epicurus, did exist into the mid-2nd century CE. Clay states that Diogenes "provides us

with all the information we possess concerning the lost Epicurean community of

Oenoanda,"[151] as well as of a number of "Epicureans active in Rhodes and in mainland

Greece."[152] Clay claims, however, that trans-local connections between these individual

Epicureans implies trans-locally connected Epicurean communities which interacted

through personal visits and epistolary correspondence.[153] For Gillihan to base a

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and Contemporary Voluntary Associations in Political Context [STDJ 97; Leiden: Brill, 2012], 95).
Gillihan bases his comments on the work of Diskin Clay, *Paradosis and Survival: Three Chapters in the
History of Epicurean Philosophy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1992), 232–55 (*Civic Ideology*,
100).

[150] Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 101. Gillihan claims that "schools in different cities attempted to
implement the same teachings and practices" and that such a trans-local *praxis* "seems to have been
Epicurus' own design" (Ibid, 100). He cites examples of Epicurus founding three schools during his
lifetime (*c*. 341–270 BCE), one each in Mytilene, Lampsacus, and Athens. By the 2nd century BCE, schools
were established in Laodicea, Cos, and Rhodes. In the 1st century BCE, Cicero complained that Epicureans
had "occupied" Italy (*Tusc*. 4.6-7) (Ibid, 101).

[151] Clay, *Paradosis*, 247.

[152] Clay, *Paradosis*, 245. Before Diogenes' inscription came to light in Oenoanda, he "was
completely unknown" (Ibid, 245). Only one Epicurean listed by Diogenes of Oenoanda was previously
known (L. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Avitus, 144 CE). The others listed are Antipater (of Athens),
Theodoridas of Lindos (Rhodes) and Menneas, Carus, Dionysius, and Niceratus of the *polis* of Rhodes.
Clay postulates that formal trans-local connections stand behind these names particularly since "in
addressing Antipater, Diogenes calls Theodoridas 'our companion'…and in addressing Menneas, he speaks
of 'our' Dionysius" (Ibid, 245).

[153] Gillihan notes that "in his letter to Antipater, Diogenes writes of travels to Rhodes, Athens,
Chalcis, and Thebes, and about Epicurean friends (*philoi*) in those places" (*Civic Ideology*, 101). Clay notes
that at least two letters survive from Diogenes' epistolary corpus: "a letter to Dionysius of Rhodes (NF 58)
who was already known (fr. 51 Chilton), and a long letter Diogenes addressed to his associates in Rhodes
concerning an Epicurean by the name of Niceratus" (*Paradosis*, 241). Diogenes speaks of the decision of
the Epicureans in Rhodes to send Niceratus "to us" (*pros hēmas*). Clay, while acknowledging that "we"
might be a euphemism for "me," suggests that "it is likely that his use of the first person plural reflects

conclusion upon Clay's inference places into question Gillihan's view that Epicurean communities formed "counterparts to the *poleis* and territories of state order." If a trans-local network of communities did exist, though, then the Epicureans mirror another non-civic association which clearly employed a trans-local strategy: Christ-followers in Roman Asia, who were aligned with the apostle Paul (e.g. the *ekklēsiai* of Asia)[154] and with the prophet John mentioned in Revelation (the seven *ekklēsiai* of Asia).[155]

A second political 'player' in Imperial Greek cities grew out of the ideological shift away from *isonomia* ("equality of political rights") towards hierarchical politics. Van Nijf calls this socio-political phenomenon "*ordo*-making": "Public ceremonies in the Greek East reinforced a hierarchical conception of society within which identity was derived from membership of a status group constructed along the lines of a Roman *ordo*."[156] This resulted in the *honestiores* being "decidedly less ordinary than others."[157] This hierarchic restructuring, far from muting the voice and diminishing the influence of

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Epicurus' own practice of writing letters first to an individual and then to a group of friends associated with the individual…Such was the practice of St. Paul" (Ibid, 242). Clay cites the work of Adolf Harnack on "the importance of letters in the mission and expansion of Christianity" (*Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* I [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1924], 382–86) (*Paradosis*, 242 n. 38).

[154] 1 Cor 16:19. See George van Kooten for his view that Paul "seems to hint at a conscious paralleling of the Roman provinces which points to an alternative structure of the Roman empire" ("Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ: The 'Church of God' and the Civic Assemblies (ἐκκλησίαι) of the Greek Cities in the Roman Empire. A Response to Paul Trebilco and Richard A. Horsley," *NTS* 58/4 [Oct. 2012]: 522–48, esp. 542). He sees this provincial level of organization as being implicit in Paul's phrases "the *ekklēsiai* of Galatia" (1 Cor 16:1; Gal 1:2), "the *ekklēsiai* of Asia" (1 Cor 16:19), "the *ekklēsiai* of Macedonia" (2 Cor 8:1), and "the *ekklēsiai* of Judea" (Gal 1:22; cf. 1 Thess 2:14) (Ibid, 536).

[155] Rev 1:4.

[156] Van Nijf, *Civic World*, 245. Van Nijf states that beginning with the late Hellenistic period a number of wealthy and powerful elite families in the Greek East "re-invented themselves as a separate status group, as an (ideally) hereditary *ordo* of *honoratiores* claiming to be the repositories in the community of *genos*, *arête* and *chremata* (pedigree, virtue, and money)" (*Civic World*, 134; see also 163, 187, 217).

[157] Zuiderhoek, "Political Sociology," 429. The *honestiores* consisted of Roman senators, knights, and municipal decurions from the provinces, as well as military veterans.

the *dēmos*, actually served to contribute to the political vitality of the popular assembly

by enfranchising what Scheidel calls a "substantial 'middle.'"[158]

One type of non-elite, non-civic group with a "middle" status appears to have

thrived particularly well within the hierarchization of *polis* life: professional associations

or *collegia*.[159] *Collegia* developed intrinsic ties with the bouleutic elite through their

networks of euergetism and patronage, their participation in hierarchically arranged

festival processions,[160] their privileged seating in theatres,[161] and their receipt of cash

handouts in public distributions that were proportionally larger per capita than those

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[158] Perkins, citing Scheidel, notes that, since only 1 per cent of the population of the Roman empire could be considered *honestiores*, "it is perfectly possible to reconcile the dominance of a disproportionately affluent elite with the presence of a substantial 'middle'" (Perkins, *Roman Imperial Identities*, 5).

[159] Zuiderhoek uses the phrase "politically vocal middling stratum" in reference to "urban-based manufacturers and traders (whether of the local, regional, or interregional variety)—in short, precisely the people we would expect to find in the urban professional *collegia*, and to whom the Romans referred as the *plebs media*" ("Political Sociology," 437). See also John S. Kloppenborg ("Collegia and *Thiasoi*: Issues in Function, Taxonomy and Membership," in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* [ed. J. S. Kloppenborg and S. G. Wilson; London and New York: Routledge, 1996], 16–30), van Nijf (*Civic World* [1997]), Philip Harland (*Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians: Associations, Judeans, and Cultural Minorities* [New York/London: T&T Clark, 2009]), and A. Gutsfeld and D. A. Koch, eds. (*Vereine, Synagogen und Gemeinden im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006]).

[160] The replication of *polis* hierarchy in festivals and processions is most clearly seen in the festival foundation established by C. Iulius Demosthenes at Oenoanda (Oinoanda) in Lycia in 124/5 CE (*SEG* 38:1462, see further in n. 140). The replication of *polis* hierarchy is also evident in Ephesos (104 CE). Gaius Vibius Salutaris donated over 30 silver figures which were carried in a bi-weekly procession by almost 300 persons for display, not honorific worship, to the theater (103/104 CE; *IEph* 27 A–G). Elizabeth Gebhard notes that the figurines, each about a meter tall, included nine of the goddess Artemis, and others of Trajan along with personifications of the Roman senate, the Roman people, the Ephesian *boulē*, *gerousia*, *ephebes*, *dēmos*, and of the six civic tribes ("The Theater and the City," in *Roman Theater and Society: E. Togo Salmon Papers I* [ed. W. Slater; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996], 113–28, esp. 121–23). See also Guy MacLean Rogers, "The Assembly of Imperial Ephesos," *ZPE* 94 (1992): 224–29. For an analysis of the continuing importance of debate in the 2nd cent. CE *ekklēsia*, see Rogers, "Demosthenes of Oenoanda," 91–100.

[161] Seat inscriptions reinscribe the Imperial practice of hierarchical organization by marking places for citizens according to rank and position. Gebhard lists theaters from across the Greek East in which seat inscriptions are found: "at the Theater of Dionysus at Athens, Delphi, Megalopolis, Heraclea, Lyncestis, Miletus, Termessus, and Aphrodisias" ("The Theater and the City," 113). These date primarily to the Imperial period. While seats nearest the front were given to the *bouleutai* (councilors), non-elite civic associations of various types, particularly the urban professional *collegia*, also had reserved seating. See also D. B. Small, "Social Correlations to the Greek Cavea in the Roman Period," in *Roman Architecture in the Greek World* (ed. S. Macready and F. H. Thompson; London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1987), 85–93; and Onno van Nijf, *Civic World*, 216–40.

received by the *politai* or *plebei*.[162] The elitist connections of some associations in Roman

Asia extended beyond the equestrian class and into the senatorial order itself.[163]

The third public player in Imperial period politics was the popular assembly, or in

other words, the *dēmos* when gathered together *en ekklēsia*. During the Imperial period

most of the inscriptional decrees enacted by the *dēmos* through the *ekklēsia* relate

primarily to euergetism.[164] This predominance of honorific decrees does not, though,

necessitate the corollary conclusion that the *ekklēsia* only filled a ceremonial role.[165] On

the contrary, Zuiderhoek argues that,

> the organisation of benefactions usually meant that decisions had to be made
> which touched on many and widely different areas of civic life—for instance,
> public construction, festive and religious life, public finance, civic administration,
> relations with Roman governors and/or emperors, and so on.[166]

2.3. Political Authority of the Popular Assembly in the Imperial Period

Aside from the political influence which the *dēmos* exerted in the process of

honouring benefactors, there are other indicators of the political vibrancy and influence

of Imperial period *ekklēsiai*. Merely citing the fact of their existence is not one of those

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[162] *IGR* III 800–802.

[163] Harland, *Associations*, 151. Examples of associational connections within the equestrian class include the purple-dyers at Hierapolis honouring a procurator (*epitropos*) who is an assistant to the proconsul of provincial Asia (*IHierapJ* 42 = *IGR* IV 816) and the physicians at Ephesos (*IEph* 719, early 2nd cent. CE). Senatorial connections surface in the joint honouring of Augustus' grandson Gaius by the people of Assos (northwest Pergamon) and the association of Roman businessmen (*IAssos* 13; 1 BCE–4 CE).

[164] See Appendices #2 (Ekklēsia *in First Century CE Inscriptions*) and #3 (Ekklēsia *in Second Century CE Inscriptions*).

[165] Zuiderhoek notes that "provincial elites in the Greek East were certainly not powerful enough to force assemblies into submission and have them merely applaud and rubber-stamp pre-arranged decisions" ("Political Sociology," 422).

[166] Zuiderhoek, "Political Sociology," 422.

indicators.[167] Rather, one must establish the degree to which those *ekklēsiai* were

democratically relevant.[168] When assessing their formal power, one must broaden the

search criteria, at the very least, to include inscriptional references to democratic 'code-

words' (*dēmokratia*, *autonomia*, *eleutheria*), democratic functions[169] (e.g., voting by lot,

accountability of public officials), and democratic forms (*boulē*, *ekklēsia*, *dēmos*).

Sviatoslav Dmitriev (2005),[170] Volker Grieb (2008) and Susan Carlsson (2010) all

studied epigraphic evidence from Asia Minor during the Hellenistic and Roman

periods.[171] They each contend that, even though generally the *dēmos* continued to be

consulted by ruling authorities, *dēmokratia* ceased to be a viable political system in Asia

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[167] Of the approximately 2100 inscriptional mentions of the lexemes ἐκκλησία, ἐκλησία, ἐκκλησίη, ἐκκλεσία and ἐγκλησία (5th cent. BCE–11th cent. CE), 52 are datable with certainty to the Imperial period (27 BCE–284 CE). Imperial period inscriptions, however, only use the lexemes ἐκκλησία and ἐκλησία. Organized by century, the number of *ekklēsia* occurrences are: 1st cent. BCE (3 [4]x); 1st cent. CE (22 [21]x); 2nd cent. CE (15x); 3rd cent. CE (12x).

[168] For example, although the classical Athenian practice of holding the "ordinary assembly" (ἐκκλησία κυρία) is still evident in at least two 1st century CE *poleis* (Epidauria, Peloponnesos [*Peek, Asklepieion* 35(2) = *IG* IV²,1 84]; Pontus, Paphlagonia [*St.Pont.* III 141]), one cannot assume thereby that the ἐκκλησία κυρία of the Imperial period exercised similar functions to its namesake in classical Athens.

[169] Herodotus (*Histories*; 431–425 BCE) lists three essential features that distinguish classical Athenian *dēmokratia* from monarchial rule. Herodotus focused on: (1) the use of the lot to select officials; (2) the accountability of officials to the *dēmos*; (3) the decision-making power (*kratos*) of the popular assembly (*ekklēsia*) (*Hist*. 3.80.6, cf. 82.4, cf. 6.43.3; Arist. *Pol*. 1279b21–2). See Raphael Sealey (*Essays in Greek Politics* [New York: Manyland Books, 1967], 272–77) and Martin Ostwald (*Nomos and the Beginnings of the Athenian Democracy* [Oxford: Clarendon Press 1969], 107–13, 178–79).

[170] Sviatoslav Dmitriev states that "even though the political activity of the people's assemblies became extinct, the people retained, albeit formally, the final say in administrative and political matters…At the same time, the people remained an important social force whose attitudes had to be taken into consideration by the members of the local élite, and Roman authorities still treated Asian cities as communities by addressing letters to their 'council and the people'" (*City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* [Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005], 330).

[171] Susanne Carlsson focuses on epigraphic occurrences of the words *dēmokratia*, *eleutheria*, and *autonomia* (*Hellenistic Democracies: Freedom, Independence and Political Procedure in Some East Greek City-States* [HE 206; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010]). Volker Grieb, on the other hand, looks for the survival of those three elements in historical events that demonstrate the active participation of the *dēmos* ("demokratischen Praxis") and the pursuit of independent foreign policy initiatives ("aussenpolitischen") (*Hellenistische Demokratie: Politische Organisation und Struktur in freien griechischen Poleis nach Alexander dem Grossen* [HE 199; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2008]). Unfortunately, although Carlsson's work was published after that of Grieb, she does not interact with his work, much of which would have provided her with supportive evidence.

Minor, especially in the coastal cities, sometime between *c*. 150 BCE and the time of direct Roman rule in 129 BCE. With respect to Athens, Philippe Gauthier argues that Athenian citizens continued to be involved politically, even in democratic ways, up to the dawn of the *basse époque hellénistique* which he situates *c*. 150 BCE.[172] Christian Habicht concurs but extends the time of active political life in Athens to the late Hellenistic period (*c*. 150–30 BCE).[173] Thus, in relation to *formal* indicators, *dēmokratia* seems to have deteriorated to a large degree in Imperial Greek cities.

There are at least four other factors, however, which appear to problematize any assumptions of extensive democratic malaise. Three derive from epigraphic evidence and the fourth from literary sources. First, the Athenian *ekklēsia* continued to inscribe decrees beyond 30 BCE, even well into the 3rd century CE.[174] Second, inscriptional evidence attests to the democratic *praxis* of the four jurisdictional responsibilities of the classical

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[172] Philippe Gauthier specifically studied Athenian civic honorary decrees (*Les cités grecques et leur beinfaiteurs* [Athens & Paris, 1985]; idem, "Les cités héllenistiques," in *The Ancient Greek City-State* [HfM 67; CPCActs 1; ed. M. H. Hansen; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1993], 211–31).

[173] Christian Habicht, "Ist ein 'Honorationemregime' das Kennzeichen der Stadt im späteren Hellenismus?" in *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus* (BAG 47; ed. M. Wörrle and P. Zanker; München: C. H. Beck, 1995), 87–92.

[174] The latest extant Athenian decree formalized during an *ekklēsia kyria* dates to 20/19 BCE (*Clinton, Sacred Officials* 50,D14/*SEG* 30:93; ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν Μηνόφιλος). See also *Agora* 16 335/*IG*² 1051+1058 (30–22/21 BCE). For a detailed analysis of *Agora* 16 335/*IG*² 1051+1058, see Benjamin D. Merritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 36, no. 1 (1967): 57–100, esp. 66–68. Merritt notes that the content of *IG*² 1051 reflects "dealings with the klerouchs in Lemnos" and recounts the Athenian decision to send four emissaries with the text of a decree to Lemnos, one of whom was a herald (κῆρθξ) of the *boulē* and *dēmos* (Ibid, 68, 67, respectively). Decrees of Athenian *ekklēsiai*, though not of *ekklēsiai kyriai*, are extant into the late Imperial period (up to 230 CE). Examples include: *SEG* 15:108 (124 CE; ἐὰν δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου τις μηνύσῃ, ἐπάναγκες ὁ στρατηγὸς τῇ ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ βουλὴν ἀθροισάτω, εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντήκοντα ἀμφορεῖς εἴη τὸ μεμηνυμένον, ἐκκλησίαν·); *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 165, 10 (179–180 CE; an honorific decree for the Roman emperor; ὀρθῶς δὲ ἐποιήσατε καὶ ἐπιστε[— c.6 —]ε ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐκκλ[ησίας —]), and *SEG* 30:82/*SEG* 21:506/*SEG* 33:137/*IG* II² 1064 (*c*. 230 CE; [εἰσκαλεῖσ]θαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ θέατρον διὰ τῶν πρυτάνεων ἀεὶ ἐπὶ προεδρίᾳ καὶ κοινωνίᾳ θυσιῶν καὶ [σπον][δῶν τῶν ἔν τε πομ]παῖς πάσαις καὶ ἐκκλησίαις γεινομένων αὐτόν).

Athenian *dēmos* within civic *ekklēsiai*.[175] This fact is most prevalent in inscriptions from

Asia Minor. Van Nijf forwards 2nd century CE Termessos as one particularly illustrative

example. He claims Termessos "was technically still a democracy."[176] In terms of formal

democratic institutions, van Nijf notes that Termessos had a regular assembly (*ennomos*

ekklēsia) in which probouleutic recommendations of the *boulē* were considered by

upwards of 4500 citizens.[177] Van Nijf could have strengthened his case for the democratic

vitality of Termessos even further by noting, firstly, that, in comparison to other Imperial

Greek *poleis* in Asia Minor, Termessos is the only one which convened an *ennomos*

ekklēsia,[178] and, secondly, that its declaration of an ecclesiastical/non-probouleutic decree

implies a high degree of political autonomy for the *dēmos* of this *ennomos ekklēsia*.[179]

The democratic *kratos* of the *dēmos* of Termessos is further reinforced in its

exercise of formal jurisdictional responsibilities. The assembly debated issues included in

the traditional agenda of the classical Athenian *ekklēsia kyria*.[180] Van Nijf cites examples

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[175] Glotz lists the four jurisdictional responsibilities of the classical Athenian *dēmos* as being legislation, oversight both of executive power and foreign policy, and political control of judicial power (*Greek City*, 162). Three of the four jurisdictional realms enacted within the context of civic *ekklēsiai* during the 1st century CE include: (1) legislative functions such as the pronouncement of imperial favours to political regions (*IG* VII 2713, Akraiphia) and of honorific decrees (*Bosch, Quellen Ankara* 76,72, Ankyra [Ankara]; *IScM* III 31, Kallatis [Mangalia]); (2) executive functions such as the decision to purchase olive oil (*IG* XII,1 3, Rhodes); and (3) judicial functions such as the manumission of slaves (*FD* III 6:31, *FD* III 6:27, *BCH* 108 [1984] 366,4 [all from Delphi]). See Appendix #2 for all 1st century CE inscriptional attestations of the word *ekklēsia*.

[176] Van Nijf, "Public Space," 234.

[177] Van Nijf bases his estimate on the fact that the theatre in which the *dēmos* met in assembly contained seating for *c*. 4500 people ("Public Space," 234).

[178] There is only one other extant mention of an *ennomos ekklēsia* in Asia Minor (and the only plural reference anywhere in the inscriptional record). It comes from Mysia but it pre-dates the Imperial period (*IGR* 4.292, 75–50 BCE; cf. *MDAI(A)* 32 [1907]: 243, 244). It reads, in part, ἐπ[ι]θύειν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν ἔν τε ταῖς βουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐννόμο[ις], [ὅταν] παρατυγχάνηι.

[179] See n. 123 for an explanation of the term "ecclesiastical/non-probouleutic decree." *TAM* III 4 reads, in part, μηνὸς Σωτηρίου δεκάτη γ΄ ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκλησία ἔδοξε τῶι δήμωι προβούλων γνώμηι.

[180] The principal *ekklēsia* (i.e., ἐκκλησία κυρία) of classical Athens had an all-embracing program which included: votes of confidence (ἐπιχειροτονία; *epicheirotonia*) with respect to the magistrates

such as "the appointment of magistrates, financial affairs, civic subdivisions (including

the introduction of new *phylai*), construction works (roads and cisterns), food-supply, and

the organization of games and festivals."[181] Termessos even involved itself in foreign

policy initiatives by providing auxiliary troops and sending embassies to Rome.

A third indicator of widespread *kratos* for the *dēmos* during the Imperial period is

the burgeoning political culture in Asia Minor. Van Nijf states that the post-Classical

polis "lost little of its political and cultural significance in worlds dominated by

Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors."[182] Van Nijf identifies three non-institutional

aspects of vibrant political culture: festivals, monuments of leadership,[183] and emotive

communities.[184] The unspoken underlying goal of political culture appears to have been

the avoidance of *intra-polis* conflict through preservation of the *status quo*.

(*archontes*); discussion of military preparedness and of issues related to food security, consideration of accusations of high treason (εἰσαγγελίαι; *eisangeliai*), reports of confiscated property and of determinations made with respect to disputed inheritance claims (Glotz, *Greek City*, 85; Cf. *Ath. Pol.* 43.4–6).

[181] Van Nijf, "Public Space," 234.

[182] Onno van Nijf, Richard Alston, and Christina Williamson, "Introduction: The Greek City and Its Religions after the Classical Age," in *Cults, Creeds and Identities in the Greek City after the Classical Age* (GRHSGCCA 3; ed. R. Alston, O. M. van Nijf, and C. G. Williamson; Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming), 1–20, esp. 3. They claim further that "the essays in van Nijf and Alston (2011) repeatedly stress…and Alston and van Nijf (2008) showed, the post-Classical period retained vibrant and complex political cultures, the institution of the *polis* spread over a far greater region than in the Classical period, and the economic complexity and the abilities and strategies of the *poleis* to manage and provide for their resident communities were, if anything, enhanced…It is evident that the *polis* did much more than just persist—it flourished" (Ibid, 3). The two cited works are: Onno M. van Nijf and Richard Alston, eds., *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age* (GRHSGCCA 2; Leuven: Peeters, 2011); and Richard Alston and Onno M. van Nijf, eds., *Feeding the Ancient Greek City* (GRHSGCCA 1; Leuven: Peeters, 2008).

[183] For van Nijf's discussion of festivals and monuments of leadership in political culture see: (1) *Civic World*, 131–148 (festivals) and *Civic World*, 73–130 (honorific inscriptions); (2) "Political Culture," 11–14; and (3) "Public Space," 217–23 (monumental politics).

[184] Van Nijf observes that "when a writer of the Second Sophistic wanted to get to the *essence* of a community he would naturally focus on the *emotional climate* in which social and political transactions took place" ("Politics, Culture and Identities," 11 [author's emphasis]).

Euergetism, or benefaction, was a key strategy in maintaining *status quo* and undergirds two of van Nijf's three elements of political culture (monumentalism and festivals). Acts of munificence served both internal and external political functions during the Imperial period.[185] Internally, euergetism allowed the lines of political influence between the oligarchic elite and the *dēmos* to flow in both directions.[186] Zuiderhoek terms euergetism "the politics of redistribution."[187] The *dēmos* distributed power and prestige to the oligarchs in exchange for the distribution of material and social 'wealth' from the oligarchs. Zuiderhoek notes that public rituals associated with euergetism,

> did much to ease possible tensions arising from this political configuration by creating a dynamic exchange of gifts for honours which allowed the elite to present itself as a virtuous, benevolent upper class, while simultaneously allowing the *demos* [*sic*] to affirm (and thereby legitimate) or reject this image through the public allocation of honours.[188]

Externally, "the politics of redistribution," as enacted by the oligarchic elite, served to prevent outside interference in civic affairs. The prospect of Roman intervention was a real one,[189] especially given the fact that, as Zuiderhoek notes, power sharing between the oligarchic elites and the popular assembly "seems often to have been

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[185] See Zuiderhoek for his study of how high mortality rates and short lifespans affected the demography of social elites. He hypothesizes that public euergetism served an important private function for elites in memorializing their family lineage ("Oligarchs and Benefactors," 185–196).

[186] Van Nijf argues that the public use of honorific language implicitly pressures the honorand to live up to the public impression created of him or her. In this way, the *dēmos*, through individuals and/or collectives such as voluntary associations, plays an active role in the process of political identity construction even without having been formally granted any official political office or even role. The practice of monumentalism exponentially increased in the Greek East during the Imperial period (van Nijf, *Civic World*, 73–130; "Public Space," 217–23).

[187] Zuiderhoek, "Political Sociology," 435.

[188] Zuiderhoek, "Political Sociology," 444. See Zuiderhoek for charts on the frequency with which different types of benefaction were given (e.g., types of buildings, categories of benefaction-types) (*The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* [GCRW; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009], 76–80).

[189] Plutarch, *Mor.* 814F–815A. Fear of Roman intervention is explicitly cited as the reason for dismissing an 'illegal' *ekklēsia* that was hastily assembled in Ephesos (Acts 19:23-41, esp. vv. 39-41).

an uneasy one."[190] This ongoing need for the negotiation of power resulted in civic

disturbances that are widely attested throughout the Greek East during the first two

centuries CE.[191] Giovanni Salmeri provides details of many of the conflicts in Roman

Asia Minor between the elite dominated *boulē* and the *dēmos*.[192] Somehow conflict had

to be mediated in order to avoid direct Roman intervention in the local affairs of *poleis*.

The rise in the frequency and generosity of public and semi-public benefaction, or

euergetism, appears to have mitigated the development of undue conflict.

Zuiderhoek states that this three-way tug of war involving imperial authorities,

civic elites, and popular assemblies "helps to explain the remarkable proliferation of

euergetism we see in the eastern provinces during the first two centuries."[193] By

appeasing the expressed and perceived demands of the popular assembly, euergetism

facilitated civic harmony. Zuiderhoek even goes so far as to claim that,

> to a large measure, the well-being and stable functioning of the Empire depended on the
> vitality of its cities…[hence] euergetism's contribution to civic socio-political stability
> may well have been one of the keys to the survival and flourishing of the Roman imperial
> system as a whole during the first two centuries AD.[194]

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[190] Zuiderhoek, "Political Sociology," 442. He sees the genesis of this uneasy relationship in the
fact that there was "the cohabitation of oligarchisation, hierarchisation, and a continuing measure of active
popular politics (fuelled quite possibly by a politically vocal middling stratum within the *demos*)" (Ibid,
442).

[191] Zuiderhoek cites examples of civic unrest, though not of revolt, throughout the Greek East
during the Imperial period: (Sardis) Philostr. *Letters of Apollonius* 56; (Aspendos) Philostr. *V.Apoll.* 1.15;
(Smyrna) Philostr. *V.Soph.* 1.25; (Rhodes) Aelius Aristides, *Oration to the Rhodians: Concerning Concord*
(*Or.* 24); (Tarsus) Dio Chrys. *Or.* 34.16–20; (Nicaea) *Or.* 39; (Prusa) *Or.* 46, 47.19, 48.9 ("Political
Sociology," 442 n. 61). See also Giovanni Salmeri who provides an extensive summary of the many
conflicts in Roman Asia Minor between the elite dominated *boulē* and the *dēmos* ("Dio, Rome, and the
Civic Life of Asia Minor," in *Dio Chrysostom: Politics, Letters, and Philosophy* [ed. S. Swain; Oxford:
Oxford University Press, 2000], 53–92, esp. 73–86).

[192] Salmeri provides an extensive summary of the many conflicts in Roman Asia Minor between
the elite dominated *boulē* and the *dēmos* ("Dio, Rome, and the Civic Life," 73–86).

[193] Zuiderhoek, "Political Sociology," 435.

[194] Zuiderhoek, *Politics of Munificence*, 5.

Literary sources provide a fourth countervailing factor for claims of democratic malaise in Imperial Greek cities. A vibrant "*ekklēsia* discourse" surfaces in the 1st century CE literary works of Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, and Theon.[195] Within the writings of Plutarch and Dio, Anna Crescinda Miller defines their "*ekklēsia* discourse" as including

> *topoi* familiar from classical literature, such as idealization of an empowered citizen body and the speech of the assembly…were applied not only to historical assemblies of the past, or theoretical assemblies of the imagination, but also to the assemblies that were meeting in Greek cities of the first century.[196]

Ruth Webb defines the purpose of Theon's *progymnasmata* as being the preparation of the student for rhetorical repartee within the real world as a citizen in the *ekklēsia*.[197] Participation within an *ekklēsia*, however, required more than simply political acumen.

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[195] See John Ma ("Public Speech and Community in the *Euboicus*," in *Dio Chrysostom: Politics, Letters, and Philosophy* [ed. S. Swain; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000], 108–24); Ruth Webb ("The *Progymnasmata* as Practice," in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* [ed. Yun Lee Too; Boston: Brill, 2001], 289–316, esp. 289–92); Anna Criscinda Miller ("*Ekklesia*: 1 Corinthians in the Context of Ancient Democratic Discourse" [PhD diss., Harvard University, 2008], 4–5); and Giovanni Salmeri ("Dio, Rome, and the Civic Life," 53–92; idem, "Reconstructing the Political Life and Culture of the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire," in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age* [ed. O. van Nijf and R. Alston, with the assistance of C. G. Williamson; Leuven: Peeters, 2011], 197–214). Salmeri notes four key differences and five substantive similarities between Imperial period and classical Athenian *ekklēsiai* ("Reconstructing," 206). See Christina Kokkinia on "*ekklēsia* discourse" in Aelius Aristides (early 2nd cent. CE) ("The Governor's Boot and the City's Politicians. Greek Communities and Rome's Representatives under the Empire," in *Herrschaftsstrukturen und Herrschaftspraxis: Konzepte, Prinzipien und Strategien der Administration im römischen Kaiserreich: Akten der Tagung an der Universität Zürich, 18.-20.10.2004* [ed. A. Kolb; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006], 181–90). Plutarch (*c*. 46–120 CE) was born in Chaeronea (Boeotia) in central Greece. Dio Chrysostom (*c*. 40–*c*. 115) is also known as Dion of Prusa or Dio Cocceianus. He was born in Prusa, a town in Bithynia. Aelius Theon was from Alexandria and probably lived during the mid to late 1st century CE. Miller contends that he wrote the *progymnasmata* before 95 CE, that is, the point at which Quintilian cites Theon on *statis* theory ("*Ekklesia*," 30 n. 35). She cites the argument of George Alexander Kennedy (*Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric, Writings from the Greco-Roman World; V. 10* [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003], 1). Miller does not, however, consider the perspective of Malcolm Heath who claims that arguments for an early date for Theon's *Progymnasmata* are inherently weak, especially given the fact not only of its popularity in late antiquity, but also that it was translated into Armenian ("Theon and the History of the *Progymnasmata*," *GRBS* 43/2 [2002]: 129–160).

[196] Miller, "*Ekklēsia*," 4–5.

[197] Webb, "*Progymnasmata*," 289–92. *Topoi* raised in the classical Athenian *ekklēsia* are also given priority as *progymnasmata* students spoke in their imagined *ekklēsia* (e.g., the danger of tyrants, tyrannicide as a heroic act, provision of justice and equality for the poor over against the oppression of the rich; cf. Dem. 21.124-127; also Thuc. 2.37).

Religious ritual was also germane to *polis* politics in the Greek East during the Imperial period.

2.4. Religion and Imperial Period **Ekklēsiai**

Onno Van Nijf, Richard Alston, and Christina Williamson note that "it is quite clear that religion [e.g., patron *polis* gods] continued to play an important role in the way that cities represented their identity both to their own inhabitants and to the outside world."[198] This religious representation is prevalent throughout the inscriptional record. Religious terminology within enactment decrees abounds from the time of classical Athens until the end of the Imperial period.[199] Inscriptional examples of religious terminology include the offering of sacrifices (*thysias*), addresses to the gods (*theoi*), lists of religious professionals (*hiereis*), and the public display of enactment decrees set up within Greek temples (e.g., Zeus, Pythian Apollo, Artemis, and Serapis/Asklepios).[200]

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[198] Van Nijf, Alston, and Williamson, "Introduction: The Greek City," 5. The integral union of *polis* and religion is evident in the multiplicity of temples, shrines, festivals, banquets, and religious rituals that reinforced *polis* hierarchies, and the regulation and administration of (public) religion by the *polis*. On the concept of "religion" as a false category, see Brent Nongbri, *Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013). On the integral union of politics and religion, see the extensive discussion by Susan Guettel Cole ("Civic Cult and Civic Identity," in *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State. Symposium August 24–27, 1994. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 2 [HfM 72; ed. M. H. Hansen; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1995], 292–325) and a response by Walter Burkert ("Greek *Poleis* and Civic Cults: Some Further Thoughts," in *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* [HE 95; ed. M. H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995], 201–210). On the intermingling of religion and politics specifically within the 'political culture' of Imperial period Asia Minor, see Onno van Nijf, "Political Games," in *L'organisation des spectacles dans le monde Romain: huit exposés suivis de discussions* (Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique LVIII; ed. K. M. Coleman, J. Nelis-Clemént, P. Ducrey; Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 2012), 47–95, esp. 61, 63, 64, 71–76; van Nijf, Alston, and Williamson, "Introduction: The Greek City," 4–10 (section entitled, '*Polis religion*' *and the post-Classical polis*).

[199] Of the more than 2100 inscriptional mentions of the word *ekklēsia* (5th cent. BCE to 11th cent. CE), at least 675 contain religious terminology. Of those 675, 600 are dated from the 5th cent. BCE to the 2nd cent. CE.

[200] Examples of religious phraseology which occurs within late Hellenistic and Imperial period inscriptions that mention an ἐκκλησία (and related lexemes such as ἐκλησία) include: (1) 1st cent BCE, Athens (*IG* II² 1030): τοῖς θεοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὑπέρ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶ[ν]; (2) 1st cent. CE, Epidauros in Peloponnesos (*IG* IV², 1 84): τε τῆι Ἀθήνησιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ πρώτων ἀνδρῶν,

While religious rituals were part and parcel of the political activity of *ekklēsiai*

in the Imperial period, the flip side was also true, both of political officers and of

institutions. In Philadelphia, following the great earthquake of 17 CE, one of its

magistrates is designated a priest of emperor Germanicus in honour of Rome's five year

remittal of tribute.[201] Some institutional *ekklēsiai* in central Greece became part and

parcel of socio-religious ceremonies, specifically those through which slaves were

manumitted.[202] The formal ratification of a slave's manumission normally was tied to a

sacred institution such as a temple, with occasional ratification in a civic *ekklēsia*.[203] This

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ἱερέων καὶ ἱερειῶν τῆς προσωνύμου τῆς πόλ[ε]ως θεοῦ καὶ ἱεροφαντικῶν; ἐν Ἐπιδαύρωι τῆι ἱερᾶι ἐν τῶι τεμένει τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ; (3) 2nd cent CE, Oinoanda in Lycia (124–125/26 CE; *SEG* 38:1462): ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς; ἀρχιερέως τῶν Σεβαστῶν; ιβ΄ θυσία τ[οῦ πα]τρῴου Ἀπόλλωνος; καὶ τοὺς πατρίους θεοὺς εὐσεβείας ἐν τῇ σ[εβαστ]ῇ τοῦ Δείου μηνὸς καὶ συν πομπεύοντα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσι; προπομπεύσουσι τὰς σεβαστικὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὴν [τοῦ] πατρῴου ἡμῶν θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τὸν π[ροδ]ηλούμενον ἱερὸν βωμόν; ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς βοῦν.

[201] Colin Hemer cites numismatic evidence in this regard (Nos. 51, 52, of Caligula) (*The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in Their Local Setting* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986/1989], 157). The religious commitment of a Philadelphian magistrate to the emperor is politically reinforced in their self-styled designation as φιλόκαισαρ (*BMC Lydia*, lxxxv; coin no. 54) and φιλόπατρις (*BMC Lydia*, lxxxv; cf. also the much later *CIG* 3422.4) (Ibid, 157 n. 18).

[202] There are fifteen mentions of an *ekklēsia* within Greek manumission inscriptions. These date between the 2[nd] century BCE and the 1[st] century CE. The breakdown of *poleis* by region is as follows: Phokis (Delphi, 6x; Elate[i]a, 6x; Tithora, 1x), Boeotia (Phastinos, 1x), and W. Locris (Phaestinus, 1x). Eleven inscriptions date to the 2[nd] cent. BCE, three to the 1[st] cent. CE, with one being undatable. The three 1[st] cent. CE inscriptions all hail from Delphi, as does the one that is undatable. Of the ten 2[nd] cent. BCE inscriptions, two are from Delphi (See Appendix #5: Ekklēsia *Occurrences in Manumission Inscriptions of Central Greece*). The use of an *ekklēsia* to legitimate a slave's manumitted status finds metaphorical parallel in Paul's depiction of *ekklēsia* members as manumitted slaves (Romans, 1 Corinthians). In Part III, I expound further upon Paul's manumission theology, particularly as it intersects with Jewish manumission protocol among synagogue communities on the north shore of the Black Sea during the time of the Bosporan Kingdom (1st–4th cents. CE).

[203] Elizabeth Leigh Gibson notes that over 1300 manumission inscriptions from central Greece have been recovered. These span four centuries and recount release ceremonies at the temple of the Pythian Apollo (*The Jewish Manumission Inscriptions of the Bosporus Kingdom: Release in the Prayer House* [TSAJ 75; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1999], 37). Under priestly oversight, a slave's (*doulos*) status was changed (e.g., *aphēkē eleutheron*; "set free") into that of a "freedperson" (*apeleutheros*). The official redemption payment (*timas*) (whether figurative or literal) is not infrequently made to a god in a temple, most often to the Pythian Apollo in the temple at Delphi (e.g., *FD* III 6:31 [Delphi, 1–20 CE]; see Appendix #5 for the Greek text). Greek manumission is not emancipation, though, since not infrequently the "freedperson" (*apeleutheros*) was still enjoined through a *paramonē* clause to "remain with" his/her previous owner until that owner died (e.g., *parameinatō*, *FD* III 6:31, ca. 20CE; παραμενέτω δὲ Τρυ[φ]έρα

public setting allows the *dēmos* to become a witness, thereby ensuring that common

knowledge of the new status of the recently manumitted slaves was disseminated.[204]

The interpenetration of religion into politics also flowed in the other direction. In

some Hellenistic-era inscriptions from Asia Minor, religious figures became *polis*

officers.[205] In one instance the chief priest is given the political office of eponymous

archōn, that is, the chief magistrate of the *polis*. Sherk cites one example from the 2nd

century BCE *polis* of Laodicea-by-the-Lycus (Phrygia) in which "it [is] probable that a

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Νίκωνι πάντα τὸν τᾶς ζωᾶς αὐτ<οῦ> χρόνον ποιοῦσα τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἀνενκ[λ]ήτως). There are 302 manumissions inscriptions from central Greece that include a *paramonē* style clause (παραμονῇ; παραμενέτω; παραμεινάτω; παραμ<ε>ίνασαν). Six from the region of Phokis (Delphi) include both the word *ekklēsia* and a *paramonē* style clause: *FD* III 6:31 (Delphi, 1–20 CE), *FD* III 6:27 (Delphi, 1–20 CE), *IG* IX,1 193 (Tithora, beginning of the 2nd cent. BCE), *IG* IX,1 126 (Elateia, 2nd cent. BCE), *IG* IX,1² 3:712 (Locris, W.; Phaestinus, mid-2nd cent. BCE), and *FD* III 2:120 (Delphi, n.d.). Gibson clarifies that "service for the life of the former owner was the most common *paramonē* obligation, but a variety of other arrangements were possible. These include providing service for a limited number of years (*SGDI* 1742), maintaining a grave site (*SGDI* 1775, 1796, 1801, 1807), providing replacement slaves (*SGDI* 1717), learning a trade (*SGDI* 1899 and 1904), serving a designated party after the original owner's death (*SGDI* 1742, 1747, and 1884), and agreeing to live in a specific town (*SGDI* 1774 and 1801)" (*Jewish Manumission Inscriptions*, 40 n. 26).

[204] For the concept of "common knowledge" within Imperial Greek cities and the role of public spectacles for the spread of religio-political knowledge, see Onno van Nijf's discussion of the "game theory" of Michael Suk–Young Chwe (*Rational Ritual: Culture, Coordination, and Common Knowledge* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001]) ("Political Games," 61–70, 73–75). Public manumission ceremonies, which include the witness of the *dēmos en ekklēsia*, are particularly fitting contexts within which to spread common knowledge for the ultimate benefit of the newly manumitted slaves. Van Nijf notes that "for collective action, it is important that people know that other people agree with them, for only then are they inclined to take a common course of action. Accordingly, in this view, political legitimacy depends on general agreement between the rulers and the ruled, on common knowledge that everyone will take the written and unwritten rules of the political game seriously…A public ritual is first and foremost an occasion where all the members of a community are required to be present in one place and jointly to learn the cultural information contained in the spectacle" ("Political Games," 63).

[205] For example, Diodorus Siculus describes Pessinous in Asia Minor as being, in essence, a "priest-state" for Cybele (Maria Grazia Lancellotti, *Attis, Between Myth and History: King, Priest, and God* [RGRW 149; Leiden: Brill, 2002], 71–72). See also Angelo Verlinde, *The Sanctuary Site at Pessinus. The Genesis, Development and Taphonomy of a Roman Temple in Central Asia Minor in Light of its Phrygian-Hellenistic Predecessors and Byzantine Afterlife* (MOA 7; Leuven/Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2014). For inscriptional evidence see, Johan Strubbe, *The Inscriptions of Pessinous* (IGSK 66; Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 2005).

priest was eponymous" (*MAMA* VI 10).[206] This ideology even continued into the early

decades of the 1st century BCE (*MAMA* VI 18).[207]

These two inscriptions take the concept of priest as *archōn* one exponential step

further, however: they equate the priest/*archōn* with the very *polis* itself. Sherk comments

that "the eponymous priesthood is that of a ἱερεὺς τῆς Πόλεως, i.e. a personification of

the city itself."[208] Thus, not only is a priest in that region of Phrygia considered the chief

polis official but he is even regarded as the embodiment of the *polis* itself. This

sacralization of a *polis* is also mirrored elsewhere, to a lesser degree, in at least seven

inscriptional occurrences of the phrase *ekklēsiai* (*hiera ekklēsia*).[209]

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[206] Sherk, "Eponymous Officials," 224. Laodicea consisted of a large population of Jews, whose descendants had been transplanted there from Babylon by Antiochus III, the Great (2nd cent. BCE). The enduring significance of the Laodicean Jewish community even into the 1st century CE is seen in Cicero's comment that, as part of their annual contribution, they had tried to send nine kilograms of gold to the Temple in Jerusalem, all of which was confiscated by the Romans (*Pro Flacco* 28–68).

[207] Sherk, "Eponymous Officials," 224.

[208] Sherk, "Eponymous Officials," 224.

[209] There are at least seven extant inscriptions within which a *polis* attributes a sacral dimension to its civic *ekklēsia* ("*hiera ekklēsia*"). Four are dated to the Hellenistic era and three to the Imperial period. The Hellenistic-era examples are: (1) *IMT Adram Kolpos* 715 (Andros, Lamyra, Mysia, Asia Minor, 106 BCE): δεδόχθαι τῆι ἱερᾶι ἐκκλησίαι; and (2) *IMT Adram Kolpos* 716 (Taylieli, Mysia, 168–160/59 BCE): δέδοχθαι τῆι ἱερᾶι ἐκκλη[σίαι·; (3) *IG* XII,5 722+[1] (Andros, Cyclades, Aegean Islands, 2nd/1st cent. BCE): δεδόχθαι τῆι ἱερᾶι ἐκκλησίαι. The sentence δέδοχθαι τῆι ἱερᾶι ἐκκλησίαι can be translated as, "let it be resolved by the sacred assembly"; (4) *IEph* 1570 (2nd cent. BCE[?]): [—] [ἱε]ρᾷ ἐκλησίᾳ [—] ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ πρυτάνε[ως. There are two decrees from Imperial-period Ephesos which attribute a sacral dimension to a civic *ekklēsia*: (1) *IEph* 2902 (found at Ephesos, Imperial period; honorary inscription for *kosmēteira* [no name]): [—]ερα κοσμή[τειρ— φιλο]τείμως· οὗ τει[μῆς ἕνεκα — ἐν τῇ ἱε]ρᾷ ἐκλησίᾳ [—] ἐψηφίσαντο [— προγόν]ων λειτουρ[γῶν, τοῦ μὲν πάππου — τ]οῦ δὲ πατρὸς [—]ᾳλασ[—]; and (2) *IEph* 959 (found at Ephesos, Imperial period; thanksgiving [to Artemis] by *neopoios* [no name], husband of Pomp[eia] Aphroeisias): χρυσοφορήσ[αν]τος ἔτη ἑξήκον[τα,] νεοποιήσας α[ὐ]θαίρετος κατὰ σὴν ἀρετήν, καθὼς περιέχ[ει] τὰ ὑπομνήματ[α] τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκκλησί[ας,] σὺν καὶ τῇ συνβίῳ μου Πονπ(ηΐᾳ) Ἀφροδεισ[ι]άδι καὶ τοῖς τέκνοι[ς] μου Ῥουφείνη καὶ Ῥουφείνῳ καὶ τῷ συνγενεῖ. The seventh inscriptional example of a *hiera ekklēsia* is also dated to late Imperial period Asia Minor, but no city is identifiable: *IDid* 305 (a *prophētēs* inscription for [no name], *agonōthetēs* of Megala Didymeia Kommodeia and [Pythia] Panionia): ταύτας τὰς [—] [— ἱε]ρᾷ? ἐκκλησ[ίᾳ —] [— τῇ πατρ]ίδι ἐκ τ[ῶν ἰδίων?]. The sacralization of *polis* and *ekklēsia* in Imperial period *poleis* is metaphorically paralleled by seven 1st century CE Christ-follower communities in Roman Asia, one community of which was located in Ephesos. The seven *ekklēsiai* of Christ-followers, to whom the book of Revelation is addressed, are symbolically depicted as together forming one sacred *polis*, the Jewish temple-*polis* called the New Jerusalem (Rev 1:4; 21:9, 10). I will explore Revelation's

2.5. Summary: **Ekklēsiai** *in the 1ˢᵗ Century CE*

Given the foregoing, to what degree, then, did civic *ekklēsiai* possess *kratos* in the 1ˢᵗ century CE, particularly in Asia Minor? Generally, the enactment of intra-*polis* politics within civic *ekklēsiai* was not overshadowed by direct interference from Rome. In many respects, Rome co-opted the existing oligarchs in service of Roman rule. Euergetism became the primary strategy that oligarchs employed to avoid popular discontent, and, thus, Roman intervention. These socio-political elites, though, are but one of four key dimensions in the civic politics of the Greek East during the Imperial period. The other three are a socio-political hierarchy, a political culture, and the popular assembly (*ekklēsia*).

The hierarchal restructuring of the Greek East did not mute the voice of the popular assembly. Rather, somewhat counter-intuitively, it contributed to the political vitality of the popular assembly by enfranchising professional associations or *collegia*. Honorific monumentalism became the professional associations' contribution to the "politics of redistribution," and, thus, to their ability to influence the bouleutic elite.

The popular assembly also frequently used honorific decrees to influence oligarchs. Their laudatory content served rhetorically to pressure the oligarchic honorand to live up to those expectations. At least one popular assembly in the Greek East wielded direct political influence: the *ennomos ekklēsia* of Termessos exercised jurisdictional responsibilities continuous with those assumed by the classical Athenian *ekklēsia*.

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sacralization of people and *polis* in detail in my examination of *ekklēsia* uses within early Christ-follower literature (see Part III, §3.4. Ekklēsia *in Apocalyptic Literature: Revelation*). On Paul and the sacralization of his *ekklēsiai*, see Part III, §2.3. Ekklēsia *as Ethno-Religious Identity: Supersessionist Ideology?*

Given the apparently laissez-faire attitude of Roman authorities with respect to democratic governance at the level of the local *polis*, the primary ideological target of the popular assembly can not have been Rome but rather its 'deputies,' the oligarchic elites. The existence of a political culture in Asia Minor meant that a vibrant "*ekklēsia* discourse" only served to further the *pax Romana*, rather than to threaten it. As long as order was maintained, Rome was not overly particular about how a *polis* self-governed.

Rome's promotion, and even construction of, Imperial Greek cities, along with their concomitant democratic apparatii, coupled with its lack of interference in vibrant displays of democratic life in Imperial Greek cities, brings at least one conclusion to the fore. As a rule, it would seem that Roman authorities would not have viewed the adoption of civic terminology (e.g., *ekklēsia*) by non-civic groups as being reflective of oppositional rhetoric, much less of a seditious ideology. Roman intervention was directed more towards disorderly behaviour. This hypothesis will be tested when, in my next section, I examine inscriptional decrees of Greco-Roman non-civic groups, at least one of which pre-dates early Christ-followers in calling its semi-public assembly an *ekklēsia*.

3. **Ekklēsia** *and Non-Civic Groups*

Voluntary associations are non-civic groups that, while particularly ubiquitous in the Imperial period, already existed in the fourth century BCE.[210] The range of association types meant that they were known by a variety of designations.[211] My focus here is to explore which Greco-Roman voluntary associations appropriated *ekklēsia* terminology, whether *ekklēsia* was used simply as a name for an association's "members-only" assembly or also as its group designation, and if the adoption of *ekklēsia* terminology could have been viewed suspiciously by Roman authorities.

3.1. The Non-Civic **Ekklēsia***: A Meeting or a Permanent Collective Designation?*

Use of the term *ekklēsia* by Greco-Roman voluntary associations is only evident in epigraphic sources, not in papyrological or literary sources. At least thirteen of the papyri that have been preserved were written by voluntary associations.[212] Only one

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[210] Harland identifies at least five types of non-civic associations based upon their principal social networks: (1) household connections; (2) ethnic or geographic connections; (3) neighbourhood connections; (4) occupational connections; and (5) cult or temple connections. Harland adds one caveat. He emphasizes that these five categories cannot be applied rigidly to a taxonomy of associations since "these webs of connections certainly overlap, and several can play a role in the membership of a particular association" (*Associations*, 29; see also David Instone-Brewer and Philip A. Harland, "Jewish Associations in Roman Palestine: Evidence from the Mishnah," *JGRJCh* 5 [2008]: 200–21, esp. 202, 203).

[211] Greco-Roman voluntary associations were called *collegia* in Latin, and in Greek by terms such as *orgeōnes*, *thiasoi*, *melanephoroi*, *eranistai*, *synergasia*, *synergion*, *syngeneia*, *taxis*, *phylē*, *hairesis*, *kollegion*, *syllogos*, *synteleia*, *synedrion*, *systema*, *synodos*, *koina* and *koinon* (van Nijf, *Civic World*, 8–10). Some voluntary associations appropriated multiple identities depending on their socio-cultural needs. For example, Saittai's association of linen weavers "appears to have been known both as a synergasia (the name used in six surviving funerary inscriptions) and as a homotechnon, both names referring to occupational identity. This association is also, however, described as a plateia (emphasising its territorial basis), and perhaps as a phyle, referring to the political status of its members" (van Nijf, *Civic World*, 10). See Albert Baumgarten for a comparison of the organizational structures and functions (e.g., commensality, literacy) of Greco-Roman associations and Jewish sects (e.g., Essenes, Pharisees) ("Greco-Roman Voluntary Associations and Jewish Sects," in *Jews in a Greco-Roman World* [ed. M. Goodman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998], 93–111).

[212] The thirteen papyri are: Hib. 99 (?BCE; a receipt), P.Duk.inv. 624 V (199–100 BCE), P.Mich. 5:246 (*c*. 43–49 CE; contributions to a guild of Harpokrates), P.Mich. 5:243 (14–37 CE; a guild ordinance during the reign of Tiberius), P.Mich. 2:121 (42 CE; a collection of abstracts of contracts [*eiromenon*], after August 28, 42 CE), P.Mich. 5:244 (43 CE; a guild ordinance of the *Apolysimoi* of Tebtynis, Egypt),

refers to an assembly convened by an association, but in this case the word translated

"assembly" is *syllogos* (P. Mich. 5:243).[213]

Relative to epigraphic sources, previous scholarship has identified five decrees in

which the word *ekklēsia* purportedly is used by a voluntary association: *IGLAM* 1381–

1382, *OGIS* 488, McCabe 1986, no. 119/*Samos* 119 (hereafter *Samos* 119), and Foucart

43/*CIG* 2271/*IDelos* 1519 (hereafter *IDelos* 1519).[214] All five, at some point, have even

been cited as evidence of a voluntary association self-designating as an *ekklēsia*.[215]

P.Mich. 5:245 (47 CE; a guild ordinance), P.Lund. 4:11 (169–170 CE; a cultic association of Dioskouren ["Kultverein der Dioskouren"]), P.Oslo 3:183 (200–299 CE; fragment, perhaps concerning games), P.Oslo 3:144 (270–275 CE; list of contributors to an association), SB. 22:15787 (300–399 CE; official letter; nomination of Liturgists), P.Cair.Masp. 2:67158 (568 CE; contract of an association), and P.Cair.Masp. 2:67159 (568 CE; contract of an association).

[213] P.Mich. 5:243 (14–37 CE) mentions a *syllogos*: ἐὰν δέ τινι ζ σύλλο[γ]ος παραγγελῆι καὶ μὴ παραγένηται, ζημιούσθω ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κώμης δραχ(μὴν) μίαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πόλεω(ς) δραχ(μὰς) τέσσαρας ("If anyone receives notice of a meeting [*syllogos*] and does not attend, let him be fined one *drachmē* in the village, but in the city four *drachmai*"). P.Mich. 5:243 lists various provisions concerning the monthly dues and other obligations of each member, as well as the penalties and fines that they would eventually receive. See Arthur Boak's edition of P.Mich. 5:243, 244 in *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part II: Michigan Papyri, Vol. V* (ed. E. Husselman, A. E. Boak, and W. F. Edgerton; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1933–1944) and in his "Organization of Gilds in Greco-Roman Egypt," *TAPA* 68 (1937): 212–20 (http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.mich;5;243; accessed March 5, 2012).

[214] See Appendix #7 for the complete Greek text and for a full English translation of each of the five inscriptions.

[215] (1) John Kloppenborg has, at one time, claimed that three epigraphic occurrences of *ekklēsia* designate the collective identity of a voluntary association: *IGLAM* 1381–1382 and *IDelos* 1519. He wrote that "some associations *were* [author's emphasis] called ἐκκλησία, as is clear from [*IGLAM* 1381–1382 and Foucart 43/*CIG* 2271]" ("Edwin Hatch, Churches, and Collegia," in *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity* [ed. B. H. Maclean; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993], 212–38, esp. 231); (2) Richard Ascough argues that, "Despite McCready's claim that 'there is little evidence that voluntary associations or clubs used the word *ekklesia* as a community designation,' there are a few examples: one from Samos (E.G.L. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen* [Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig, 1896/repr. 1969], 116 n. 3); *OGIS* 488 (Kastollos near Philadelphia, 2nd century CE); *IGLAM* 1381 (Aspendus [Pamphylia]); *IGLAM* 1382 (Aspendus); *IDelos* 1519 (196 BCE)" ("Matthew and Community Formation," in *The Gospel of Matthew in Current Studies* [ed. D. E. Aune; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001], 97–126, esp. 113). Ascough is here engaging with Wayne O. McCready ("*Ekklēsia* and Voluntary Associations," in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* [ed. J. S. Kloppenborg and S. G. Wilson; London and New York: Routledge, 1996], 59–73); (3) Philip Harland also initially mirrored the claims of Kloppenborg and Ascough in his statement that "the self-designations of some groups also reflect the vocabulary of the *polis*, such as the associations that called themselves an assembly (*ekklēsia*) at Aspendos in Cilicia [*IGLAM* 1381–82] and on the island of Delos [Foucart 43/*CIG* 2271]" (*Associations*, 106 and 182). Harland has since changed his stance with respect to *IDelos* 1519/Foucart 43/*CIG* 2271 (*Dynamics*, 44–45); (4) A wrestling school (ἀλειφομένοις) in Samos is the fourth example of an

Regarding *IGLAM* 1381[216] and *IGLAM* 1382,[217] Le Bas originally wondered

("peut-être"), but did not conclude, whether each records an instance of *ekklēsia* being

used as a collective designation for a non-civic association.[218] Kloppenborg, Ascough,

and Harland each originally made conclusive what Philippe Le Bas merely suggested.[219]

Kloppenborg has since reversed his initial conclusion, although not yet in print.[220]

The *crux interpretum* for *IGLAM* 1381–82 revolves around the translation of the

phrase *euphēmon ekklēsian*. Liddell and Scott offer three definitional categories for

euphēmon. The third ("laudatory, panegyrics") emphasizes the civic nature of the

ekklēsia in *IGLAM* 1381–82. Translating *euphēmon* as "laudatory" brings to mind a civic

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association that purportedly self-identifies collectively as an *ekklēsia* (*Samos* 119) (Ascough, "Matthew," 113).

[216] *IGLAM* 1381–82 is from Aspendos in Pamphylia (Asia Minor), which is located just inland from the Gulf of Antalya, approximately halfway between Tlos and Lamos. Both *IGLAM* 1381 and 1382 use the phrase *euphēmon ekklēsian* (εὔφημον ἐκκλησίαν), which is otherwise unattested in epigraphic sources. *IGLAM* 1381 reads, Ζήνοων [Θεοδώρου ἀρχιτ]έκτων τοῦ θεάτρου ἀνέθηκεν. ἀ[πέδωκεν εἰς ἀγῶνα] γυμνικὸν γενέθλιον τοῦ θεάτρου πρισχείλια, [καὶ εἰ]ς εὔφημον ἐκκλησ[ίαν ἐχαρίσατο κήπους πρὸς τῷ ἱπποδ[ρόμῳ...].

[217] *IGLAM* 1382 reads, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Ζήνοων[α] Θεοδώρου ἀρχιτέκτοντα τοῦ θεάτρου [καὶ] τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἔργων... καὶ εἰς εὔφημον ἐκκλησ[ίαν ἐχαρίσα]μενον κήπους π[ρὸς τῷ] ἱπποδρόμῳ....

[218] Philippe Le Bas, co-editor of *IGLAM* II, suggests that the phrase "εὔφημος ἐκκλησία signifie peut-être une assemblée non politique, une reunion de plaisir" (Philippe Le Bas and William Henry Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineure* [2 vols.; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1870/Reprinted 1972], 2.336).

[219] See n. 215 (Kloppenborg, "Edwin Hatch," 212–38, esp. 215–16; Ascough, "Matthew and Community Formation," 113; Harland, *Associations*, 106). In a subsequent book, Harland makes that comment less conclusive, but he does not rescind it: *IGLAM* 1381–1382 "may involve an association that was called an 'assembly'" (*Dynamics of Identity*, 44).

[220] In an email to Ralph Korner (August 11, 2011), John Kloppenborg indicated how his initial stance regarding *ekklēsia* usage in *IGLAM* 1381–82 (and *IDelos* 1519) has changed: "There are certainly other associations that use either *ekklesia* or, more commonly, *agora*, meaning assembly or meeting, but in none of these cases is it the 'name' of the association." His expertise in inscriptional matters related to Greco-Roman voluntary associations is undeniable. See his recent edited publications on associational inscriptions in the Greek East from 4th century BCE to the 4th century CE: (1) John S. Kloppenborg and Richard Ascough, eds., *Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace*. Vol. 1 of *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary* (BZNW 181; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011); and (2) Richard Ascough, Philip Harland, and John Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: a Sourcebook* (Berlin/Waco: de Gruyter/Baylor University Press, 2012).

ekklēsia within which *polis* officials publicly honour a civic benefactor.[221] Such an

honorary civic backdrop comes to the fore in *IGLAM* 1381–82. The *boulē* and *dēmos* of

Aspendus are said to honour (*eteimēsen*) Zenon, son of Theodorus who, as chief

craftsman (*architektōn*) of the theatre and of the public works, donated (*apedōken*) three

thousand (*trischeilia*[?]) denarii.[222] Thus, *IGLAM* 1381 clearly identifies the *euphēmon*

ekklēsian as being the formal assembly of a *polis* (Aspendos), not as being the regular

assembly of a non-civic group. The same conclusion holds for *IGLAM* 1382.

A not dissimilar conclusion seems possible for *OGIS* 488 (2nd century CE).[223]

This inscription speaks of an *ekklēsia* of local citizens from the village (*kōmē*) of

Kastollos.[224] Kastollos is located in Roman Asia near the *polis* of Philadelphia.[225] Richard

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[221] Polybius' *Historiae* is cited as an example of *euphēmos* being used with the meaning of "laudatory" or "panegyric" (31.3.4). It reads, in part, ἐπανελθόντας εὐφήμους λόγους ποιήσασθαι περί τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ καθόλου τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν.

[222] It would seem that πρισχείλια is an unknown *hapax* or else a misspelling for τρισχίλια (3000). χίλια (1000) is spelled χείλια ın Ionic inscriptions. Ionia is also a region in Asia Minor.

[223] See the discussion of *OGIS* 488/*TAM* V,1 222 by Richard Ascough in "Matthew," 113; idem, *Paul's Macedonian Associations: The Social Context of Philippians and 1 Thessalonians* (WUNT 161; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2003), 74 n. 12.

[224] Mogens Hermann Hansen notes that "*kome* [*sic*] is traditionally rendered by village but, like *polis*, it has a whole range of meanings and is commonly used to denote a village in the socio-economic sense without any constitutional or political functions" ("*Kome*. A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements hich were not *Poleis*," in *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* [HE 95; ed. M. H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995], 45–82, esp. 50). He comments further that "a *kome* may or may not have had a political organization of its own, and it may or may not have been a unit in the political organization of the *polis* or region to which it belonged" (Ibid, 61). Examples of towns called both *poleis* and *kōmai* include Helisson (Arkadia; early 4th cent. BCE), Megaris (4th cent. BCE, *polis*; 200 BCE, *kōmē*), and Smyrna, Mantineia and Phokis which, through *dioikismos*, were broken up into *komai* (Ibid, 73–78). *Komai* "are completely absent from the non-Dorian Peloponnese, Attica, the north-eastern part of Hellas, the islands of the Aegean, and all the colonies" (Ibid, 81). They "abound in Western Greece, in the Peloponnese, in Macedon, and along the coast of Asia Minor" (Ibid, 69).

[225] Independent attestation of Kastollos' existence ranges from 330 BCE to 300 CE. Chaniotis, Corsten, Stroud, and Tybout note that "Kastollos was a village on Philadelphia's territory" and was "located in the mountainous area northeast of Philadelphia, between Bebekli and Başibüyük" (A. Chaniotis, T. Corsten, R. S. Stroud, and R. Tybout, *SEG* vol. 53, pt. 2 [Leiden: Brill, 2007], 345). Strubbe claims that "Karakuyu Mevkii…ca. 25 km. north-east of Alaşehir…has been identified with Kastollos on epigraphical basis (G. Petzl, *EA* 26, 1996, 11–12)" (Johan H. M. Strubbe, ed., *Arai Epitymbioi: Imprecations Against Desecrators of the Grave in the Greek Epitaphs of Asia Minor* [Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Gmbh, 1997]).

Ascough claims that *ekklēsia* is used as a collective designation for a non-civic group.[226]

It seems more likely, though, that *ekklēsia* is the name of an assembly. *OGIS* 488 reads:

> In the village of Kastollos of the Philadelphians, after an assembly (*ekklēsia*) was
> held by the *gerousia* and by the rest of the villagers, and after the councilors
> resolved to divide up a field that lay within the boundaries of their village, in the
> place called Agathon's, a field that was bounded by hills, since all the
> villagers...[227]

The word *ekklēsia* appears simply to indicate the name of a meeting. Additionally,

the context of *OGIS* 488 places into question whether the *gerousia* and the villagers of

Kastollos are a non-civic group.[228] Kastollos is a *kōmē*, which, as a rule, does not possess

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[226] Ascough, "Matthew," 113; idem, *Paul's Macedonian Associations*, 74 n. 12.

[227] Translation by Patrick Hogan. *OGIS* 488 in its entirety reads: Ἐν Καστωλλῷ χώμῃ Φιλαδελφέων, γενομένης ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν χωμητῶν πάντων, καὶ βουλευσαμένων αὐτῶν διελέσθαι τὸν ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς ἀγρὸν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὄροις τόπῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ Ἀγάθωνος μάνδραις ὄντα ὀρεινόν, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες οἱ χομῆται--]. See further Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, 116 n. 3. See also Appendix #7.

[228] Macro, among others, suggests that "the Gerousia was a social organization which usually had its own gymnasium…[but] one must doubt any formal administrative capacity for these organizations in Roman times, however. Certainly they enjoyed official recognition by the city…and in imperial times the *Gerousia* frequently joined the *boulē* and *dēmos* in moving decrees for conferring honours" ("The Cities of Asia Minor," 681). Based on a study of Imperial period inscriptions from Anatolia, D. H. Hogarth adduces that (1) "the Gerousia had a recognized 'political' position in the civic organisation, and was not merely a social club" and (2) "we can say with fair assurance that the Gerousia under the Empire was a close, privileged body of limited numbers, probably 100 or thereabouts on an average, and originally elected by the civic assemblies, the βουλή and ἐκκλησία, with which it afterwards ranked…we infer that no class, except foreigners or slaves, was ineligible; for both freedmen and persons of doubtful parentage might be included (cf. "Εὐτύχης πατρὸς ἀδήλου" at Sidyma) as well as women in exceptional cases" [see *TAM* II.1, 176; 2nd cent. CE] (D. G. Hogarth, "The Gerousia of Hierapolis," *JPhil* 19, no. 37 [1891]: 69–101, esp. 70 and 72, respectively). Dmitriev notes that the term *gerousiarchia* in *IPrusias ad Hypium* 25.3 (2nd–3rd cents. CE) is regarded as a *hapax* by the editor, Walter Ameling, "for women as members of the *gerousia*" (*City Government*, 181 n. 220). Van Nijf notes that the *gerousia* "catered both for members of long established families as well as 'new men' [i.e., newly 'minted' social elites]" ("Public Space," 218). He cites the unpublished dissertation of J. A. van Rossum (*De Gerousia in de Griekse stedenn van het Romeinse Rijk* [U of Leiden, 1988]) for evidence that the *gerousia* "might have been a cross-section of the population" ("Public Space," 218 n. 11; cf. also *TAM* II.1, 176 above). A *gerousia* was generally comprised of older men over the age of fifty. Guy MacLean Rogers notes that "epigraphical evidence from Asia Minor and the Greek mainland from the late Macedonian and early Imperial periods reveals that young men…could remain neoi until the age of fifty, when they entered the Gerousia" (*The Mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos: Cult, Polis, and Change in the Graeco-Roman World* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012], 106).

a *boulē* or an *ekklēsia*.[229] By convening an *ekklēsia*, however, the *kōmē* of Kastollos does

self-present as a *polis* with a surrogate *boulē* (i.e., *gerousia*, *bouleusamenoi*).[230]

Three other factors support a *civic* context for *OGIS* 488. First, Kastollos is "of

the Philadelphians" (*philadelpheōn*). In other words, it is a dependency of the *polis* of

Philadelphia. *Philadelpheōn* is a "city ethnic" (*nomen gentilicium*).[231] This coheres with

the view of Mogens Hermann Hansen that "the term *kome* [*sic*] could be used about a

political community which was in some respects a dependency ruled by a major *polis* but

in other respects had a substantial amount of self-government, and thus could be called a

polis as well."[232]

Second, Christoph Schuler, following Wilhelm Dittenberger, suggests that the

gerousia of Kastollos, while not a *boulē* proper, does designate village elders with civic

responsibilities.[233] He cites *OGIS* 488 as being but one example of an official corporate

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[229] See Hansen, "*Kome*," 45–82. See n. 126 where P. J. Rhodes notes that only a (larger) *polis* has a *boulē*.

[230] Note that the term *bouleutai* (councilors) is not used, simply a participle (*bouleusamenōn*, "those who gave counsel/those who were councilors").

[231] Regarding a *nomen gentilicium*, Mogens Hermann Hansen notes that one "way of viewing the *polis* was the habit to call it by the city-ethnic in the plural [e.g., (οἱ) ἀμπρακιῶται] rather than using the toponym itself [e.g., ἀμβρακία]" ("City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity," in *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* [HE 108; ed. M. H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996], 169–196, 169 and 192).

[232] Hansen, "*Kome*," 73–74.

[233] Christof Schuler writes, ""Bemerkenswert ist die Rolle der Gerusie, die in Kastollos und Orkistos mit der Einberufung der Gemeindeversammlung bzw. deren Vorsitz sehr ähnliche Funktionen wahrhahm… Dazu merkte bereits Dittenberger an, daß diese dörfliche Gremium, das für ihnnoch <<unum exemplum *gerousias* pagi>> war, seiner Funktion nach der *boulē* einer Polis entsprach" (*Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien* [München: C. H. Beck, 1998], 227; Cf. Wilhelm Dittenberger, ed., *Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae. Supplementum Sylloges inscriptionum graecarum*, vol. 2 [Leipzig: Hildesheim, 1903–5/repr. 1960], 121–22 or http://www.archive.org/stream/ orientisgraeciin02dittuoft#page/ n5/mode/ 2up). William M. Ramsey makes four key observations regarding the Gerousia in Imperial period Phrygia, a region to the east of Lydia (*The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia: Being an Essay of the Local History of Phrygia from the Earliest Times to the Turkish Conquest*, vol 1, Pt. 1 [Aberdeen: 1895, repr. 2004]). First, "the Senate [*boulē*], the *Demos* and the *Gerousia* often united in the preamble to honorary decrees" but that this fact does not mean "all were political in character; for we find occasionally the Senate, *Demos*, *Gerousia* and *Neoi* [who met as an

body of *geraioi* (sometimes, but not always, designated as a *gerousia*) which was

constituted within many Imperial period Anatolian village communities and whose

function resembles that of the *boulē* of a *polis*.[234] Third, the clause *genomenēs ekklēsias*

can be said to allude to the fuller expression *ekklēsias kyria genomenēs*,[235] which R. M.

Errington contends is technical terminology that indicates the existence of a quorum

within a civic assembly, particularly in Asia Minor (4th to 2nd cents. BCE).[236] Evidence

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exercise club in a gymnasium] united in such honorary decrees" (Ibid, 110 and 110 n. 2, respectively).
Second, "the inscriptions show what importance was attached in Asia Minor to the care of tombs, and the
Gerousia, as the body most trusted in these cases, became very wealthy corporations" (Ibid, 109). Third, "a
resolution of the *Gerousia* had some analogy to a *senatus auctovitas*, a decree vetoed by a tribune and
therefore devoid of legal force, yet having the weight naturally attaching to the mere opinion of a body so
influential and respected" (Ibid, 112). Fourth, the *gerousiai* in Asia Minor had "as a rule, some building as
their centre, a clubhouse and meeting-house combined." Examples in Asia Minor include a basilica
(Thyatira), a "Gerousia" (Nikomedeia; Plin. *ad Traj*. 33), a stoa (Teos), a "Gerontikon" (Nysa), and most
commonly a gymnasium (e.g., Sidyma) (Ibid, 112).

[234] Schuler, *Ländliche Siedlungen*, 227. Michael Ballance notes that there appear to be only two
inscriptional examples wherein "the γεραιοί are distinguished from the other οἰκήτορες ('inhabitants') of a
village." Both hail from Imperial period Roman Asia (*OGIS* 488 and *MAMA* XI 294)
(http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk/monuments/ MAMA-XI-294.html [University of Oxford and the Centre for the
Study of Ancient Documents]; accessed April 2, 2013). *MAMA* XI 294 is an honorific inscription of the
"elders and all the inhabitants" of a village on the territory of Ikonion. It reads, ΚΑΝΑΙΟ[- - -] ͜εων γεραιοὶ
κα[ὶ πάν]τες οἱ οἰκή[τορες] Μάνιον Πασικ[ράτους] 5 τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐ[εργέ]την τῷ τε ει[. . 4-5 . .] τηρίῳ καὶ
τῷ [. . 4-5 . .] ἐτείμη͟σαν [*vac.* (?)]. It is translated as, "...the elders and all the inhabitants honoured Manius
son of Pasik[rates], their benefactor, with the [...] and the[...]." The book-form publication of *MAMA* XI is
still forthcoming (Michael Balance, ed., *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua XI: Monuments from Phrygia
and Lykaonia* [JRS Monograph series; 2014]). Peter Thonemann (Wadham College, Oxford) comments
that *MAMA* XI is "a corpus of 387 inscriptions and other ancient monuments, 292 of which are
unpublished, from Phrygia and Lykaonia recorded by Sir William Calder (1881–1960) and Dr. Michael
Ballance (†27 July 2006) in the course of annual expeditions to Asia Minor in 1954–1957"
(http://www.currentepigraphy.org/2012/09/24/mama-xi/; accessed April 3, 2013).

[235] The complete sentence in *OGIS* 488 reads, γενομένης ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν
λοιπῶν χωμητῶν πάντων.

[236] R. M. Errington notes 54 inscriptions from Asia Minor which contain the clause ἐκκλεσίας
κυρία γενομένες (or οὔσης) ("ἐκκλεσίας κυρία γενομένες," *Chiron* 25 [1995]: 19–25). These decrees date
from 367/66 BCE to *c*.140 BCE. At least two are undatable (*Samos* 14 and 61; ἐκκλησίας νομαίας οὔσης).
An additional 4 inscriptions outside of Asia Minor date to the 2nd century CE. I would add three
observations that are not included in Errington's conclusions. First, not only civic bodies, but at least one
non-civic group, the *syngeneia* of Pelekōs (*Sinuri* 73/8, Caria; 350/344 BCE), uses the formulaic ἐκκλεσίας
κυρία γενομένες ([ἔδοξεν] Πελεκωδος συγγενεῦσι [συ]νελθοῦσι πᾶσιν· vacat [ἐκκλ]ησίης κυρίης
γενομένης) (see my fuller discussion of *Sinuri* 73/8 in n. 262). Second, at least one more Asia Minor
inscription dates after 140 BCE (*TAM* II 168; Lycia, Hippokome; 2/1 cent. BCE; [ἐπὶ ἱ]ερέ[ως Τ]ο[άλλεως
τοῦ] [Πειγάσεω]ς μηνὸς Ἡρα[ιῶνος? ..] [ἐν? τοῖ]ς ἀρχαιρεσίοις ἐκλησ[ία]ς κυ[ρί][ας γεν]ομένης ἔδοξεν

that the simpler collocation *genomenēs ekklēsias* can carry the same legal connotation as

does *ekklēsias kyria genomenēs* is found in four other Asia Minor inscriptions, the latest

of which dates to the *terminus ad quem* of Errington's examples of the clause *ekklēsias*

kyria genomenēs.[237] If the fact that the *ekklēsia kyria* is no longer extant in Asia Minor

inscriptions after 99 CE indicates its disuse as a political designation,[238] then it is not

surprising if the simpler *ekklēsias genomenēs* replaced the full quorum clause *ekklēsias*

kyria genomenēs during that same timeframe.[239] Irrespective of historical questions, the

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Ἱπποκωμητῶ[ν][τῇ βο]υλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἀρχόντων). Third, Hellenistic-era Thessaly is alone in substituting the Athenian-style adjective κυρίας with ἐννόμου within the clause ἐκκλησίας γινομένης. There are only three extant examples of the collocation ἐκκλησίας γινομένης ἐννόμου. They are *IG* IX,2 259 (Thessaliotis — Kierion: Sophades; 117 BCE; ἐκκλησία<ς> [γενομέ]<ν>ης ἐννόμου), *IThess* I 16 (Thessalia [Thessaliotis]—Kierion: Sophades; 125 BCE; ἐκκλησία<ς> [γενομέ]<ν>ης ἐννόμου), and *SEG* 25:687 (Thessalia [Magnesia] — Korope; Hellenistic period). *SEG* 25:687 recounts regulations concerning the cult of Zeus Akraios.

[237] *MbBerlin* 1880:646 (Cappodocia, Hanisa [Kültepe]; 2/1 cent. BCE). In *MbBerlin* 1880:646 a quorum is clearly indicated through the notation that a vote was taken (*cheirotonian*) in the assembly: ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν γεγενημένην ἐν βουλῆι καὶ ἐκλησίαι χειροτονίαν ὑπάρχειν αὐτὸν εὐεργέτην τοῦ δήμου καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι ἔν τε τοῖς Διοσσωτηρίοις καὶ Ἡρακλείοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ μῆνα καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δημοτελέσι συνόδοις [national assembly] χρυσῶι στεφάνωι. The three Asia Minor occurrences, other than *OGIS* 488/*TAM* V,1 222, are: (1) *Magnesia* 94/*IMagn* 13+ p. 295 (3rd cent. BCE; found at Magnesia Mai, Caria; "Honorary decree of [boule] and de[mos] [of Magnesia (Mai.)] for Thessalos…"): στεφανηφ]<ο>ροῦντος Μο[ι]<ων>[ίδου]...π]<ρ>οέ[δρω]ν ἐ[π]ισ[τατοῦν][τος Δι]αγόρου τ<οῦ> Ζωπύρο[υ, γραμ][ματεύον]τος Συμμάχου...<ἐ>[κκλ]ησί[ας γενομέ][νης; (2) *IK Laodikeia am Lykos* 1 (267 BCE; Phrygia, Laodikeia Lyk. [Eski-Hissar]): βασιλευόντων Ἀντιόχου καὶ [Σ]ελεύκου...ἐπ' Ἑλένου ἐπιμελητοῦ <16τοῦ>16 τό[πο]υ· ἐκκλησίας γενομένης ἔδοξε Νεοτειχείταις καὶ Κι<16δ>16διοκωμίταις·; and (3) *TAM* II 262 (256 BCE; Xanthos, W. Lycia): βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου Σωτῆρος... ἐ[κ]κλησίας γενομένης ἔδοξε Ξανθίων τῆι πόλει. Outside of Asia Minor, and at the beginning of the 1st century CE, at least one Macedonian inscription continues to use the clause *genomenēs ekklēsias* as an indicator of a legal assembly (*Meletemata* 11 K2; 1 CE; see also *SEG* 35.744—cf. *SEG* 42.579; 46.754; 55.694). Its opening line reads, ἔτους · η΄ καὶ μ΄ · καὶ · ρ΄· οἱ πολιτάρχαι προβουλευσαμένων τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας εἶπαν ἐν τῶι δήμωι·.

[238] The phrase *ekklēsia kyria* is found over 50 times in Asia Minor inscriptions (starting in 367 BCE), with the latest dating to 99 CE (*St.Pont.* III 141, Pontus and Paphlagonia; Διὶ Στρατίῳ [ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ] κυρίᾳ ἐπὶ τῆς συν#900αρχίας Πομ[πωνίου — — — — τοῦ(?)] Κανδίδου, νεωκοροῦντος γ΄ [— — — — — — —ο]υ Ἀγριππιανοῦ, ἐκ τῶν συν<λ>ε[λεγμένων χρημάτω]ν. #900 ἔτους #900 ρα΄. #900). The phrase *ekklēsia kyria* predominates in Athenian inscriptions with over 250 occurrences. The latest dates to 20/19 BCE (*Clinton, Sacred Officials* 50,D14/*SEG* 30:93) (see n. 174).

[239] The phrase *ekklēsias genomenēs* is extant in at least two late Imperial period inscriptions, but from a region north of Asia Minor: *IosPE* I² 44 and *IosPE* I² 47 (200–210 CE; Olbia, north shore of the Black Sea). *IosPE* I² 44 reads, [ἐπὶ ἀρ]χ[όντων τῶν περὶ —], [μηνὸ]ς Θα[ργηλιῶνος —, ἐκκ]λησί[ας γε]νομέν[ης πανδήμου, εἰ]σηγη[σαμένων τῶν συνέ]δρων. *IosPE* I² 47 reads, ἐπὶ ἀρχόντ[ων τῶν περὶ τὸν

gerousia in Kastollos did not leave the status of a quorum open to question. All doubt is removed in the explicit mention that both the *gerousia* and "all the rest of the villagers" (*tōn loipōn chōmētōn pantōn*) attended the now legislatively authoritative *ekklēsia*.

This enfranchisement of a *kōmē* with local jurisdictional responsibilities also is not unexpected in Kastollos' "post-edict of Domitian" world. In 92 CE Domitian decreed that at least half of the vineyards in the Greek East were to be cut down and replaced with corn. Philadelphia and its surrounding *kōmai*, with their rich volcanic soil, would have been among some of the hardest hit regions. Viticulture was the agricultural foundation of the Philadelphians.[240] Hemer notes that, given the two factors of ongoing earthquake repairs and a depressed viticulture, "for most of the [2nd] century the state had probably reverted largely to the older Lydian pattern of agricultural villages 'outside' the city."[241] This being the case, 2nd century CE Lydian villages, including Kastollos, would have gained more political autonomy, thereby necessitating greater jurisdictional authority for governance over matters of local concern (e.g., field boundaries).[242] This falls into line with the observation of Hansen that a relative degree of political autonomy was enjoyed by some Asia Minor *kōmai*.[243] If Kastollos enjoyed such autonomy then it helps explain

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δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος, μηνὸς Ἀπα]τουρεῶνο[ς — — — —, ἐκκλησίας γενομένης πανδήμου, εἰσηγη]σαμένοῡ [τῶν συνέδρων, ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος εἶπεν·.

[240] Hemer, *Letters*, 155–56. This fact is numismatically attested in images of cornucopiae (e.g., *BMC Lydia*, no. 54 of Caligula), of ears of corn (no. 56 of Claudius), of Demeter (no. 71 of Marcus Aurelius), of Dionysos (e.g., no. 66 of Trajan), and of bunches of grapes (no. 64 of Domitia).

[241] Hemer, *Letters*, 159.

[242] Schuler notes the lack of a *polis* council in villages within Roman Asia, and the governing authority accorded the popular assembly: "in den meisten Dörfern gab es dagegen kein Äquivalent für den stadtischen Rat, und die ersammelten Mitglieder verkörperten deshalb allein die *chōmē* oder die *katoixia*. Wenn die *chōmē* einen Beschluß faßte, so standen dahinter eben die Gemeindemitglieder und keine andere Instanz außer ihnen. Sie brauchten deshalb nicht also *dēmos* identifiziert werden" (*Ländliche Siedlungen*, 226).

[243] See Hansen's comments on *kōmai* in n. 224.

why it is one of only two inscriptions (*OGIS* 488, Lydia; *MAMA* XI 294, Phrygia) in

which a *gerousia* and the villagers of a *kōmē* are inscriptionally differentiated within the

context of a formal enactment decree.[244] By naming their village assembly an *ekklēsia*,

the formal nature of their village decree is enhanced, which, when coupled with

differentiation of the *gerousia* from the villagers, presents Kastollos as a *polis* that

contains the political equivalents of a *boulē* (*gerousia*) and a *dēmos* (villagers). The

ekklēsia convened by this *kōmē* is, thus, implicitly affirming the legal right of the *kōmē* of

Kastollos autonomously to divide the field called *Agathōn*.

The fact that the *gerousia* of Kastollos was involved in a land transaction is not

out of character either: a roughly contemporaneous *gerousia* in Ionia used land

transactions as a source of income.[245] The close association of Asia Minor *gerousiai* with

gymnasia[246] opens up the possibility that *OGIS* 488 may even recount the division of land

for the purpose of constructing a *gymnasium*[247] and/or a *palaistra*.[248] While these last two

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[244] *OGIS* 488 and *MAMA* XI 294 both date into the Roman Imperial period. See n. 234 for Ballance's comments.

[245] Gaston Deschamps and Georges Cousin analyse an inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander during the time of Hadrian. It describes, among other things, how the *gerousia* (*to systēma tōn presbyterōn*; lines 3–4) used land possession and exploitation as a source of income (*IMagn* 316) ("Inscription de Magnésie du Méandre," *BCH* 12 [1888]: 204–223). Deschamps and Cousin state that "le σύστημα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων est le meme corps que la γερουσία" (Ibid, 211) and that this *gerousia* gains income for local *philanthrōpa* from "le rendement des terres et des industries dépendant de la gérousia" (Ibid, 214). The second part of the inscription (lines 30 to 67) provides a list of philanthropic acts.

[246] See n. 233 for examples of the type of clubhouses/meeting-house used by *gerousiai* in Asia Minor. The gymnasium was their most common meeting place (e.g., Sidyma) (Ramsey, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 112).

[247] Dinsmoor describes the interrelationship between the Hellenistic and Roman period *palaistra* and gymnasium: "the gymnasium proper was the open [or enclosed] athletic ground for running, jumping, and throwing, while the name palaestra was given to the enclosed structures wherein wrestling and the like were practised" (William Bell Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece: An Account of Its Historic Development* [New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1950], 320). The gymnasium is well attested beginning already in the 3rd century BCE (M. L. Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* [Berlin: 1887], 234 n. 46; cf. Arch. Pap. Xiii 1938, 29 n. 3).

points represent inference rather than evidence, I would suggest that the combined weight

of all the evidence tips the scale in favour of seeing a municipal-style, village-wide

decision-making process at work in *OGIS* 488. It does not appear that a non-civic group

living within the *kōmē* of Kastollos effected this transaction in a semi-public *ekklēsia*.

The decree in *Samos* 119 also incorporates a *gerousia* and the word *ekklēsia*, but

does so within the decree of a non-civic group, the association of *aleiphomenoi*

("gymnasts").[249] The *aleiphomenoi* of Samos *synagō eis ekklēsian* within the *palaistra* of

the *gerousia* in order to enact an honorific decree (*psēphisma*) for a benefactor

(*euergētēs*).[250] Harland notes that the phrase *eis ekklēsia* refers to an assembly of the

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[248] Wrestling schools (*aleiphomenoi*) met within *palaistrai*. A *palaistra* was not necessarily part of a *gymnasium*, since a *palaistra* could function independently of a *gymnasium*. No *gymnasium*, though, could function without a *palaistra*. Beginning with the Hellenistic era, the architecture of a typical *palaistra* entailed a rectangular court demarcated by colonnades outside of which were adjoining rooms for dressing-rooms, baths, lectures, and the like (Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 320–21). Dinsmoor notes that the size of the inner court varied but typically ranged from 104 sq. ft. (Delos) to 135 sq. ft. (Olympia) (Ibid, 320). Pompeii's *palaistra* was "no larger than the corresponding complex at Olympia" (Frederick E. Writer, *Studies in Hellenistic Architecture* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006], 130). Writer suggests that although "Pompeii was only a small provincial town…there is no reason to believe that 'urban' gymnasia in larger cities…were much larger in scale; doubtless when additional facilities were needed, civic authorities…[prioritized] building additional smaller gymnasia rather than a single very large complex" (*Studies in Hellenistic Architecture*, 130).

[249] *McCabe 1986*, no. 119/*Samos* 119 remains undated. Its opening line reads, ἐπὶ Λευκίππου· Ληναιῶνος ζ΄· ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἀλειφομένοις ἐν τῆι γεροντικῆι παλαίστραι, συναχθεῖσιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν (Donald F. McCabe, *Samos Inscriptions. Texts and List*. The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia, The Institute for Advanced Study [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986], no. 119). See Appendix #7 for the full text and English translation. See earlier publications of *Samos* 119 by Paul Frédéric Girard ("Inscriptions de Samos," *BCH* 5 [1881]: 477–91, esp. 480) and Louis Robert ("Inscriptions de Lesbos et de Samos," *BCH* 59 [1935]: 471–88, esp. 476–77). Girard notes that the stele now known as *Samos* 119 was found near Tigani ("Inscriptions de Samos," 480).

[250] Samos is an island near the coast of Asia Minor, across the Aegean Sea from Athens. Samos has long-standing ties with Athens, not least as a cleruchy (365 BCE). Schweigert notes that "there were three cleruchic expeditions to Samos: 365/4, 361/0, and 352/1" ("The Athenian Cleruchy on Samos," *AJP* 61.2 [1940]: 194–98). In 189 BCE, the Romans placed Samos under the rule of their vassal, the Attalid kingdom, which was a Hellenistic kingdom of Pergamon (Asia Minor). Just over fifty years later, Samos became part of Roman Asia when that Imperial province was officially established in 133 BCE upon the passing of the heirless Attalus III. Roman hegemony was not established in the province, however, until after the defeat in 129 BCE of the (perhaps) illegitimate son of Eumenes II of Pergamon, who had sought to reestablish an independent Attalid kingdom ("Asia, Roman province," *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* [3d ed.; ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996], 163, 189–90). Iain

gymnastic association.[251] As such, the opening line of *Samos* 119 can be translated as follows: "With Leukippos presiding; on the seventh day of the month of Lenaion it was resolved by the athletes in the *palaistra* of the elders, who were gathered (*synagō*) in an assembly (*ekklesia*)." Richard Ascough goes one step further and claims that *ekklēsia* is the collective self-designation of the *aleiphomenoi*.[252] Harland's evaluation appears preferable, though. The other 19 inscriptional pairings of *synagō* with *ekklēsia*, including the two more from Samos (*Samos* 4, 120), use *ekklēsia* only in reference to a civic assembly ("gathered together in an *ekklēsia*"), not to a group designation ("gathered as an *ekklēsia*").[253]

IDelos 1519 also mentions an *ekklēsia* that was held by a non-civic group, in this case, the Tyrian Herakleistai (153/2 BCE).[254] The Herakleistai are an association (*koinon*,

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Spence notes numerous instances in Samos' history which demonstrate its enduring commitment to Greek democratic rule (*Historical Dictionary of Ancient Greek Warfare* [HDWRCU 16; Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002], xxix, xxxv, 188).

[251] Harland, *Dynamics of Identity*, 45 n. 75.

[252] Ascough, "Matthew," 113.

[253] There are 20 collocations of *synagō* with the word *ekklēsia* across 14 inscriptions. Seven of those fourteen inscriptions come from Asia Minor (195 BCE–1 BCE), all of which are honorary decrees, with fully three hailing from Samos (*Samos* 14, 119, 120). Of the fourteen inscriptions, only *Samos* 119 employs the preposition *eis*. There are four other Samian inscriptions which use the word *ekklēsia*, but not with the verb *synagō* (*Samos* 12, 21, 61, 122/*SIG*³ 976). Only one of those four employs the preposition *eis* (*Samos* 21), but it pairs *eis tēn ekklēsian* with the verb *parerchomai*, not with *synagō* (παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν).

[254] *IDelos* 1519, lines 1–2 = *CIG* 2271 = Foucart no. 43 (153/2 BCE; island of Delos). *IDelos* 1519 reads: ἐπὶ Φαιδρίου ἄρχοντος, Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ὀγδόει, ἐκκλησία ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· Διονύσιος Διονυσίου ἀρχιθιασίτης εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Πάτρων Δωροθέου τῶν ἐκ τῆς συνόδου, ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἀνανεωσάμενος τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῶι εὔνοιαν εἰς τὴν σύν[ο]δον...... δεδόχθαι τῶι κοινῶι τῶν Τυρίων Ἡρακλειστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων ἐπαινέσαι Πάτρωνα Δωροθέου καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν (For full text and translation see Appendix #7). See also, August Boeckh, Johannes Franz, Ernst Curtius, A. Kirchoff, Hermann Roehl, eds. *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum* (4 vols.; Berlin: Reimer, 1828–77); P. Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs—thiases, éranes, orgéons, avec le texte des inscriptions relative à ces associations* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1873), 223–25; Franz Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Preisschriften gekrönt und herausgegeben von der fürstlich Jablonowskischen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig 38; Leipzig: Teubner, 1909/repr., Leipzig: Zentral-Antiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1967), 332; Kloppenborg, "Edwin Hatch," 212–38, esp. 231; Ascough, "Matthew," 113; Harland, *Associations*, 106; idem, *Dynamics of Identity*, 44–45, 111.

synodos) of merchants, shippers, and warehousemen in Delos.[255] At the time *IDelos* 1519

was inscribed, Delos was a free port having been restored by Rome to its former status as

a cleruchy of Athens (167/6 BCE).[256] John Day notes that the association of Tyrian

Herakleistai was one of the two most important non-Roman associations at Delos during

the time of the Athenian cleruchy. The Poseidoniasts of Berytus were the other.[257]

In *IDelos* 1519, the Tyrians enact an honorific decree for a benefactor, ostensibly

during an *ekklēsia*. Kloppenborg and Harland have both reversed their initial stance that

the word *ekklēsia* is used as a collective designation for the Tyrian association.[258] They

now translate *ekklēsia* as "assembly/meeting."[259] In this regard, then, *IDelos* 1519

recounts the successful outcome of a decision reached in the Tyrians' *ekklēsia*

("assembly") to send an embassy to Athens for permission to construct a sanctuary for

Herakles. This view is reinforced in the Tyrians' mimesis of stock civic terminology from

Athenian inscriptions, specifically the standard opening lines of an enactment decree.[260]

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[255] Scholars date *IDelos* 1519 either to 153/2 BCE or to 149/148 BCE. See Monika Trümper's discussion in "Where the Non-Delians Met in Delos. The Meeting-Places of Foreign Associations and Ethnic Communities in Late Hellenistic Delos," in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age* (ed. O. van Nijf and R. Alston, with the assistance of C. G. Williamson; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 49–100, esp. 55 nn. 21 and 22.

[256] Trümper, "Non-Delians," 49. John Day observes that between 144 and 126 BCE all extant inscriptional evidence of an Athenian cleruchy ceases (*Greek History: An Economic History of Athens Under Roman Domination* [New York: Columbia University Press/Arno Press, 1942/repr. 1973], 75).

[257] Day notes that by 110 BCE, the Poseidoniasts built an extensive complex northwest of the Sacred Lake (*Greek History*, 67). Their complex of buildings includes shops/storerooms, a club-house, and various rooms dedicated to religious observances. For precise archeological descriptions of the Poseidoniasts' complex, see Trümper, "Non–Delians," 53–58.

[258] Initially, both Kloppenborg and Harland interpreted the word *ekklēsia* in *IDelos* 1519 as referring to a group designation (Kloppenborg, "Edwin Hatch," 231; Harland, *Associations*, 106 and 182).

[259] Kloppenborg has rescinded that initial estimation by email (see n. 215). Harland reverses his 2003 opinion in a later book (2009): *IDelos* 1519 "recounts the outcome of a particular assembly (ἐκκλησία) of the members of the association, who are also called 'society members' (θιασίται)" (*Dynamics of Identity*, 111).

[260] The opening line of *Epigr. tou Oropou* 297 serves as an example of the standard opening line(s) of an Athenian-style enactment decree (McLean, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, 219–220). *Epigr.*

Three of the five standard Athenian terms are evident along with one other common

term—*ekklēsia*.[261] This political mimicry of civic terminology by a Delian voluntary

association is not surprising given that, during that time, Delos was a cleruchy of Athens.

There is one other potential inscriptional example, not previously noted by

scholars, of a non-civic group using *ekklēsia* terminology: *Sinuri* 8/73 (4th cent BCE;

Asia Minor, Caria).[262] The group behind *Sinuri* 73 is a *syngeneia*, not a *polis* or a *koinon*.

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tou Oropou 297 (332/1 BCE; Oropos in Boiotia, central Greece) is an honorific decree of Athens for Phanodemos, son of Diyllos. Its opening line reads, θεοί. ἐπὶ Νικήτου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθηίδος ἐνάτης πρυτανείας, ἧι Ἀριστόνους Ἀριστόνου Ἀναγυράσιος ἐγραμμάτευεν, Θαργηλιῶνος ἑνδεκάτει, τρίτηι καὶ εἰκοστῆι τῆς πρυτανείας. McLean notes that, aside from the occasional invocation (e.g., θεοί; "to the gods"), the standard opening for an Athenian-style decree contains at least five elements. Any combination of these five provide dating details for the enactment formula (ἔδοξεν τῆι…) which follows. First, the name of the eponymous magistrate is given followed by his title in the genitive (e.g., ἐπὶ Νικήτου ἄρχοντος; "during the archonship of Nikētos"). Second, in Athens, the name of the prytanizing tribe is given (e.g., ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθηίδος; "during the [*prytany*] of [the tribe] Erechthēidos"). Third, the ordinal sequence of the *prytaneia* is stated (e.g., ἐνάτης πρυτανείας; "of the ninth *prytaneia*"). Fourth, the day of the month is given (τρίτηι καὶ εἰκοστῆι τῆς πρυτανείας; "on the thirty-third day of the *prytaneia*"). Fifth, other officers are cited, such as the secretary of the prytany or of the *boulē* (ἧι Ἀριστόνους Ἀριστόνου Ἀναγυράσιος ἐγραμμάτευεν; "when Aristonous, son of Aristonos, of [the deme] Anagyrasios was secretary"). McLean observes that "the name of the secretary gave official sanction to public documents and became a means of identifying and dating decrees, in the same way we might assign a document an identification number for easy reference" (Ibid, 219). McLean does not add a sixth element, which also often occurs in the standard opening lines of an inscription. At least 1064 Athenian inscriptions mention, in their opening lines, that a formal *ekklēsia* had been convened.

[261] *IDelos* 1519 follows two of the five recurring elements in the standard opening line of an Athenian-styled inscription, with a third evident later in the inscription: (1) the eponymous magistrate (ἐπὶ Φαιδρίου ἄρχοντος); (2) there is no name of the prytanizing tribe since Delos does not have a prytany system; (3) there is no ordinal sequence of the tribe since Delos does not have a prytany system; (4) day of the month (Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ὀγδόει); and (5) other political officers are not cited, contrary to normal civic *praxis*. Rather, political officers are cited well after the opening lines in lines 45–47 (ἐπιμελὲς δὲ ἔστω τοῖς καθισταμένοις ἀρχιθιασίταις καὶ ταμίαις καὶ τῶι γραμματεῖ). A sixth political element in a standard opening line is also evident in the Tyrian honorific decree: enactment within an *ekklēsia*. The Tyrians met *en ekklēsia* within the temple of Apollos: ἐκκλησία ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Citing a location for the *ekklēsia* (ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι) also mimics Athenian inscriptional *praxis*. Examples of locations for Athenian *ekklēsiai* in the mid-2nd century BCE include: ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι (e.g., *IG* II² 905, 175/4 BCE; 135 occurrences in the 2nd cent. BCE); ἐμ Πειρ[αιεῖ (e.g., *Agora* 16 290[1], 170/69 BCE; 46 occurrences in the 2nd cent. BCE); ἐν Διονύσου (e.g., *IG* II² 896, 186/6 BCE; 4 occurrences in the 2nd cent. BCE).

[262] See Appendix #7. I thank Christina Williamson for bringing this inscription to my attention. *Sinuri* 73 (350/344 BCE) is numbered "*Sinuri* 8" by PHI. *Sinuri* 73 is published and discussed by Louis Robert, *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa. Première partie* (Les inscriptions grecques; Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie de Stamboul 7; Paris: De Boccard, 1945). Louis Robert examines *Sinuri* 73 further in "Décret d'une *syngeneia* Carienne au sanctuaire de Sinuri," *Hellenica* VII (1949): 59–68, esp.

A *syngeneia* is a kinship-based group, whether biological or mythical.[263] Louis Robert

claims that the *syngeneia* of Pelekōs is a non-civic group.[264] He postulates that this 4th

century *syngeneia* of Pelekōs is a family clan generationally in charge of the temple of a

Carian deity named Sinuri.[265] His conclusion is based upon the common occurrence of

the family toponym "Pelekōs" in the list of eponymous priests in Caria (*Sinuri* 5, 73).[266]

The *syngeneia* of Pelekōs did not use *ekklēsia* as a group designation. The family clan

identifies only its semi-public meeting as an *ekklēsiē kyriē*.[267] If Errington is correct, then

the legally binding nature of decisions reached during their *ekklēsiē kyriē* is implicitly

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64–65. *Sinuri* 73 is an honorary decree of the "*syngeneis* of Pelekos for [...]s (?) Nesaios" in Sinuri. It includes a curse in the case of a violation. PHI notes other citations of *Sinuri* 73 in *BE* 1944: 168; Wilhelm, *SAWW* 224, IV (1947): 3–5, 11–20 (= Akadschr. III 251–253, 259–268); *BE* 1948: 215; and *BE* 1950: 181.

[263] For an extensive analysis of *syngeneiai* in both literary and epigraphical sources, see Lee E. Patterson (*Kinship Myth in Ancient Greece* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010], esp. 109–123 for epigraphic evidence of kinship diplomacy). Patterson examines the role that kinship myth plays in the construction of political and cultural identity. Mythic kinship in the realm of politics is evident when a Greek *polis* claims *syngeneia* with other Greek *poleis* in order to create deeper socio-political ties. For example, the decree of Allaria (200 BCE) confirms friendship (*syngeneis*) with, and *asylia* of, Teos (*LW* 73, *Teos* 3, *ICret II Allaria* no. 1 [ll. 4, 12]). It reads, ἐπειδὴ Τήϊοι φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς διὰ προγόνων ὑπάρχοντες ψάφισμα καὶ πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλαν<61>61[51τες]51 παρ' ἁμὲ Ἀπολλόδοτον καὶ Κωλώτην.

[264] Robert writes, "La syngeneia, avant d'être dans lès citès hellenisées une subdivision de la tribu, a du être une cellule indépendante de la vie politique dans lès campagnes de la Carie" (*Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri*, 93).

[265] The sanctuary of Sinuri was located just a few miles east of Mylasa. Robert writes, "C'est difficilement une coïncidence fortuite quele permier nom sur la liste des prêtres de Sinuri no. 5 soit celui d'un Πελλεκως Πελλεχως ou Πελλεχως semble avoir été à la fois, ce qui ne peut surprendre, au milieu du IVe siècle, le chef du clan familial (συγγενεῖς Πελεχωδος) et le prêtre à vie de Sinuri, dont la parenté – frères ou descendants—conserva héréditairement le sacerdoce pendant de longues générations" (*Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri*, 95).

[266] Robert, *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri*, 95.

[267] The text of *Sinuri* 73 is found in *Hornblower, Mausolus* M5 (see also Appendix #7). The 15 lines read: [ἔδοξεν] Πελεκωδος συγγενεῦσι [συ]νελθοῦσι πᾶσιν· vacat [ἐκκλ]ησίης κυρίης γενομένης ΕΝ. [.c.4.]ι, Νησαιωι καλῶι κἀγαθῶι vacat [γεγ]ενημένωι εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐμπε[δώσαντι?] [.c.4. τὴ]ν ἐντολὴν τὴν Ἰδριέως καὶ Ἄδα[ς καὶ?] [.c.6..]ασθαι ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτῶν αὐ[τόν τε] [καὶ ἐκ]γόνους το[ὺ]ς τούτο[υ] εἰς τὸν ἀ[εὶ χρόνον] [μετέ]χοντα πάν[των ὅσ]ων? κα[ὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μετα] [δίδοτ]αι Πελεκωδος συγγε[νεῦσι καὶ] [δεδόσ]θαι αὐτῶι Ε..ΕΝ.φ[όρ]ω[ν?] [πάν]των ἀτέλειαν πλὴν ἀπομ[οίρας·] [ἐὰν δ]έ τις ταῦτα παραβαίνη ἢ ἄκυρα π[οιῆ,] [ἐπικα]τάρατος ἔστω αὐτός τε καὶ τὰ τού[του] [πάν]τα ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου.

reinforced in their use of the inscriptional formula *ekklēsiēs kyriēs genomenēs*.[268] The

term *ekklēsiē kyriē* alludes back to the *ekklēsia kyria* held once every 36 (or 39) days in

classical Athens (4th century BCE to 322 BCE),[269] the derivative assemblies of which

continued in Athens,[270] and beyond,[271] some even into the Imperial period.[272]

By the Hellenistic period, however, only a civic entity known as *syngeneia* is

inscriptionally extant in Sinuri (*Sinuri* 24a/*Sinuri* 22). This Hellenistic-era civic

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[268] See n. 236 for Errington's contention that inscriptional occurrences of the clause ἐκκλεσίας κυρία γενομένες (or οὔσης) indicate an official quorum for *ekklēsiai* across the Greek East from 367/66 BCE until at least *c.*140 BCE ("ἐκκλεσίας κυρία γενομένες," 19–25).

[269] By at least 355 BCE, classical Athens convened four types of *ekklēsia* (*kyria*, *nomimos*, *synklētos*, and *archairesia*) (Hansen, *Athenian Assembly*, 41–44). Compare, however, Rhodes and Lewis who state that "by the end of the fifth century there were four regular assemblies, one of the four retaining the designation *kyria*" (*Decrees of the Greek States*, 13, 503). The principal *ekklēsia*, whose roots extend into the 5th century BCE, was called *ekklēsia kyria* (*Ath. Pol.* 43. iii-vi). It was convened ten times in the year, that is, once each *prytaneia* (Hansen, *Athenian Assembly*, 25–28). See n. 180 for a description of the all-embracing program of an Athenian *ekklēsia kyria*. Literary sources (e.g., *Ath. Pol.* 43.4–6) suggest that the three supplementary *ekklēsiai* in each *prytaneia* were generally designated "lawful" *ekklēsiai* (*nomimoi ekklēsiai*) (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 43:3; Aeschin., *Emb.* 72). Athenian inscriptions, however, make no mention either of a *nomimos ekklēsia*, or of the semantically related *ennomos ekklēsia*. Inscriptions with *ennomos* are predominantly found in central Greece between the 2nd cent. BCE and the 2nd cent. CE (Phokis and Thessaly; 36x). Other inscriptions with *ennomos* come from the Aegean Islands (7x), and Asia Minor (Pergamon in Mysia, 1x; Termessos, 1x). Acts' use of the phrase τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ (Acts 19:39) for the regular assembly of Ephesos is unattested in the inscriptional record. There is only one inscription extant from Asia Minor which uses the phrase τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ. It dates to the 2nd century CE and comes from Termessos (*TAM* III 4). The adjective *nomimos* occurs once each in central Greece (Delphi, 185–175 BCE) and Asia Minor (Ephesos, 104 CE). The term *ekklēsia kyria* first appears epigraphically in *IG* I[2] 42, 22 (446/45 BCE). It is more regularly attested beginning in 336/35 as part of the *prytaneia* system described in the *Athenaion Politeia* (cf. *IG* II, 2 330). There are at least 1064 extant inscriptional mentions of ἐκκλησία in Athenian epigraphy. These are dated from the 4th cent. BCE until the 2nd cent. CE. Extant adjectival modifiers for the *ekklēsia* in Athens include κυρία (253), πρώτη (123x), ἐπιοῦσαν (102x), ἀρχαιρεσίαι (3x; *IG* II² 892, 188–87 BCE; *IG* II² 954, pre-159 BCE; *IG* II² 955, 159 BCE), καθήκουσαν (2x; *IG* II² 971, 140–39 BCE), σύγκλητος (2x; *IG* II² 945, 168–67 BCE; *IG* II² 911, 169–68 BCE).

[270] See n. 174.

[271] Examples of non-Athenian *poleis* which adopt the title *ekklēsia kyria* for their civic assemblies include Kios (*IK Kios* 1; Bithynia, Asia Minor; 4th cent. BCE), Telmessos (*Clara Rhodos* 9:183; Lycia, Asia Minor; 258–256 BCE), Delos (*IDelos* 1502; Aegean Sea; 148/7 BCE), and Olympia (*IvO* 52; Peloponnesos, 138 BCE).

[272] There are three inscriptional occurrences of the term *ekklēsia kyria* from the Imperial period: *Clinton, Sacred Officials* 50,D14/*SEG* 30:93 (20/19 BCE); *Peek, Asklepieion* 35(2) (Peloponnesos, Epidauros; 40–42 CE); *St.Pont.* III 141 (Asia Minor, Pontus and Paphlagonia, Amasia, 98/99 CE; for text see n. 238).

syngeneia appears to be some sort of political subdivision of Mylasa.[273] This means that its *ekklēsia* ("*kyrias ekklēsias*") had been transformed into a public institution for the entire community.[274] This development leaves only *IDelos* 1519 (and potentially *Samos* 119) as a Hellenistic-era, or later, inscription wherein a non-civic association names its semi-public meeting *ekklēsia*.

3.2. The Non-Civic Ekklēsia*: Politicization of Association Life?*

The foregoing analysis indicates that there does not appear to be inscriptional attestation of a community of people using the word *ekklēsia* as a collective designation prior to the 1st century CE. At most, the word *ekklēsia* identifies the semi-public assemblies of three non-civic groups: the Samian wrestlers (*Samos* 119), the Tyrian Herakleistai (*IDelos* 1519), and the Sinurian cultists (*Sinuri* 73/8). Only the latter unequivocally predates Roman hegemony in the east. The honorary decree of the association of Samian wrestlers is not datable with certainty, while the Tyrian Herakleistai can be dated to the mid-2nd century BCE. Thus, at the very least, one of the three non-civic groups lived under Roman hegemony, though not under direct Roman rule. This still leaves open, though, the question as to how Romans in the 1st century CE might have perceived a non-civic group which enacted decrees within an *ekklēsia*.

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[273] Other Mylasan tribal clans around the same timeframe also self-describe as civic organizations called *syngeneiai*. Robert Sherk identifies two 2nd century BCE inscriptions which use the word *syngeneia* as a collective civic designation for the entire tribal clan, not simply for a family clan. The enactment formulae use *phylē* and *syngeneia*: *IMylasa* 108 (2nd cent. BCE; ἔδοξε τῶν Ὀτωρκονδέων φυλῆι); and *IMylasa* 123 (3rd/2nd cent. BCE; ἔδοξε τῆι Ὀγονδέων συγγενείαι) ("Eponymous Officials," 232).

[274] *Sinuri* 24a (*Sinuri* 22 in the PHI website) is dated by Louis Robert into the Hellenistic period. In its entirety it reads: [—] Λέο[ν][τος —] κυρίας [ἐκκλησίας —] [—].ΔΗΙ [—]ΩΝΠΑ [—]ΣΑΝ (Appendix #7).

3.2.1. Roman Perceptions of Voluntary Associations

In general, voluntary associations were perceived by the Romans with particular

unease. Suetonius notes that Julius Caesar dissolved "all *collegia* except those of ancient

foundation" during 47–46 BCE when he was seeking to solidify his power base.[275]

Roman prejudice towards voluntary associations continued even into the Imperial

period.[276] Suetonius discusses the draconian measures of Octavian (later known as

Augustus) in the late 30's BCE to redress the "anti-social practices that endangered

public order" in Italy following the resolution of the civil wars.[277] At the other end of the

Roman empire, and over a hundred years later, Pliny, the governor of Bithynia-Pontus in

northern Asia Minor (111–113 CE), wrote to the emperor Trajan requesting that he be

allowed to agree to the formation of an association of firefighters at Nikomedia. Trajan

denied the request and reminded Pliny that,

> we must remember that it is societies like these which have been responsible for the
> political disturbances in your province, particularly its towns. If people assemble for a
> common purpose, whatever name we give them and for whatever reason, they soon turn
> into a political club (*hetaeriae*).[278]

There is one type of association—Greek gymnastic associations—which gained

particular disapproval from Roman elites, especially from the senatorial class. If the

Samian *aleiphomenoi* lived during the early Imperial period, then Roman distaste may

have been directed at them also. Plutarch, perhaps tongue in cheek, describes Roman

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[275] *Julius* 42; cf. Josephus, *A.J.* 14.213-16.

[276] See Harland's regionally nuanced discussion on tensions and conflicts between civic authorities and associations (*Associations*, 161–73).

[277] Translated by Rolfe (1913 [LCL]), with adaptations by Harland (*Associations*, 165). Brigandry had been on the rise, with some bands mimicking association terminology (*titulo collegi novi*, "the title of a new association"). As a result, Octavian, soon to be Augustus, "disbanded all associations [*collegia*], except such as were of long standing and formed for legitimate purposes" (*Divine Augustus*, 32:1–2).

[278] Pliny, *Epistles* 10.34, translated by Rolfe (LCL). See also Harland, *Associations*, 137; Macro, "Cities of Asia Minor," 658–97; and Dmitriev, *City Government*, 308, 309.

prejudice towards Greek preoccupation with public nudity, specifically within *gymnasia*.[279] The displeasure of Cato and Cicero, however, is unrestrained in their "ferocious denunciations of Greek gymnastic nakedness."[280] Elitist denunciations need to be taken with a grain of salt, however, since private *praxis* among Roman elites sometimes differed.[281]

This Roman prejudice against *gymnasia* and their *aleiphomenoi* would have received particular reinforcement during and after the Pantomime Riots in Rome (14–15 CE), which followed upon the death of Caesar Augustus.[282] Pantomimes specialized in a form of calisthenics that was taught in the *gymnasium*, known as *cheironomia*. *Cheironomia* was "designed to create graceful and rhythmic movements…which were the same as those for which the pantomimes were famous or notorious."[283] The fact that *cheironomia* was also practiced by *aleiphomenoi* may have positioned them, in the public eye, with the pantomimes through guilt by association.

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[279] Plut. *QR* 40. W. J. Slater notes that "the attack on athletics is as old as Euripides and Plato" ("Pantomime Riots," *CA* 13, no. 1 [Apr. 1994]: 120–44, esp. 134 n. 82).

[280] Cicero, *Resp.* 4.4.4. Additional critique can be found in Pliny, *Ep.* 4.22.7; Hor. *Od.* 3.24.51, *Sat.* 2.2.10; Tac. *Ann.* 14.14–15, 20–21; Pliny, *NH* 15.19, 29.26; *Paneg.* 13.6; Mart. 7.32; Luc. 7.270; Suet. *Dom.* 4. See Slater, "Pantomime Riots," 134 n. 84.

[281] Slater observes that one of the most distinguished men of Caesarean Rome, L. Munatius Plancus, acted out a Greek mythological theme in a pantomime at a private occasion in Egypt, and apparently with his elite audience's approval (Vell. Pat. 2.83.2) ("Pantomime Riots," 136).

[282] Slater notes that this riot was significant enough that six historians mention it: Tac. *Ann.* 1.77; Dio 57.14.10; Vell. Pat. 2.126.2; Suet. *Tib.* 34.1; Zos. 1.6.1; possibly also, Valerius Maximus (2.4.1) ("Pantomime Riots," 125 n. 32).

[283] Slater, "Pantomime Riots," 133–34. *Cheironomia* involves silent, expressive gesticulation also used in pantomime performances. For *cheironomia* in the *palaistra* see, for example, Plato, *Leg.* 814–15; Plut. *Mor.* 747A; Dio Prus. 32.20; Galen, *De Sanit. Tuend.* 6.325.1; Diod. Sic. 1.16.1; Athen. 14.629b–c; Polyb. 9.20.6; Synes, *De Insomniis* 20.

3.2.2. The Aleiphomenoi *of Samos (*Samos *119)*

If the Samian *aleiphomenoi* existed around the time of the Pantomime Riots, or,

for that matter, anytime after Samos became part of the province of Roman Asia (129

BCE), and if Roman authorities would have viewed with suspicion the adoption of

ekklēsia terminology by a non-civic group, then one would not expect political

terminology in *Samos* 119. Yet the word *ekklēsia* does occur, and it does so within the

collocation *synagō eis ekklēsian*, which suggests a *terminus post quem* for *Samos* 119 of

the mid-2nd century BCE, that is, the period of Roman ascendancy in the Greek East.

Samos 119 is in select company, within the inscriptional record, when it comes to

using the anarthrous prepositional phrase *eis ekklēsian*,[284] and alone in its pairing of *eis*

ekklēsian with *synagō*.[285] If one broadens the syntactical search criteria to an

investigation of instances in which *synagō* is paired only with the noun (*ekklēsia*), then a

two hundred year compositional window for *Samos* 119 opens.[286] There are fourteen

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[284] In each of the 302 inscriptional examples where the phrase *eis ekklēsian*, with or without the article *tēn*, occurs, that prepositional phrase refers to public, not semi-public, assemblies which are open to citizens of a *polis*. The latest extant example of the phrase *eis (tēn) ekklēsian* is in an honorary decree by the *boulē* of Ephesos in 104 CE (*IEph* 27E/*IEphesos* 153). Of the 302 juxtapositions of *eis* and *ekklēsian*, 233 are articular (*eis tēn ekklēsian*). The article *tēn* is reconstructed in 86 cases and *eis* in 131 instances. Only six inscriptions use the simple anarthrous phrase *eis ekklēsian* without any adjectival qualifiers. One of those six is *Samos* 119.

[285] See Appendix #8 (Synagō *and* Eis Ekklēsian: *Greek Sources*). The verbal pairings associated with the six inscriptional occurrences of *eis ekklēsian* are as follows: *Samos* 119 (Samos, Aegean Islands, undatable; ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἀλειφομένοις ἐν τῆι γεροντικῆι παλαίστραι, συναχθεῖσιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν· "resolved by the wrestlers/gymnasts … to gather together in [an] assembly"); *IEph* 1383 (Ephesos; συνελθόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν); *IMT NoerdlTroas* 7/*IK* 6,7 (Troas, Asia Minor, 100–66 BCE; καθ' ὃ τιμηθήσεται προξενίαι Διονυσόδωρος ἐξενεγκεῖν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν); *SEG* 13:458 (Thasos, Aegean Islands, 2nd/1st BCE; καθ' ὃ τιμηθήσεται προξενίαι Διονυσόδωρος, ἐξενεγκεῖν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν); *IMYL* 135/*Mylasa* 11 (Mylasa, 5th BCE–2nd CE; ἀπεγράψαντο ἔφοδον εἰς βουλὴν κα[ὶ ἐκκλησίαν ποιούμενοι); *Milet* I 2/*Miletos* 9 (Miletos; οἱ μὲν θεοπρόποι εἰσαγγειλάτωσαν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν).

[286] There are seventeen inscriptions in which the verb *synagō* is paired with the noun *ekklēsia*. None of these seventeen come from Attica, with only four hailing from Hellas proper (Macedonia, Thessaly, and Peloponnesos). The seventeen inscriptions are: *Aphrodisias* 2 (*BCH* [1972]: 443-45); *EKM* 1. Beroia 1; *IMT Adram Kolpos* 732; *IC* II xii 20; *IIasos* 4.33-110; *IosPE* I² 33; *IvO* 52; *Milet* I 3, 145; *Meletemata* 11 K1; *Rigsby*, *Asylia* 52c; *Samos* 4; *Samos* 119; *Samos* 120; *Sardis* VII,1 8 (*IGRR* 4.1756);

inscriptions which together pair *synagō* with the word *ekklēsia* twenty times. Of the seven

inscriptions which hail from Asia Minor, four date between 195 BCE and 1 BCE, and the

other three inscriptions, which are from Samos, are undated (*Samos* 14, 119, 120). If this

syntactical correlation between the three Samian and four Asia Minor inscriptions also

reflects a correlation in compositional timeframe, then, at the earliest, *Samos* 119 dates to

the 2nd or 1st centuries BCE.

A 2nd century BCE *terminus post quem* also accords with Greek literary evidence.

The collocation *synagō eis ekklēsian* is found with some frequency in Greek literary

sources, specifically in the writings of Polybius,[287] Diodorus Siculus,[288] Josephus,[289]

Plutarch,[290] and Pausanias.[291] These writings date somewhere from the time of Roman

ascendancy (mid-Hellenistic) into the Imperial period.[292] Of these five writers, Josephus

most frequently collocates *synagō* with *ekklēsia* (13 of his 48 *ekklēsia* references)[293] and

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SEG 25:687; *SEG* 47:1280; *SEG* 51:1055. Only *Samos* 119 pairs *synagō* and *ekklēsia* (unmodified, anarthrous) within a prepositional phrase (*eis ekklēsian*).

[287] Polybius (*c*. 203–*c*. 118 BCE; Arcadia of Macedonia) uses *synagō* plus *ekklēsia* at least 13 times. He pairs *synagō* five times with the unmodified phrase *eis ekklēsian* (*Hist*. 1.45.2; 5.1.6; 22.10.10; 22.12.5; and 23.5.16). Polybius began to write his "universal history" around 167 BCE and recounted events only up to the destruction of the cities of Corinth and Carthage in 146 BCE.

[288] Diodorus Siculus (Sicily) wrote between 60 and 30 BCE. He juxtaposes *synagō* with *ekklēsia* at least eighteen times. He pairs *synagō* four times with *eis ekklēsian* (14.38.4; 15.74.5; 16.10.3; 17.94.5).

[289] Josephus (37–100 CE, Jerusalem), originally known as Joseph ben Matityahu, but after the Jewish Revolt as Titus Flavius Josephus, uses *ekklēsia* a total of 48 times. He pairs *synagō* with *ekklēsia* fourteen times. Of these fourteen pairings, he uses the collocation *synagō eis ekklēsian* eleven times.

[290] Plutarch (*c*. 46–120 CE; Chaeronea, Beoetia) uses *synagō* with *ekklēsia* at least fifteen times. Of these, seven times he pairs *synagō* with the prepositional phrase *eis ekklēsian* (*Aemilius Paulus* 11.1; *Casear* 19.2; *Caius Marius* 33.3; *Fabius Maximus* 3.4; *Lycurgus* 29.1; *Pericles* 33.5; 43.2).

[291] Pausanias (2nd cent. CE; Lydia) pairs *synagō* with *ekklēsia* only once. This sole occurrence is the collocation *synagō eis ekklēsian* (*Description of Greece* 4.5.6).

[292] Greek writers who pair *synagō* with the noun *ekklēsia*, but not with the anarthrous prepositional phrase *eis ekklēsian*, are: Thucydides (*c*. 460 BCE–*c*. 395 BCE; *Pelop. War* 2.60.1), Xenophon (*c*. 430–354 BCE; *Anabasis* 1.3.2), and Demosthenes (384–322 BCE; *Letters* 1.5).

[293] Josephus uses the anarthrous prepositional phrase *eis ekklēsian* twenty-five times, eleven of which occur with the verb *synagō*. The other prepositional phrases used by Josephus to indicate an assembly of people are εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (4x), εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας (1x), ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ (1x), ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (1x), and ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίας (1x).

he appears to do so in technical fashion.[294] Eleven of those thirteen pairings use the

collocation *synagō eis ekklēsian*.[295] In each of those eleven passages Josephus mentions a

public *ekklēsia* being convened by the overseeing official of a Jewish community.[296]

The other four non-Athenian writers also appear to use the collocation *synagō eis*

ekklēsian in technical fashion. In each of the seventeen combined usages by Polybius,

Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch and Pausanias, the official functionary who calls a group of

people together (*synagō*) into a formal assembly (*eis ekklēsian*) is the presumed head of

that group (e.g., general, king, ambassador).[297] Polybius describes two instances in which

Greek *polis* officials rebuffed Roman officials who illegally tried to call an *ekklēsia*. His

use of the clause *synagō eis ekklēsian* in his description of those two historical situations

would have given particular emphasis to the irony inherent in that Roman move.

In books 22 and 23 of his *Histories*, Polybius mentions four elites who summon

(*synagō*), or attempt to summon, a people into an assembly (*eis ekklēsian*). Two are

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[294] Josephus does pair verbs other than *synagō* with the anarthrous prepositional phrase *eis ekklēsian* (i.e., *epeimi*, *synkaleō*, *synerchomai*, *athroizō*, *proagō*, *proeimi*). Josephus' collocation of the verb *epeimi* and *ekklēsia* (4x; *A.J.* 6:86; 8:222, 358; *Vita* 268), for example, is consistent with Greek inscriptional *praxis* for denoting the formation of an assembly of people. Inscriptional evidence comes from Athens and its cleruchies (162x [e.g., Athens, 135x; Delos, 160–145 BCE, 18x]) and literary evidence of this *praxis* is found among Athenian and non-Athenian writers (e.g., Thuc. *Pelop. War* 1.139.3; 4.118.14; 6.8.2; Lysias, *Against Erat.* 12.72; Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 10.1). The verbs, other than *synagō*, which Josephus uses (*epeimi*, *synkaleō*, *synerchomai*, *proagō*, *proeimi*) are also found in Greek literary and inscriptional sources for indicating the assembly of people into an *ekklēsia*.

[295] There are two instances in which Josephus pairs *synagō* with *ekklēsia*, but not with *eis ekklēsian*. They are found in *A.J.* 4:176 and *A.J.* 16:62. In *A.J.* 4:176 Josephus uses *ekklēsia* as a collective designation for Israel itself ("Moses gathered the congregation [*ekklēsia*] together near Jordan"). In *A.J.* 16:62, Josephus writes: "[Herod] gathered all the people (*pandēmon*) together in an assembly [*ekklēsia*]." Josephus also uses the articular phrase εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, and its plural form εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας, a total of five times. These five articular prepositional phrases, though, are not paired with the verb *synagō*.

[296] Josephus pairs *synagō* with *ekklēsia* for formal assemblies of Jews called by Moses (*A.J.* 3:188; 4:36, 63, 142, 309), Joshua (*A.J.* 5:72, 93), Ahab (*A.J.* 8:368), Jehoshaphat (*A.J.* 9:8), Mordecai (*A.J.* 11:228), Ptolemy (*A.J.* 13:114), Herod (*A.J.* 16:62), and Queen Salome (*B.J.* 1:666).

[297] Diodorus Siculus mentions four officials: Herippidas, Dionysius, Dion, and Alexander the Great. Plutarch describes six: Julius Caesar, Caius Marius, Fabius Maximus, Lycurgus, Pericles, and Pompey. Instead of an individual, Pausanias mentions a ruling group, the Messenian kings.

juridically entitled to do so (the general Himilco, King Philip of Macedon).[298] The other

two are not (Caecilius and Flamininus). These latter two are Roman emissaries of the

Senate. They each presume the juridical power of an *archōn* in their desire to adjudicate

between the Achaean league and the Spartans. The first emissary, Quintus Caecilius,

attempts to summon (*synagō*) the Achaeans to a formal assembly (*eis ekklēsian*).[299] The

Achaeans do not obey. Polybius reports that they stand on ceremony and claim that

Caecilius' request is unlawful according to their laws.[300] Only an Achaean *archōn* has

that authority and only if "a resolution has to be passed regarding war or peace."[301]

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[298] *Hist*. 1.45.2 and 5.1.6, respectively.

[299] *Hist*. 22.10.10, 11: [10] ὁ δὲ Καικίλιος ὁρῶν τὴν τούτων προαίρεσιν, ἠξίου τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῷ συναγαγεῖν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν. [11] οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἄρχοντες ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν δεῖξαι τὰς ἐντολάς, ἃς εἶχε παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου περὶ τούτων. τοῦ δὲ παρασιωπῶντος, οὐκ ἔφασαν αὐτῷ συνάξειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ([10] "Caecilius, seeing how this meeting was disposed, demanded that the popular assembly should be summoned to meet him; [11] but the magistrates asked him to show them the instructions he had from senate on the subject; and, when he made no reply, refused to summon the assembly; [12] for their laws did not allow it unless a written request was presented from the senate stating what matters it desired to submit to the assembly"). English text from http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Polybius/22*.html (accessed June 6, 2012).

[300] In his final use of the collocation *synagō eis ekklēsian*, Polybius recounts the visit of another Roman emissary to the Achaeans, subsequent to Caecilius' visit. Flamininus also requests that they formally summon an assembly (*synagō eis ekklēsian*). He too is rebuffed for the same procedural reason used by the Achaeans in stonewalling his predecessor Caecilius. Polybius writes (*Hist*. 23.5.16): [16] ἐπεὶ δὲ καταπλεύσας εἰς Ναύπακτον ἔγραψε τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τοῖς δαμιουργοῖς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, κελεύων συνάγειν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ([13] "However, he appeared now in Greece with Flamininus, [14] convinced that he had only to show his face when the affairs of Messene would be arranged as he wished. [15] But Philopoemen, well knowing that Flamininus had no instructions from the senate regarding the affairs of Greece, kept quiet awaiting his arrival, and when, [16] on disembarking at Naupactus, he wrote to the strategus and damiurges of the Achaeans, ordering them to call the general assembly of the Achaeans, they replied that they would do so upon his informing them on what subjects he wished to address the Achaeans; [17] for that was the course imposed on the magistrates by their laws"). English text from http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Polybius/23*.html (accessed June 6, 2012).

[301] *Hist*. 22.12.5: [5] Ἀπελογήθησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καικίλιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρέσβεις ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ, φάσκοντες οὐθὲν ἀδικεῖν αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἀξίους ἐγκλήματος ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ συνάγειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ([5] "The envoys from Achaea also spoke in the Senate defending their magistrates against Caecilius. They maintained that the magistrates had done nothing wrong and were deserving of no censure in not having summoned the assembly to meet, [6] the Achaean law being that the popular assembly is not to be summoned unless a resolution has to be passed regarding war or peace, or unless anyone brings a letter from the senate. [7] Their magistrates had therefore been right on that occasion; for while they had desired to summon the Achaeans to a general assembly they were prevented from doing so by the laws, as Caecilius was neither the bearer of letters from the senate nor would he show

Polybius can be said rhetorically to reinforce the presumptuous nature of Caecilius' demand by attributing to him an illegal attempt to *synagō* Achaeans *eis ekklēsian*.

A *terminus ad quem* of *Samos* 119 in the early Imperial period can be postulated given that the juxtaposition of *synagō* with *ekklēsia* is inscriptionally extant between 5 and 1 BCE (*Sardis* 7,1 8; *IGRR* 4.1756). The latest occurrence of the collocation *synagō eis ekklēsian* is found in a 2nd century CE literary work, Pausanias' *Descriptions of Greece*.[302] If the clause *synagō eis ekklēsian* in *Samos* 119 allows for a compositional range from the rise of Roman hegemony in the Greek East to Imperial rule in Asia Minor, then one could conclude that the *aleiphomenoi* were not fearful of negative political repercussions in their adoption of *ekklēsia* terminology.

*3.2.3. The Tyrian Herakleistai of Delos (*IDelos *1519)*

The Tyrian Herakleistai also do not appear to fear repercussions from Romans, even though, in three ways, they mimic Athenian political terminology and processes. The first two have already been discussed: they enacted an honorific decree within an *ekklēsia* and they mimic four of the six elements of an Athenian-style enactment decree.[303] The third is the Tyrians' use of embassy selection protocol employed only a few years earlier by the *dēmos* of Delos (*IDelos* 1498). *IDelos* 1498 describes how the *dēmos* held a civic *ekklēsia* (*ekklēsia kyria*) in their *ekklēsiastērion* within which they voted upon delegates (*presbeis*) for an embassy they wished to send to the Athenian

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to their magistrates his written instructions"). English text from http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/ Roman/ Texts/ Polybius/ 22*.html (accessed June 6, 2012).

[302] See Appendix #8 (Synagō *and* Eis Ekklēsian: *Greek Sources*).

[303] See n. 126 for details on the five standardized elements of enactment decrees.

boulē and *ekklēsia*.[304] The Tyrian Herakleistai also adopt civic protocols for the non-civic

mission of their association's embassy to Athens (*IDelos* 1519). This correlation between

IDelos 1498 and *IDelos* 1519 appears not yet to have been noted by previous scholarship.

Wisely, though, the Tyrians avoid perceptions of pretentiousness by not

replicating the full name of the civic assembly for Delos[305] and Athens[306]—*ekklēsia*

kyria. Instead, they choose the simpler term *ekklēsia*. Given their intent to gain approval

for the construction of a temple to Herakles, the fact that the Tyrians' mimicked both

Athenian-style enactment decree formulae (e.g., *ekklēsia*) and Delian embassy selection

protocol suggests that such political terminology was perceived by the Tyrians as aiding

rather than as hindering their cause before the Athenian *boulē* and *ekklēsia*.

It would not be unexpected for the Tyrians to have publicly displayed their

honorific decree.[307] The Roman governing authorities would have expected Delians to

demonstrate allegiance to Athens; non-Delians may have been another matter. The fact,

however, that the non-Delian Tyrians still felt free publicly to display allegiance to

Athens by using expressly political terminology suggests that they did not fear

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[304] *IDelos* 1498 (160–150 BCE) reads, ἐπὶ Ἀρισταίχμου ἄρχοντος, Γαμηλιῶνος δεκάτει ἱσταμένου· ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῶι ἐκκλησιαστηρίωι· Μένανδρος Μενάνδρου Μελιτεὺς εἶπεν·… χειροτονῆσαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἤδη τρεῖς οἵτινες ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀθήνησιν βουλὴν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν παρακαλέσουσι τὸν δῆμον.

[305] The civic assembly of Delos, which existed concurrently with the Tyrian Herakleistai, is called an *ekklēsia kyria* in *IDelos* 1498 (160–150 BCE) and in *IDelos* 1502 (148/7 BCE).

[306] Of the over 250 occurrences of the phrase *ekklēsia kyria* in Athenian inscriptions (4th cent. BCE to 1st cent. BCE) at least 22 are dated to the 2nd century BCE. Examples include: *Agora* 15 170 (190/89 BCE); *IG* II² 897 (185/4 BCE); *Agora* 15 183 (182/1 BCE); *IG* II² 989 (140/39 BCE); *IG* II² 989 (mid-2nd cent. BCE); *IG* II² 1008 (118/7 BCE); *IG* II² 1011 (106/5 BCE).

[307] The practice of publicly displaying, rather than archiving, civic honorific decrees is prevalent already in the Classical period but predominant by the Imperial period. Association decrees were also posted publicly, not least honorific decrees. One Imperial period example is the Theodotus inscription on the pre-70 CE synagogue in Jerusalem (John S. Kloppenborg, "Dating Theodotus (*CIJ* II 1404)," *JJS* 51.2 [2000]: 243–80). Membership lists also were made public: "in the case of Attic, Macedonian and Asian associations, their names could be found on a stele" (John S. Kloppenborg, "Membership Practices in Pauline Christ Groups," *EC* 4, no. 2 [2013]: 183–215, esp. 208).

recrimination on the part of the Romans. Their Berytian counterparts even demonstrate

that it was possible for non-Delians to cultivate positive relations with the Romans both

for political and economic reasons.[308] These facts speak to Roman perceptions of non-

civic groups in Delos using civic terminology; suspicion does not appear to have been

one of their responses.

3.3. Political Terminology: Voluntary Associations as "Cities Writ Small"

Even though extant evidence of *ekklēsia* usage by non-civic groups is rare, their

use of other political terminology is more common. Kloppenborg highlights Paul Foucart

as being one of the first to observe that "associations imitated the structure of the

polis."[309] As such, Kloppenborg suggests that a Greco-Roman voluntary association

could be called a "city writ small."[310] Even Roman associations (the *Romaioi*) in Greek

poleis adopted a type of mini-city terminology.[311] Harland notes one example of civic

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[308] Trümper notes that the Berytians allowed Romans to hold membership, and even received substantial benefaction from a Roman banker Marcus Minatius Sexti filius (*IDelos* 1520; post-153/52 BCE). He was accorded many honours such as "two portraits in the clubhouse, a seat or couch of honor at banquets, a feast with blood sacrifice, a banquet in his honor, and the privilege to invite guests to various festivals" ("Non-Delians," 56–57; see also *AGRW*, no. 224). In later years the Berytians even dedicated a statue and an altar to the goddess Roma for her "benefaction" (*IDelos* 1778, 1779; 130–69 BCE; see *AGRW*, nos. 226 and 227, respectively), and an honorary decree for the Roman Praetor Gnaeus Octavius for his benefaction (*IDelos* 1782; pre-128 BCE or pre-87 BCE; see *AGRW*, no. 228).

[309] Kloppenborg, "Edwin Hatch," 212–38. See also, idem, "Collegia and *Thiasoi*," 16–30. Harland (*Associations*, 106) cites Jean-Pierre Waltzing's observation that associations were, in numerous ways, "a veritable city within the city, a small country within the large one (cf. Foucart 1873 50–51; Dill 1956:269; Lane Fox 1986:85)" (*Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'empire d'Occident* [Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiée par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 50; 4 vols.; Brussels: Hayez, 1895–1900], 2:184). Harland states that a sociological rather than a political rationale lay behind the reason why "many associations…mirror civic organization" (*Associations*, 106).

[310] "Collegia and *Thiasoi*," 26–27.

[311] See Onno van Nijf, "Staying Roman – Becoming Greek: Associations of Romaioi in Greek Cities" (paper presented at *Associations in Context*, Copenhagen Associations Project, Copenhagen, October 11–13, 2012). In Latin texts they are called *cives romani qui…negotiantur* (the Romans who are doing business) or the *Romani consistentes* (the Romans who are resident). In Greek inscriptions their names include *hoi Romaioi, hoi Romaioi pragmateuomenoi* and *hoi Romaioi katoikountes* (for a complete

mimesis as being "crossovers in [civic] titles such as 'overseer' or 'bishop' (*episkopos*), 'elders' (*presbyteroi*), 'servant'/'deacon' (*diakonos*), and 'patroness' (*prostatis*)."[312]

What rationale drove this political impetus in non-civic groups? From the perspective of positive benefits, Kloppenborg contends that civic mimesis allowed many non-elite *politai*, particularly in the Imperial period, whose socio-economic status excluded them from participation in the *boulē* and other official political offices, to gain socio-religious status within the confines of "a *polis* writ small."[313] With respect to negative rhetoric, mimicry of civic structures facilitated critique of the Roman *ordo* with its hierarchical politics and policy of restrictive access to political office.

There are at least two reasons why political self-depictions by socio-religious associations (*thiasoi*) do not necessarily express anti-Roman ideology. First, Ascough notes that even though voluntary associations "often took their nomenclature from the civic institutions [it was] more often not in direct competition but in the sense of

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list of Greek inscriptional names, see Ibid, 1). Van Nijf argues that Roman associations played a key role in the spread of the Imperial cult(s) and in the representation of Roman Imperial power in Greek *poleis*. They "began to play the role as a kind of symbolic or ideological intermediaries" (Ibid, 20). The associations of Romans disappear from the record after 212 CE when the Constitutio Antoniniana granted Roman citizenship to all free citizens in the empire. Clubs for Romans then became redundant "as every Greek was now a Roman" (Ibid, 21). See also R. M. Errington, "Aspects of Roman Acculturation in the East under the Republic," in *Alte geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Festschrift für K. Christ zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. K. Christ, P. Kneissl, and V. Losemann; Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges., 1988), 140–57.

[312] Harland, *Associations*, 182 (see 299 n. 4 for the actual epigraphic references). Harland notes further: "the internal organization of many associations and guilds mirrors civic organization, with positions of leadership including secretary (*grammateus*), treasurer (*tamias*), president (*epistatēs*), and superintendent (*epimelētēs*; cf. Poland, *Geschichte*, 376–87)" (*Associations*, 106). Kloppenborg agrees with Edwin Hatch's suggestion that "ἐπίσκοπος…along with ἐπιμελητής was a key title for a financial administrator in associations and in the *polis*. The terms 'elders' (πρεσβύτεροι) and 'bishops' (ἐπίσκοποι) referred to the same persons, but to different roles: as members of the council they would be called πρεσβύτεροι, but as administrators they were ἐπίσκοποι" ("Edwin Hatch," 214).

[313] Kloppenborg explains the socio-political value which *collegia*/*thiasoi* would have held for non-elites: "As a polis writ small, the collegium provided a social setting in which persons who normally could never aspire to participation in the *cursus honorum* of the city and state could give and receive honors, enjoy the ascribed status that came with being a *quinquennalis* or *mater*, have a feeling of control over at least the destiny of the collegium, and enjoy regular banquets" ("Collegia and *Thiasoi*," 26–27).

'imitation as flattery.'"[314] In this respect, political mimicry could simply reflect an impulse fictively to replicate Athenian-style *dēmokratia* within a non-civic context. Second, many inscriptional examples of voluntary associations self-presenting as fictive *poleis* pre-date the rise of Roman hegemony in the Greek East. Thus, since the original rationale for the adoption of civic terminology by voluntary associations was not anti-Roman, the continuation of that practice into the Imperial period need not necessarily reflect anti-Roman sentiments either. If there is any inherent rhetoric of resistance in the mimesis of political institutions by non-civic associations, it would have been directed first and foremost against municipal expressions of oligarchic privilege and social-political hierarchy, rather than against the Roman *imperium*.

3.4. Summary: **Ekklēsia** *and Non-Civic Groups*

There are three extant inscriptions whose non-civic groups designate their semi-public assembly as an *ekklēsia* (*Samos* 119, *IDelos* 1519, *Sinuri* 73). At least one can be dated with confidence to the period of Roman ascendancy (*IDelos* 1519; 153/2 BCE). The use in *Samos* 119 of the collocation *synagō eis ekklēsian* implies a *terminus post quem* for the Samian *aleiphomenoi* of the mid-2nd century BCE and a *terminus ad quem* of the Imperial period. Both of these non-civic groups replicate Athenian-style political terminology (i.e., enactment decree formulae, *ekklēsia*) in garnering socio-political benefits (temple construction, benefaction). Their self-presentation as "cities writ small"

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[314] Richard Ascough, "Voluntary Associations and the Formation of Pauline Christian Communities: Overcoming the Objections," in *Vereine, Synagogen und Gemeinden im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (ed. A. Gutsfeld and D. Koch; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2006), 149–181, esp. 159 n. 47.

does not appear to reflect anti-Roman sentiments or concern over stirring up Roman

suspicion.

4. Conclusion: Part I

My primary focus in Part I was upon examining the way in which the word *ekklēsia* was used in the Greco-Roman world from the 5th century BCE up to, and including, the 2nd century CE. This provides a socio-historical backdrop against which better to understand the socio-political implications that attended those early Christ-followers who designated both their communities and their semi-public assemblies as *ekklēsiai*. I had two primary goals: first, to investigate whether any non-civic group prior to the 1st century CE adopted the word *ekklēsia* as their permanent group identity and, second, to ascertain whether Roman authorities would have viewed the appropriation of *ekklēsia* terminology by a non-civic group as a political threat.

My examination of Greek literary, papyrological, and inscriptional sources did not find evidence of a non-civic group self-designating as an *ekklēsia*. Inscriptional decrees do indicate, though, that some non-civic groups named their semi-public meeting an *ekklēsia*. The unprecedented extent to which I examined *ekklēsia* occurrences in the inscriptional record gives warrant for limiting that number to three non-civic groups: the Tyrian Herakleistai of Delos, the *aleiphomenoi* of Samos, and the *syngeneia* of Pelekōs.

My research is the first to integrate recent scholarship on the political culture of Imperial period Asia Minor for the purpose of understanding the political implications of a non-civic group self-designating as a civic entity, specifically as an *ekklēsia*. It has become clear that, generally, *dēmoi* of Imperial Greek cities had, to a large extent, lost the *kratos* necessary for the formal exercise of classical Athenian *dēmokratia* through their civic *ekklēsiai*. Nevertheless, the civic *ekklēsia* continued to play an important role

in the construction of a political culture, especially in Asia Minor, wherein the influence of the *dēmos* became a positive factor in the spread of oligarchic munificence. This political culture included not only widespread festivals and monumentalism but also a ubiquitous "*ekklēsia* discourse," each of which continued into the 3rd century CE.

Voluntary associations, as a "substantial 'middle,'" became a mediating influence between the *dēmos* and the bouleutic elite through, for example, the establishment of networks of euergetism and patronage and their participation in hierarchically arranged festival processions. Given that voluntary associations frequently adopted political terminology for their organizational structure, without undue negative reaction from the Romans, it seems improbable that, by also self-designating as an *ekklēsia*, such a voluntary association would have raised Roman suspicions, even if in so doing they self-presented as a "city *doubly* writ small," so to speak. It seems more probable, rather, that an *ekklēsia* association would have been perceived as making a positive attempt, albeit an ostentatious one, at integrating themselves into the grass roots "*ekklēsia* discourse" which had sprung up throughout Imperial period Asia Minor.

As far as the extant evidence is concerned, this identity construction step was taken in the 1st century CE by upwards of five groups who self-identified as *ekklēsiai*. I have already identified four groups which could be called a "city *doubly* writ small": the Christ-follower sub-groups named *ekklēsia*, which were associated with Paul, John the Elder (Johannine epistles), John the prophet (Revelation), and Matthew. A fifth group is spoken of in Jewish sources. It is to an investigation of these sources that I now turn.

Part II: *Ekklēsia* **in Jewish Sources**

1. Introduction

Aside from Greco-Roman *ekklēsiai*, Jewish sources are another 'competitor' in the *ekklēsia* identity construction game. There is a long history of *ekklēsia* usage within Jewish Second Temple literature such as the Septuagint (LXX), Philo and Josephus. If the word *ekklēsia* is a Jewish synagogue term, as Anders Runesson, Donald Binder, and Birger Olsson suggest,[315] then synagogue research intersects with three of the questions I ask in this study: (1) Which non-civic group was first in antiquity to adopt *ekklēsia* as a collective identity?; (2) Is an *ekklēsia* group identity expressive of counter-imperial rhetoric?; and (3) Is the adoption of *ekklēsia* as a collective self-designation by an association with Jewish roots (early Christ-followers) reflective of supersessionist ideology?

2. **Ekklēsia** *and Synagogue Terminology in the 1ˢᵗ Century CE*

Synagogue research has come of age to such a degree in the last twenty-five years that Lee Levine characterizes the results of that research as a "deluge of synagogue-related material."[316] The breadth and depth of this "synagogue-related material" brought Levine to revise and update his seminal study a scant five years later.[317]

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[315] Anders Runesson, Donald Binder, and Birger Olsson, *The Ancient Synagogue from its Origins to 200 C.E.: A Source Book* (AJEC 72; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 159–63, 328.

[316] Lee Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (2d ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), ix. Two seminal contributors to synagogue research include Ishmar Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* (trans. R. P. Scheindlin; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1993) and Samuel Krauss, *Synagogale Altertumer* (Berlin-Wien: Benyamin Harz, 1922).

[317] Lee Levine's first edition of *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* was published in 2000 (New Haven: Yale University Press). Examples of the "deluge of synagogue-related material" include: (1) three edited volumes of essays: Dan Urman and Paul V. M. Flesher, eds., *Ancient Synagogues: Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1995); Stephen Fine, ed., *Jews,*

2.1. History of Synagogue Scholarship

This plethora of publications has come to challenge many long-held assumptions about the ancient "synagogue."[318] Years prior to Levine's book, Dan Urman and Paul Flesher already noted that synagogue studies were undergoing more than one paradigm shift; they claimed that "many paradigms are shifting."[319] Cross-disciplinary paradigm shifts are taking place through the emergence of new evidence for synagogue

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Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue: Cultural Interaction during the Graeco-Roman Period (London: Routledge, 1999); Birger Olsson and Magnus Zetterholm, eds., *The Ancient Synagogue from its Origins until 200 C.E. Papers Presented at an International Conference at Lund University, October 14–17, 2001* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003); (2) ten comprehensive monographs: Rachel Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Diaspora* (Handbuch der Orientalistik I; NMO 35; Leiden: Brill, 1998); idem, *Ancient Synagogues—Archaeology and Art: New Discoveries and Current Research* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Stephen Fine, *This Holy Place: On the Sanctity of the Synagogue during the Greco-Roman Period* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997); Donald Binder, *Into the Temple Courts: The Place of the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period* (Atlanta: SBL, 1999); Levine, *Ancient Synagogue* (2005); Anders Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-Historical Study* (ConBNT 37; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2001); Carsten Claußen, *Versammlung, Gemeinde, Synagoge: Das hellenistisch-judischen Umfelt der fruchristlichen Gemeinden* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002); Harland, *Associations* (2003); David Milson, *Art and Architecture of the Synagogue in Late Antique Palestine: In the Shadow of the Church* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Stephen K. Catto, *Reconstructing the First-Century Synagogue: A Critical Analysis of Current Research* (LNTS 363; London: T&T Clark, 2007); and (3) a number of specialized studies: Martin Hengel, "Proseuche und Synagoge: Jüdische Gemeinde, Gotteshaus und Gottesdienst in der Diaspora und in Palästina," in *The Synagogue: Studies in Origins, Archaeology and Architecture* (ed. J. Gutmann; New York: Ktav, 1975; originally published in *Traditum und Glaube. Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt. Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn sum 65 Geburtstag* [ed. G. Jeremias, H.-W. Kuhn, and H. Stegemann; Göttingen: VandenHoeck & Ruprecht, 1971]); Howard Clark Kee, "The Transformation of the Synagogue after 70 C.E.: Its Import for Early Christianity," *NTS* 36 (1990): 1–24; Richard E. Oster, "Supposed Anachronism in Luke-Acts' Use of ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ: A Rejoinder to Howard Clark Kee," *NTS* 39 (1993): 178–208; J. Gwyn Griffiths, "Egypt and the Rise of the Synagogue, " in *Ancient Synagogues: Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery* (ed. D. Urman and P. V. M. Flesher; New York: Brill, 1995), 1.3–16; Richard A. Horsley, "Synagogues in Galilee and the Gospels," in *Evolution of the Synagogue: Problems and Progress* (ed. H. C. Kee and L. H. Colick; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press, 1999), 46–69; Paul Flesher, "Prolegomenon to a Theory of Early Synagogue Development," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity*, Part III: *Where We Stand: Issues and Debates in Ancient Judaism*. Vol. IV of *The Special Problem of the Synagogue* (ed. A. J. Avery-Peck and J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 27–39; Peter Richardson, *Building Jewish in the Roman East* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2004); Lee Levine, "The 1st Century C.E. Synagogue: Critical Reassessments and Assessments of the Critical," in *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine. Old Questions, New Approaches* (ed. D. R. Edwards; New York: Routledge, 2004), 70–102; Philip Harland, *Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians: Associations, Judeans, and Cultural Minorities* (New York/London: T&T Clark, 2009).

[318] Some well-respected, yet dated, works include W. Schrage, "συναγωγή", *TDNT* 7.797–841; Schürer, *HJP* 2.423–54; and E. M. Meyers, "Synagogues," *ABD* 6.251–60.

[319] Urman and Flesher, eds. *Ancient Synagogues*, 1.xvii.

buildings,[320] the revisiting of old archeological 'facts,'[321] the re-reading of textual

material in light of archaeological discoveries, and the development of debate around

issues such as the origin of the 'synagogue,'[322] the function of the 'synagogue,'[323] and

whether 'synagogues' are to be understood as buildings or gatherings, or both.[324]

Runesson, Binder and Olsson identify four heuristic categories, or "four broad

aspects," for the organization of previous synagogue research, and with which all future

research must engage: spatial, liturgical, non-liturgical, and institutional.[325] Spatial

aspects involve the integration of architectural, artistic and iconographic evidence.

Comparative analyses figure prominently in this respect and include the relationships

between Jewish synagogues and Greco-Roman temples,[326] the temple in Jerusalem,[327]

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[320] In 1998 Ehud Netzer discovered a building in Jericho which he considers to be a synagogue. Anders Runesson agrees, as long as the building is understood as the edifice of an association, not a public, synagogue ("The Origins and Nature of the 1st Century Synagogue," *Bible and Interpretation* [July 2004]; http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/Runesson—1st-Century_Synagogue_1.htm). Lee Levine, who defines synagogues as public institutions, disagrees. Levine argues that it is a Hellenistic-Roman villa ("The 1st Century C.E. Synagogue," 70–102).

[321] The synagogue at Capernaum has been the focus of scholarly debate for almost a century. A key issue revolves around the dating of the limestone synagogue and the black basalt remains underneath. See Anders Runesson, "Architecture, Conflict, and Identity Formation: Jews and Christians in Capernaum from the 1st to the 6th Century," in *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition* [ed. J. Zangenberg, H. Attridge, and D. Martin; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007], 231–57).

[322] See esp. Anders Runesson's comprehensive analysis of the scholarly debate on 'synagogue' origins (*Origins of the Synagogue*, 67–168). See also, H. H. Rowley, *Worship in Ancient Israel: Its Forms and Meaning* (London: S.P.C.K., 1967), 213–45; Heather Mackay, "Ancient Synagogues: The Continuing Dialectic Between Two Major Views," *CurBS* 6 (1998): 103–42; Levine provides an analysis of more recent contributions in "The 1st Century C.E. Synagogue," 70–102; idem, *Ancient Synagogue*, 22–28.

[323] Synagogal functions include: (1) religious activity (e.g., public Torah reading, rituals, festival observance); (2) social aspects such as council meetings, law courts, schools, treasuries (see Horsley, "Synagogues," 46–69; Levine, *Ancient Synagogue* [2005]; Anders Runesson, "Behind the Gospel of Matthew: Radical Pharisees in Post-War Galilee?" *CurTM* 37:6 [December 2010]: 460–71, esp. 463).

[324] Stephen Catto's synagogue study is an example of research in which architectural and communal aspects are integrated (*Reconstructing the First-Century Synagogue* [2007]).

[325] Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 7–10. See also Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 34–35.

[326] Elizabeth Leigh Gibson, *The Jewish Manumission Inscriptions of the Bosporus Kingdom: Release in the Prayer House* (TSAJ 75; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1999), 124–52.

[327] Binder, *Into the Temple Courts* (1999).

Christ-follower house communities,[328] and Greco-Roman voluntary associations.[329] Liturgical aspects are religious activities which took place within early synagogue contexts. Although public reading of Torah is a well-established fact,[330] prayer during early synagogue worship is still a topic of debate.[331] Other questions relative to liturgical practices in the synagogue include whether public fasts and festivals were observed and even how magic and mysticism were integrated.[332] Non-liturgical aspects, also known as social aspects, are communal activities previously considered to be the domain of public municipal institutions such as council halls, treasuries, law courts, public archives, and schools. Levine is the major proponent of understanding ancient synagogues as public institutions.[333] Institutional aspects involve synagogue leadership and operations and

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[328] Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (London/New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); Edward Adams, "First-Century Models for Paul's Churches: Selected Scholarly Developments since Meeks," in *After the First Urban Christians: The Social-Scientific Study of Pauline Christianity Twenty-five Years Later* (ed. T. D. Still and D. G. Horrell; London/New York: T&T Clark International, 2009), 60–78, esp. 63–68, 71–73.

[329] Albert Baumgarten, "Greco-Roman Voluntary Associations and Jewish Sects," in *Jews in a Greco-Roman World* (ed. M. Goodman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 93–111.

[330] Some sources which mention Torah in relation to public readings, teaching, or storage locations in synagogues include: (1) Philo *Somn.* 2.127; *Opif.* 128; *Hypoth.* 7:11-13; *Legat.* 156, 157, 311-313; *Mos.* 2.215-215; *Contempl.* 30-31 (cf. 28); *Prob.* 80-83; (2) Josephus, *B.J.* 2.289-92; *A.J.* 16.43-45, 164; *C. Ap.* 2.175; (3) the New Testament: Mark 1:21, 39; Matt 4:23; 9:35; Luke 4:15, 16-30, 31-33, 44; Acts 9:20; 13:5, 14-16; John 6:59; 18:20; Cf. 1 Tim 4:13.

[331] See Levine's concise survey of scholarly opinion on whether public prayer was known in pre-70 CE Judea (*Ancient Synagogue*, 162–69). Potential references to prayer include those made by Josephus (*A.J.* 14.260; *Vita* 295; *C. Ap.* 1.209), Philo (*Spec.* 3.171), and Matthew (Matt 6:5). Lester Grabbe provides a concise bibliography of research related to prayer and synagogues (*A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period.* Vol. 1: *Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah* [London: T&T Clark, 2004], 1.236–37). See also Rod Werline, *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution* (EJIL 13; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998) and, more recently, Jeremy Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (STDJ 104; Leiden: Brill, 2012).

[332] For example, on festivals see Daniel Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

[333] Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 1–6, 29.

answer two primary questions: is any party in charge of the synagogue (e.g., Pharisees)[334] and what is the role of women in synagogue leadership and benefaction?[335]

Runesson, Binder, and Olsson also identify "two problems related to the ancient synagogues that need to take into account all four areas: the origin and nature of ancient synagogues."[336] Synagogue origins have been sought in every time period from the age of the Patriarchs to the Late Imperial period,[337] and in every region of the Mediterranean, with an eye to identifying which confluence of historical, social, political, economic, and religious factors led to the emergence of "the synagogue." Runesson, Binder, and Olsson succinctly summarize the scholarly perspectives on the 1st century CE "synagogue." They ask if "the synagogue," not simply the term *synagōgē*, is best viewed

> as an informal gathering of people (Kee 1990)? As a public formal gathering, but not in specific purpose built edifices (Horsley 1999)? As a public assembly in a purpose-built edifice (Oster 1993)? Was the Jewish home the primary model giving the synagogue its unique character (Claußen 2002)? Or are we dealing with a semi-public, voluntary association, similar to, or indeed within the same category as the Graeco-Roman *collegia* (Hengel 1971, Richardson 2004, Harland 2003)? Did the synagogue parallel Graeco-Roman temples—but without animal sacrifices (Flesher 2001)? Or was the Jerusalem temple the blueprint for the institution, the latter functioning as a (non-sacrificial) extension of and supplement to the former (Binder 1999)? Did the Egyptian *Per Ankh*, an institution closely related to both temples and associations, stand as a model for the synagogue (Griffiths 1995)? Or should we rather focus on local administration, viewing the first century synagogue as a communal institution with a religious dimension (Levine 2004)? Or again, does the evidence lead us to the conclusion that synagogue terms could

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[334] See, for example, Anders Runesson, "Rethinking Early Jewish–Christian Relations: Matthean Community History as Pharisaic Intragroup Conflict," *JBL* 127/1 (2008): 95–132, esp. 108–110; idem, "Behind the Gospel of Matthew," 463.

[335] Two key contributors are Levine (*Ancient Synagogue*, 499–518) and Bernadette Brooten (*Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue: Inscriptional Evidence and Background Issues* [BJS 36; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982]; idem, "Female Leadership in the Ancient Synagogue," in *From Dura to Sepphoris: Studies in Jewish Art and Society in Late Antiquity* [ed. L. I. Levine and Z. Weiss; Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series, 2000], 215–23). Other contributors include: Binder, *Into the Temple Courts* (1999); Anders Runesson, "Women Leadership in the Early Church: Some Examples and an Interpretive Frame," *STK* 82.4 (2006): 173–83 (in Swedish; English summary); and Harland, *Dynamics of Identity*, 82–86, 95–96.

[336] Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 10.

[337] See Levine's review of synagogue origins scholarship (*Ancient Synagogue*, 21–44).

refer to two types of institutions—both public communal assemblies *and* Jewish voluntary associations—and that, consequently, the meaning of 'synagogue' was still fluid at this time (Runesson 2001)?[338]

In this study I will follow Anders Runesson who integrates two trajectories in his synagogue research: first, that a number of different synagogue terms were used for a gathered community and for the building within which that community gathered, and, second, that this breadth of synagogue terminology was used for two types of institution—the public synagogue and the association synagogue.

2.2. Ekklēsia *in the History of Synagogue Scholarship*

One lacuna in synagogue studies still exists: an analysis of the word *ekklēsia* as a Jewish synagogue term.[339] This possibility was first clearly acknowledged by Donald Binder (1999) and Anders Runesson (2001).[340] It was reiterated in the synagogue sourcebook of Runesson, Binder, and Olsson (2008).[341] In order for this acknowledgment to move to accepted fact, however, a comprehensive analysis is still required of how *ekklēsia* is used within Jewish contexts in reference to a gathered community. My ensuing discussion provides a start in that direction.

When it comes to "synagogue" terminology by which buildings and/or gatherings of Jewish communities are identified, a number of terms, including *ekklēsia*, apply. Anders Runesson notes that "what in English is translated 'synagogue' went under

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[338] Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 11–12. See the Bibliography for the publication information of each scholar cited (Ibid, 295–311).

[339] Levine does not investigate *ekklēsia* as a synagogue term either in the original or revised versions of his book *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*. In her most recent tome, Rachel Hachlili also does not appear to treat the word *ekklēsia* as a synagogue term, at least insofar as the absence of *ekklēsia* references in her subject index would seem to indicate (*Ancient Synagogues—Archaeology and Art: New Discoveries and Current Research* [Leiden: Brill, 2013]).

[340] Binder, *Into the Temple Courts*, 24; Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 171–72, 356–57.

[341] Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, esp. l59–63, 328.

several different names in antiquity," that is, 17 Greek terms, 5 Hebrew terms and 3 Latin

terms, some of which overlap.[342] Architectural space within which Jewish communities

meet is described with terms such as *proseuchē* ("house of prayer"),[343] *didaskaleion*

("school"),[344] *hieron* ("temple" or "sacred place"),[345] *topos* ("place"),[346] *sabbateion*,[347]

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[342] Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 10 n. 21. For a list of all Greek words used of Second Temple synagogues see Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 171–73; idem, "Persian Imperial Politics, the Beginnings of Public Torah Readings, and the Origins of the Synagogue," in *The Ancient Synagogue from its Origins until 200 C.E. Papers Presented at an International Conference at Lund University, October 14–17, 2001* (ConBNT 39; ed. B. Olsson and M. Zetterholm; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003), 63–89, esp. 66. For extensive descriptions of each term as used by Jewish communities, see Binder, *Into the Temple Courts*, 91–151. For primary texts, see the index of synagogue terms in Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 328. For methodological issues, see Anders Runesson, "The Origins of the Synagogue in Past and Present Research—Some Comments on Definitions, Theories, and Sources," *ST* 58 (2004): 60–76.

[343] Evidence from Josephus and Philo suggests that *proseuchē* is used synonymously for some sort of physical structure in which Jews assemble for prayer (Philo) and/or public decision making (Josephus). Philo's comments on the anti-Jewish riots in Alexandria serve as a clear example: "Assembling enormous hordes together, they attacked the prayer halls [*proseuchai*]… Some they smashed, some they rased to the ground, and others they set on fire and burned…" (*Legat*. 132). Josephus mentions *proseuchai* both in Alexandria (*C. Ap*. 2.10; *ASSB*, no. 22) and in Judea (*Vita* 276-81, 294-295; *ASSB* no. 43). In *Vita*, Josephus' *proseuchai* are purpose-built structures for public communal gatherings, not primarily for association-specific gatherings. This is clear from his comment that the *proseuchē* in Tiberias was spacious enough to contain approx. 600 persons into which a large part of the populace as well as the entire *boulē* ("council") of Tiberias (*Vita* 284) gathered (*B.J*. 2.641). Levine comments on the three-fold significance of Josephus' description: (1) this is the only instance of a Judean synagogue being referred to as a *proseuchē*; (2) to date, synagogues of such monumental size are known only from the Diaspora; and (3) it was used socio-politically in a "pivotal communal role" (*Ancient Synagogue*, 53–54). With respect to diasporic synagogues, the first attestation of Egyptian synagogues under the name *proseuchē* comes from the third quarter of the third century BCE (Hengel, "Proseuche und Synagoge," 27–54). In Delos (Aegean Sea), building GD 80 has been identified as a synagogue building used first by Samaritans (3rd and early 2nd cents. BCE) and then by Jews (late 2nd to mid–1st cents. BCE). Two Samaritan honorific inscriptions appear to refer to it as a *proseuchē* (e.g., *IDelos* 2329). The original building consists of a large hall 240 m^2 with a marble colonnade running the length of its front. By the fourth phase of construction (post-88 BCE) it had been expanded to a size of *c*. 870 m^2. See Monika Trümper, "Where the Non-Delians Met in Delos. The Meeting-Places of Foreign Associations and Ethnic Communities in Late Hellenistic Delos," in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age* (ed. O. van Nijf and R. Alston, with the assistance of C. G. Williamson; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 49–100, esp. 61–63. Although Trümper's essay is published in 2011, her research is current only to 2004. See also Trümper, "The Oldest Original Synagogue Building in the Diaspora: The Delos Synagogue Reconsidered," *Hesperia* 73 (2004): 513–98.

[344] Philo indicates that the term *didaskaleion* can be used synonymously with *proseuchē* (*Mos*. 2.214-16). See also, *Spec*. 2.62 ("in every city thousands of schools") and *Dec*. 40 ("the schools of the holy laws") (Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 209).

[345] For example, Philo mentions *ta hiera* ("the temples"; *Deus* 8), which Binder interprets as referring to synagogue buildings (Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 202). *CIJ* 1433 (*JIGRE* 9; 2nd cent. BCE) makes mention of a sacred enclosure, *hieros peribolos*, that was attributed to a synagogue in Ptolemaic Egypt (Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 186). Josephus uses the

bet ha-midrash ("house of study"),[348] *oikos* ("house" or "room")[349] and *synagōgē*

("synagogue").[350] Communal gatherings are referenced by terms such as *syllogos*

("meeting"),[351] *ekklēsia* ("assembly"),[352] *laos* ("people"),[353] *politeuma* ("community"),[354]

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plural morpheme *hierois* to describe "sanctuaries set on fire" by the Romans in Jerusalem (70 CE) (*B.J.* 7.144). The plural form militates against an identification of the *hierois* with the Temple. Runesson, Binder, and Olsson conclude that "a) Josephus used *hieron* to refer to synagogue buildings, and b) that the Romans destroyed many of these assembly places—or 'sanctuaries' as Josephus describes them—during the First Jewish Revolt" (*ASSB*, no. 62).

[346] Josephus (*A.J.*14.259-61) mentions a Roman decree (2nd cent. BCE) in which Jews in Sardis were granted their own area (*topos*) to conduct business and even religious gatherings (e.g., *euchai kai thysiai*). See also *A.J.* 14.235 where a decree of Lucius Antonius (49 BCE) states that Jews "from earliest times…have had a private association [*synodos*] and a place [*topos*] of their own" (*ASSB*, no. 114). Tessa Rajak notes, though, that architectural details for the *topos* are ambiguous and could be either "a synagogue, a plain civic building or even just an outdoor area" ("Synagogue and Community in the Graeco-Roman Diaspora," in *Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities* [ed. J. R. Bartlett; London/New York: Routledge, 2002], 22–38, esp. 29).

[347] In *A.J.*16.162-65, Josephus implies that a *sabbateion* is a structure of some sort. In his report of Augustus' decree of 2–3 CE, Josephus writes "If anyone is caught stealing their holy books or holy monies from a synagogue [*sabbateion*]…he shall be regarded as sacrilegious and his property shall be confiscated to the public treasury of the Romans" (*ASSB*, no. 120). See also David Aune, *Revelation 1–5* (WBC 52A; Dallas: Word Books, 1997), 165.

[348] Runesson notes that "the rabbis and their predecessors, among which surely the Pharisees was one group, was a voluntary association whose institution was the *bet hamidrash*" (*Origins of the Synagogue*, 486). In *m. Ter.* 11:10 the *bet hamidrash* is a building: "They may kindle oil of priest's due, that must be burnt, in the synagogues (*bate knesiot*) and in houses of study (*bate midrashot*) and in dark alleys and for sick people by permission of a priest" (see Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 105; Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 223–34).

[349] Rajak observes that although *oikos* was commonly used among Greco-Roman voluntary associations (e.g., guilds, clubs), "for readers of the Greek Bible, *oikos* carried reverberations, for it operated as the normal translation of the Hebrew *bayit*, a ubiquitous designation for the post-exilic Temple" ("Synagogue and Community," 29–30).

[350] Levine notes that it was not until the 2nd century CE that "'synagogue' had become a universal term for the building in which communal activities were held" (*Ancient Synagogue*, 1). Prior to that time, Levine states that "it is entirely possible that some communities initially met on premises other than a 'synagogue' building or called their central institution by another name" (Ibid, 1). Josephus uses *synagōgē* in reference to a physical structure in *Jewish Wars* (*B.J.* 2.285, 289 [Caesarea]; *B.J.* 7.44 [Antioch]). The only occurrence of the word *synagōgē* in *Antiquities* is in *A.J.* 19.304-305. Therein, Josephus records the response of the Roman governor of Syria to King Agrippa's lobbying attempt on the behalf of the Jews of Dora. In his subsequent decree against the citizenry of Dora, Petronius accuses them of forbidding Jews from assembling in the *synagōgē* (*ASSB*, no. 193). Although the word *synagōgē* is not used by Josephus in his report of Julius Gaius' decree to the people of Parium about the Jews of Delos (*A.J.* 14:213-15), Runesson, Binder, and Olsson claim that Julius Gaius' comments imply the existence of *synagōgē* buildings in Rome during the 1st century BCE (*ASSB*, no. 180). For Josephus' references to synagogue structures or assemblies, see the Sources index in Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 322.

[351] The Greek noun *syllogos* is a sociological term that means "a meeting for a specific purpose, whether for deliberations, consultations, etc. There is some kind of mutual activity." *Syllogos* is not specific to, nor identifying of, any particular socio-religious group (Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient*

and *synagōgē* ("a gathering").[355] Of all synagogue terms, *proseuchē* and *synagōgē* occur

most frequently within Jewish sources.[356] Given the well established usage of *proseuchē*

and *synagōgē*, what would bring a Jewish community to adopt *ekklēsia* terminology

instead? An analysis of their respective semantic domains offers at least one clue.

Synagogue, 201). Regarding the Therapeutae, Philo mentions that they met for a *syllogos* ("general assembly") every seventh day (*Contemp*. 30–33; 30–45 CE).

[352] Runesson, Binder and Olsson claim that Philo uses *ekklēsia* three times in reference to a contemporaneous synagogue entity (*Spec*. 1.324–25, *Deus*. 111, and *Virt*. 108) (*ASSB*, nos. 201, 202, 203, respectively). Ben Sira and Josephus use *ekklēsia* for public gatherings in the land of Israel. The use of *ekklēsia* by all three Jewish authors will be explored later in this chapter.

[353] Runesson comments that, in *CIJ* 776, *laos* "refers to the local community, and not, as the common usage, to the people as a whole" ("Persian Imperial Politics," 66 n. 14).

[354] Josephus speaks of Jews in Alexandria constituting a *politeuma* which in some fashion mirrors Greek governance models (e.g., monarchies, oligarchies; *C. Ap*. 2.164-165; cf. *A.J*. 1.13) and Greek community organizations (*A.J*. 1.5). At least two inscriptions mention a group of Judeans in Egypt who self-identify as *politeuma*. Both are from Berenike in Cyrenaica. *IBerenike* 18 dates to the 1st cent BCE (March 30; = *SEG* 16 (1976), no. 931 = *CJZC* 70). Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg translate *IBerenike* 18 as, "The leaders of the corporate body (*politeuma*) of the Judeans in Berenike resolved to engrave his name in the … and to be free from services (*leitourgia*) of every kind. Likewise they resolved to crown him with an olive crown and wool ribbon at each *synodos* and new moon" (*AGRW*, no. 305). The second inscription from Berenike most likely dates to 24 CE (*IBerenike* 17 = *CJZC* 71 = *IGRR* I 1024). It recounts honours ascribed to a Roman provincial official: "Furthermore in performing his governorship in a useful way for the Judeans of our *politeuma*, both individually and as a group, he never fails to live up to his own noble rank. For these reasons, the leaders and the *politeuma* of Judeans in Berenike decided to praise him, to crown him by name at each gathering and new moon with a crown of olive branches and ribbon, and to have the leaders engrave the decree on a monument of Parian stone which is to be set up in the most prominent place in the amphitheater" (Ibid, 192, no. 306). A distinctive feature of this dedicatory *politeuma* of Judeans is that "it seems that the same group also referred to itself as a 'synagogue' in later decades" (*IBerenike* 16) (Ibid, 192). *IBerenike* 16 (55 CE; = *CZJC* 72 = *SEG* 17 [1977] no 823) reads: "It seemed good to the synagogue of the Judeans in Berenike that they should inscribe on a monument of Parian stone the names of those who contributed toward the restoration of the synagogue (*synagōgē*)" (Ibid, 192). Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg note that "most of the donors are designated by their role as leader (archon), with one designated as a priest. Two of the donors of five drachma are women" (Ibid, 192).

[355] A clear example is found in *CPJ* I.138 (*ASSB*, no. 170), which reads, in part: "at the assembly [*synagōgē*] that took place in the prayer hall [*proseuchē*]." Richardson notes that "*proseuchē* refers to the building and *synagōgē* refers simply to the 'gathering'" (*Building Jewish in the Roman East*, 116).

[356] Levine notes that "Neither of these terms [*proseuchē* and *synagōgē*] was uniquely Jewish, as both were borrowed from pagan culture…[but] certainly by the first century C.E., they had become largely associated with the Jewish community" (*Ancient Synagogue*, 2). Evidence for Greek usage of *synagōgē* is found as early as the 5th cent. BCE in the writings of Thucydides of Athens (*c*. 460–396 BCE). Its basic sense is of a "gathering" or "union" (*Thuc*. II, 18, 3 [Attic ξυναγωγή]) (Schrage, *TDNT* 7.797–852, esp. 798).

Evidence from Josephus and Philo suggests that *proseuchē* is a physical structure within which Jews publicly assemble for prayer, Torah reading (Philo, Josephus)[357] and/or for public decision making (Josephus).[358] Jutta Leonhardt highlights an even more specific role for Alexandrian *proseuchai* in Philo's day. She states that they primarily functioned as locations within which Jews could "show reverence to their benefactors" for their euergetism through the reciprocity of communal "praise and thanksgiving."[359]

Aside from describing "prayer halls," Runesson notes that the word *proseuchē* was also used of structures such as "the temple in Jerusalem,[360] earlier Jewish shrines,[361] and 'synagogues,'[362] in the latter case most frequently in the Diaspora,"[363] particularly in

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[357] See n. 343 within Philo's comments on the Jewish pogrom in Alexandria (*Legat.* 132).

[358] See n. 343 where Josephus attests to the use of the term *proseuchē* in Alexandria (*C. Ap.* 2.10), in Judea (*Vita* 276-81, 294-295), and in Halicarnassus (*A.J.* 14.257-58). Josephus affirms that a Judean *proseuchē* can be used both for political (*Vita* 276-81) and religious activity (*Vita* 294-295). Stephen Catto claims that Josephus' use of the word *proseuchē* in *A.J.* 14.258 does not refer to a building ("Does προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι, in Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews* 14.257-58, Mean 'Build Places of Prayer'?" *JSJ* 35 [2004]: 159–68). For a discussion on the use of *proseuchē* in Acts regarding a structure in Philippi (Acts 16:13, 16), see Catto, *Reconstructing the First-Century Synagogue*, 186–89.

[359] Jutta Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria* (TSAJ 84; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 76, 77. See also Heather A. McKay, *Sabbath and Synagogue: The Question of Sabbath Worship in Ancient Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 67–69, 71–73. Rather than viewing Jewish displays of "praise and thanksgiving" for euergetism as evidence of reverence for living patrons, Susan Sorek argues that the common epigraphic formula "remembered for good" signals a memorial to a deceased donor, particularly in the late antique era (*Remembered for Good: A Jewish Benefaction System in Ancient Palestine* [SWBA 2/5; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2010]).

[360] 1 Macc 7:37; Mark 11:17/Matt 21:13/Luke 19:46.

[361] 1 Macc 3:46. Aryeh Kasher notes that early Hellenistic *synagōgai* in Egypt could be viewed as sacred structures: Arsinöe "already had an organized Jewish community in the early days of the Ptolemaic settlement program as definitely proven by a dedicatory inscription in honour of Ptolemy III Euergetes I and his family from a local synagogue (*CPJ* 3.1532A =*SB*, 8939)…the fact that the synagogue land was marked 'sacred land' is itself illuminating, as the first editor of the papyrus notes. The synagogue was certainly recognized as a holy place [the synagogue land was listed as ἱερὰ γῆ in the Ptolemaic registry] by the authorities along with other sacred sites allotted suitable land and designated as sacred" (*The Alexandrian Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights* [TSAJ 7; rev. ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985], 138).

[362] Philo, *Flacc.* 122; *Legat.* 156. See also n. 343 for two Samaritan honorific inscriptions from Delos (250–175 BCE and 150–50 BCE) which mention the construction and dedication of a *proseuchē* (*IDelos* 2329), which later was used by Jews for their synagogue (1st cent BCE).

[363] Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 429.

Egypt. Philo's *proseuchē* is a regional synonym in Egypt for *synagōgē*.[364] With respect to

Egyptian inscriptions, Levine notes that the word *synagōgē* occurs only once,[365] while

proseuchē does so ten times.[366] The word *proseuchē* is also found four times within

papyri.[367] In every Egyptian source the word *proseuchē* refers to a physical structure.[368] It

is never used as a collective designation for a Jewish community.

The semantic range of *synagōgē* ("assembly"), by contrast, is broader.[369]

Synagōgē is used for: (1) a public village or town assembly in the land of Israel;[370] (2) a

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[364] Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 188. Philo uses *proseuchē* 18 times in his writings (see further in Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art*, 18). An inscription found in the Gabbary section of Alexandria (*JIGRE* 13=*CIJ* 2.1432; 37 BCE[?]) "is one of three existing examples of Egyptian synagogue benefactions made solely by individuals (cf. *JIGRE* 28, 126; Nos. 152, 172)" (Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 186). It reads, in part, "Alypus built the prayer hall [*proseuchē*]." The first attestation of Egyptian synagogue buildings under the name *proseuchē* comes from the third quarter of the third century BCE (Hengel, "Proseuche und Synagoge," 27–54).

[365] *CIJ* 2.1447 (=*JIGRE* 20; 1st cent. BCE–1st cent. CE; *ASSB*, no.146). See Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 83 n. 8, 87 n. 41 and Kasher, *Alexandrian Jews*, 111–14.

[366] The ten *proseuchē* inscriptions from Egypt are: *CIJ* 2.1440 (= *JIGRE* 22; Schedia, 246–221 BCE; *ASSB*, no. 158); *CIJ* 2.1449 (= *JIGRE* 125; lower Egypt, 246–221 BCE; *ASSB*, no. 171); *CIJ* 2.1443 (=*JIGRE* 27; Athribis, 180–145[?] BCE; *ASSB*, no. 151); *CIJ* 1444 (=*JIGRE* 28; Athribis, 180–145[?] BCE; *ASSB*, no. 152); *CIJ* 2.1442 (=*JIGRE* 25 [1422 in Schürer]; Nitriai, 144–116 BCE; *ASSB*, no. 156); *CIJ* 2.1441 (=*JIGRE* 24; Xenephyris, 144–116 BCE; *ASSB*, no.159); *CIJ* 2.1433 (=*JIGRE* 9; Alexandria, 2nd cent. BCE; *ASSB*, no. 143); *CIJ* 2.1432 (=*JIGRE* 13; Alexandria, 36[?] BCE; *ASSB*, no. 144); and *JIGRE* 126 (Alexandria, 36[?] BCE; *ASSB*, no. 172). In Arsinoë–Crocodilopolis in the Fayum, one inscription and two papyrii from the same period also use the word *proseuchē*: *CIJ* III.1532A (=*JIGRE* 117; 246–221 BCE; *ASSB*, no. 150); *CPJ* I.129 (May 11, 218 BCE; *ASSB*, no. 147), and *CPJ* I.134 (late 2nd cent. BCE; *ASSB*, no. 148). A 2nd century CE papyrus from Arsinoë–Crocodilopolis affirms the continued existence of *proseuchai* in that region (*CPJ* 2.432=P.Lond. III 1177; 113 CE). See also the concise discussion by Richardson of all the inscriptions and the two Hellenistic-era papyri (*Building Jewish in the Roman East*, 115–16). For a discussion of *CPJ* 2.432 see Kasher, *Alexandrian Jews*, 138.

[367] *CPJ* I.129, *CPJ* I.134, *CPJ* I.138, *CPJ* II.432. See Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 83 n. 10; *ASSB* nos. 147, 148, 170, 149, respectively.

[368] A clear example is found in *CPJ* I.138 (*ASSB*, no. 170). It reads, in part, "at the assembly [*synagōgē*] that took place in the prayer hall [*proseuchē*]." Levine states that the most common type of *proseuchē* inscription is the dedicatory type (*Ancient Synagogue*, 83). For example, "On behalf of king Ptolemy and queen Berenice his sister and wife and their children, the Jews [dedicated] the *proseuchē*" (*CIJ* 2.1440=*JIGRE* 22; Schedia, 246–221 BCE; *ASSB*, no. 158).

[369] Graham Twelftree provides an assessment of 1st century CE synagogues in light of archeological, inscriptional, and literary sources ("Jesus and the Synagogue," in *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus* [4 vols; ed. T. Holmen and S. E. Porter; Leiden: Brill, 2011], 3105–3134).

[370] Public synagogues existed only where Jews were in charge of town and city administration (cf. *m. Ned*. 5:5). Some of the functions of public synagogues are those "that contemporary western culture would regard as more properly belonging to municipal institutions. These included council halls, law

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type of voluntary association,[371] that is, a semi-public assembly of Jews, both in Israel

and in the diaspora;[372] and (3) a building in which an assembly of Jews meets.[373] The

term *synagōgē*, then, can refer both to a physical structure and to the temporary group

designation of Jews while gathered within that physical structure. The term *synagōgē* is

not used: (1) as a permanent group identity after the meeting of the *synagōgē* disbands; or

(2) as a name for the meeting convened by the *synagōgē*. It took until the Roman period

for *synagōgē* "to be largely associated with Jews and with the practice of Judaism."[374]

Understanding the semantic domain of *synagōgē* in Jewish usage does little to

explain the types of activity which took place within the *synagōgē* during the gathering of

the *synagōgē*. Runesson states that the institutional origins of the Jewish *synagōgē* appear

to be the "supra-local and official institution [that began]…when public torah readings

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courts, schools, treasuries, and public archives" (Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 8; see primary sources cited on p. 8 n. 17). But Runesson notes that public synagogues also included religious elements: "since religion was not thought of as separate from other spheres of society, including politics, Torah was read publicly and discussed on Sabbaths" (Runesson, "Behind the Gospel of Matthew," 463). Leadership of a public synagogue was not dominated by one specific group such as Pharisees or 'early rabbis,' not even after Temple destruction in 70 CE. Runesson states that "individuals and groups could use public meetings to promote their own understanding of religious traditions and Jewish law, and how they should be implemented in contemporary society" ("Rethinking Early Jewish–Christian Relations," 112).

    [371] See nn. 30, 210 for Philip Harland's definition of associations (*Dynamics of Identity*, 27–28).

    [372] For examples of semi-public association synagogues, see n. 12.

    [373] Archaeological finds at Gamla, Herodium, Masada, Modi'in, Qumran, and, perhaps, Capernaum have been suggested as possible synagogue buildings in pre-70 CE Israel (Twelftree, "Jesus and the Synagogue," 3110; on the Capernaum synagogue, see esp. Runesson, "Architecture, Conflict, and Identity Formation," 231–57). The use of *synagōgē* as an unequivocal reference to a building is also found in inscriptions that predate the Temple's destruction in 70 CE. The most notable of these are: (1) the Theodotus *synagōgē* dedication in Jerusalem (*CIJ* II 1404; See John Kloppenborg's refutation of Kee's argument for a post-70 date ["Dating Theodotus (*CIJ* II 1404)," *JJS* (51.2): 243–80]); and (2) the three public inscriptions from Berenike (Cyrenaica) (*CJZC* 70–72; cf. B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives: répertoire des dédicaces grecques relatives à la construction et à la réfection des synagogues* [CRB 7; Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1967], 100). Tessa Rajak notes that the latter of the three inscriptions from Berenike (i.e., *CJZC* 72) "is interesting in featuring the two senses of *synagogue* in close proximity in its opening phrase, first as the community responsible for the resolution which is being recorded and then in connection with the furnishing donated by the honorands (*episkeue tēs synagōgēs*)" ("Synagogue and Community," 32).

    [374] Rajak, "Synagogue and Community," 26.

were first initiated" during the Persian period (e.g., Artaxerxes I).[375] This Persian period public institution appears to presage the public synagogues in the Land during the 1st century CE. These synagogues are depicted as being open to all Jews of a particular region and among whom civic, administrative, social and religious activities occurred.[376]

Semi-public synagogue associations did not develop until the Late Hellenistic period with the rise of "non-official institutions [voluntary associations] dedicated to communal reading and study of torah."[377] These synagogue associations, with their restricted memberships, were modeled after the "general pattern of the *thiasoi* or *collegia* [voluntary associations] of the Graeco-Roman world."[378]

2.3. Summary: **Ekklēsia** *and Synagogue Scholarship*

Of the numerous synagogue terms used by Second Temple Jews, two predominate: *proseuchē* and *synagōgē*. *Proseuchē* only refers to a structure within which a Jewish community meets. *Synagōgē* is used both of a structure and of the community which meets within that structure. *Ekklēsia* does not ever refer to a physical structure. This would have made *ekklēsia* an attractive term for any community which wished to avoid having their collective membership either identified with, or terminologically tied to, a specific structural location. The question still to be investigated is whether, in Jewish

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[375] Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 479.

[376] In his survey of 1st century CE sources, Levine notes that the *synagōgē* building was used for "the entire gamut of [public] activities connected with any Jewish community…[such] as a courtroom, school, hostel, a place for political meetings, social gatherings, housing charity funds, a setting for manumissions, meals (sacred or otherwise), and, of course, a number of religious-liturgical functions" (*Ancient Synagogue*, 29).

[377] Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 479–80.

[378] Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 480. For an extensive investigation of Greco-Roman voluntary associations, see Onno van Nijf (*The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* [DMAHA XVII; Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1997]). For a list of scholarly resources relative to understanding the *ekklēsiai* of early Christ-followers as a Greco-Roman voluntary association see Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 480 n. 57. See also the list by Kloppenborg cited in n. 786.

circles, *ekklēsia* functioned as a designation for a public institution, for a semi-public

meeting, and/or for the group self-designation of a Jewish voluntary association.

3. **Ekklēsia** *and Public Jewish Assemblies*

Runesson's argument for the existence of two types of synagogue communities (public and semi-public) forms a helpful interpretive grid through which to examine *ekklēsia* usage in Jewish sources. In this section I explore *public* Jewish assemblies called *ekklēsiai*. In the following section I will examine if any *semi-public* Jewish synagogue associations self-identified as *ekklēsiai*.

3.1. The Septuagint (LXX) (Hellenistic Era)

The earliest reference within Jewish literature to an *ekklēsia* is found in the LXX. Therein, it refers both to the ancient supra-local community known as Israel and to gatherings of its people. There are two words for "assembly" in the Hebrew Bible, *qāhāl*[379] and *'ēdâ*,[380] with the LXX translating only *qāhāl* as *ekklēsia*.[381] *Qāhāl* is used predominantly for assemblies of various kinds, including of the people of Israel. It can refer either to a meeting or collectively to those who are meeting ("congregation").[382] The

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[379] *BDB* states that the noun קָהָל occurs 123 times ("קהל," 874b/6951). Heinz-Josef Fabry gives the number as 122 times ("קָהָל," *TDOT* 12.546–61, esp. 549).

[380] There are 149 occurrences of עֵדָה in the HB (*BDB* 417a; "עֵדָה," *HALOT* 2.789–90).

[381] Andries du Toit provides a helpful summary of the conclusions that can be reached from the lexical data on these two Hebrew words ("*Paulus Oecumenicus*: Interculturality in the Shaping of Paul's Theology," *NTS* 55 [2009]: 121–143).

[382] Fabry claims קָהָל is never used of groups of animals or things (*TDOT* 12:546–61, esp. 550). Examples of where קָהָל is used for assemblies include: assemblies of the people of God (Deut 23:2ff; 1 Chron 28:8; Neh 13:1; Micah 2:5), of prophets (1 Kgs 19:20) and of a mob (Sir. 26:5). Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner cite three primary categories: a contingent or assembly, including the congregation assembled for worship, the post-exilic cultic community, and miscellaneous meanings such as "crowd" and "angelic assembly" ("קָהָל," *HALOT* 3.1078–80). *BDB* divides the semantic domain of קהל in two ("קהל", 874b/6951, noun masc.): "*assembly* specially convened" and "*congregation*, as organized body." The meaning of קהל as *assembly* is subdivided into four categories: (a) for evil counsel: Gen 49:6; Ps 26:5; Prov 5:14; 26:26; Job 30:28; (b) for war or invasion: Num 22:4; Judg 20:2; 21:5, 8; 1 Sam 17:47; Ezek 16:40; 17:17; 23:24; 32:3; 38:4, 7, 15(+8x); Jer 50:9; (c) company of returning exiles: Jer 31:8; Ezra 2:64 (=Neh 7:66); (d) for religious purposes, to hear words of the LORD at Horeb: Deut 5:19; 9:10; 10:4;

primary referent for *'ēdâ* appears more consistently to be the people who are

assembled.[383] The word *'ēdâ* is regularly used of the people of Israel in the wilderness,[384]

but *qāhāl* and *'ēdâ* "can in fact be used with no real difference in meaning."[385]

18:16; word of Jeremiah: Jer 26:17; 44:15; for feasts, fasts and worship: 2 Chron 20:5; 30:25(2x); Neh 5:13; Job 2:16; Ps 22:23, 26(+4x); 107:32; 2 Chron 30:13; 1 Kgs 8:65 (=2 Chron 7:8); 2 Chron 20:14. *BDB* also subdivides the meaning of קהל as *congregation* into four categories: (a) of Israel: Exod 12:6; 16:3; Num 14:5; 16:3; 20:4; Deut 23:2, 3(2x); 4(2x); 9; 31:30; Lev 4:13, 14, 21(+8x); 16:17, 33; Josh 8:35; 1 Kgs 8:14(2x), 22, 55; (=2 Chron 6:3(2x); 12, 13; 12:3; 1 Chron 13:2, 4(+12x); 28:8; Neh 13:1; Lam 1:10; Mic 2:5; (b) restored community in Jerusalem: Ezra 10:8, 12, 14; Neh 8:2, 17; Ps 149:1; (c) of angels: Ps 89:6; (d) more generally: company, assembled multitude: Gen 28:3; 35:11; 48:4; Prov 21:16. To the category of *congregation of Israel* I would add 2 Chron 1:3 ("Then Solomon, and the whole assembly with him (*kōl haqāhāl*), went to the high place that was at Gibeon") and 2 Chron 31:18 ("the genealogical enrollment [of the priests] included all their little children, their wives, their sons and their daughters, for the whole assembly [*lĕkāl qāhāl*], for they consecrated themselves faithfully in holiness"). One wonders if the LXX translator reflects a patriarchal theological *tendenz* in his translation of this *qāhāl* (2 Chron 31:18), which includes women and children, with *plēthos* ("multitude," "number") rather than with *ekklēsia*.

[383] Koehler and Baumgartner note that the majority of עֵדָה occurrences refer to the "national, legal and cultic communities" with some referring to a throng or gang or to a family or friendship circle (*HALOT* 3.1079). *BDB* ("עדה," 417a/5712, noun fem.) defines עדה as meaning "congregation." Three basic categories of "congregation" are noted: "*congregation* [of people, other than Israel]," "*of animals*," and "*elsewhere of Israel*." The meaning of עדה as *congregation of people* includes: (a) *congregation of Ēl*, of company of angels: Ps 82:1; (b) *congregation of peoples*: Ps 7:8; (c) *congregation of the righteous*: Job 16:7; Ps 111:1; Prov 5:14 (both עדה and קהל occur); (c) in a negative sense, *company of evil doers*: Job 15:34; Ps 22:17; 86:14; (d) *company of Korah*: Num 16: 5, 6, 11, 16; 17:5; 26:9, 10; 27:3; Ps 106:17. The meaning of עדה as *congregation of animals* is found in Ps 68:31 (fig. of nobles) and Judg 14:8 (bees). The meaning of עדה as *congregation of Israel* includes: (a) the *congregation of Israel* generally: Hos 7:12; 1 Kgs 8:5 (=2 Chron 5:6); 12:20; Jer 6:18; 30:20; Ps 74:2 and (b) in a technical sense for the *congregation of Israel* of the Exodus (115x). Phrases include: עדה יהוה: Num 27:17; 31:16; Josh 22:16, 17; עדה ישראל: Exod 12:3, 6, 19, 47; Lev 4:13; Num 16:9; 32:4; Josh 22:18, 20; עדה בני ישראל: Exod 16:1, 2, 9, 10; 17:1; 35:1, 4, 20; Lev 16:5; 19:2; Num 1:2, 53; 8:9, 20; 13:26; 14:5, 7; 15:25, 26; 17:6; 19:9; 25:6; 26:2; 27:20; 31:12; Josh 18:1; 22:12; העדה: Lev 8:4(+29x); כל־העדה: Lev 8:3(+33x); נשׂיאי העדה (*princes of the congregation*) Exod 16:22; Num 4:34; 16:2; 31:13; 32:2; Josh 9:15, 18; 22:30; כל־הנשׂאים בעדה: Exod 34:31; זקני העדה (*elders of the congregation*): Lev 4:15; ראשׁי אבות העדה: Num 31:26.

[384] For example, Exod 16:1; 17.1; Num 1:2, 18.

[385] I. Howard Marshall, "New Wine in Old Wine-Skins: V. The Biblical Use of the Word 'Ekklēsia,'" *ExpT* 84 (1972–73): 359. See also, J. Y. Campbell, *'The Origin and Meaning of the Christian Use of the Word ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ,' Three New Testament Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 44–45. While both *qāhāl* and *'ēdâ* are used as a collective identity (ongoing and temporary) for the people of religio-ethnic Israel, when reference is made to an assembly of people, the word *qāhāl* predominates.

Notwithstanding overlap in the semantic domains of *qāhāl* and *'ēdâ*, the LXX

uses *ekklēsia* to translate only *qāhāl*,[386] while *synagōgē* translates both *qāhāl*[387] and

'ēdâ.[388] In total, *ekklēsia* occurs 103 times in the LXX[389] and *synagōgē*, 221 times.[390]

The LXX does not use the word *synagōgē* for a place of meeting (i.e., synagogue

building), unlike some later Jewish sources (e.g., *CIJ* II 1404; the Theodotus

synagōgē).[391] While *synagōgē* predominantly means the whole congregation of Israel, it

has at least four other referents: (1) a local congregation; (2) a formal assembly/meeting;

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[386] The noun קָהָל is translated as ἐκκλησία 68 times. The noun עֵדָה is never translated as ἐκκλησία (Fabry, *TDOT* 12:546–61, esp. 561). In the four cases where *ekklēsia* translates lexemes other than *qāhāl*, K. L. Schmidt notes that the morphemes are Hebrew equivalents from the stem *qhl*: 1 Kgs 19:20/1 Sam 19:20 (לְהָקָה), Neh 5:7 (קְהִלָּה), Ps 25:12/26:12 (מַקְהֵלִים), and Ps 67:27/68:27 (מַקְהֵלוֹת) ("ἐκκλησία," *TDNT*, 3.501–34, esp. 520). Regarding the morpheme לְהָקָה Schmidt states that "the same radicals are found in a different sequence. Either we are to assume that this is also a derivative of קהל or it may be that we have dittography in relation to לָקַחַת, which comes shortly before" (*TDNT* 3.520).

[387] The noun קָהָל is translated as συναγωγή 36 times. Of the 23 occurrences of קָהָל in Genesis–Numbers it is never translated by ἐκκλησία, but rather always by συναγωγή. (Fabry, *TDOT* 12:561). One example of קָהָל being translated both as ἐκκλησία and συναγωγή is found in LXX Ps 39:9, 10, respectively (HB Ps 40:10, 11). Therein, the two occurrences of the Hebrew phrase קָהָל רָב are rendered as ἐκκλησία μεγάλη (39:10) and συναγωγὴ πολλή (39:11). See Schrage, *TDNT* 7.797–852, esp. 802.

[388] Fabry notes that "with few exceptions *'ēdâ* is indeed generally rendered as *synagōgē* 132 times." Two exceptions are ἐπισύστασις (11x) and πληθός (4x) (*TDOT* 12:561). Schrage lists other Greek words which translate עֵדָה. Some examples are Ἰσραηλ (Num 4:34), υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ (Num 3:7), συστροφή (Judg 14:8a) and παρεμβολή (Num 17:11) (*TDNT* 7:803).

[389] The number of occurrences of ἐκκλησία per book in the LXX are: Deuteronomy (9); Joshua (2); Judges (6); 1 Samuel (2); 1 Kings (4); 1 Chronicles (8); 2 Chronicles (24); Ezra (5); Nehemiah (6); Judith (4); 1 Maccabees (5); Psalms (10); Proverbs (1); Job (1); Sirach (13); Micah (1); Joel (1); Lamentations (1). The Psalms of Solomon (10:6) adds the only other occurrence of ἐκκλησία within the corpus of Jewish writings prior to the turn of the Common Era. Out of this total of 104 ἐκκλησία occurrences, only 2 are in the plural (LXX Ps 25:12, 67:27).

[390] Schrage, *TDNT* 7.798–852, esp. 803. A little more than half of the total occurrences of συναγωγή (221) translate עֵדָה (132). Altogether, 20 of the 221 occurrences of *synagōgē* in the LXX translate 16 different Hebrew words other than *qāhāl* and *'ēdâ* (Schrage, *TDNT* 7.802).

[391] See n. 373 on archaeological evidence for buildings called *synagōgē* used by Jews.

(3) a gathering of many sorts;[392] and (4) Jacob and his progeny who, as *synagōgai ethnōn*

("gatherings of nations"), are assured of spreading throughout the earth.[393] This last usage

by the diasporic translator(s) may be ideological in nature. If the readers of the LXX saw

in the phrase *synagōgai ethnōn* a veiled reference to their own *synagōgai* which had

spread throughout the diasporic world of the *ethnōn*, then these diasporic Jews could have

viewed themselves as being the fulfillment of God's original promise to their patriarchal

namesake ("Israel").[394] There is also at least one instance in the LXX in which it seems

that *ekklēsia* is used ideologically as a group designation. The translator of 2 Chronicles

appears syntactically to infer that only Judah, and not Israel, is *hē ekklēsia*.[395]

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[392] Some examples cited by Schrage include the "collecting" of revenues (Sir. 31:3), a "bringing in" of the harvest (Exod 34:22, cf. 23:16), a "gathering" of young men (Jer 6:11), and the "gathering" of a diverse array of items such as a pile of stones (Job 8:17) and water (Lev 11:36) (*TDNT* 7.802–805).

[393] LXX Genesis translationally differentiates the three occurrences of *qāhāl* within the divine promise to make Jacob/Israel into a *qāhāl* of *'amim/goyim* (Gen 28:3; 35:11; 48:4) from the fourth occurrence, which refers only to an assembly for counsel (Gen 49:6). Within Genesis, the translator(s) only uses *synagōgē* to translate the *qāhāl* of *'amim/goyim*. He/they substitute *boulē* for the *qāhāl* of counsel in Gen 49:6. Interestingly, in Gen 28:3, 35:11, and 48:4, the translator revises the singular *qāhāl* to read the plural *synagōgai*, and uses only *ethnōn* to translate the two Hebrew words *'amim* and *goyim*.

[394] Viewing diasporic synagogue communities as being part of God's original plan for Israel's progeny would be particularly comforting theology to those diasporic Jews for whom life in the Diaspora was perceived as evidence of divine punishment, even abandonment. Donald Verseput claims that there was a prevalent notion within Second Temple Judaism that "the very existence of the Jewish Diaspora was . . . evidence of divine displeasure from which only national repentance and divine mercy could bring relief" ("Genre and Story: The Community Setting of the Epistle of James," *CBQ* 62/1 [2000]: 96–110, esp. 100). He identifies a sub-genre of Jewish epistolary literature that developed in order to comfort and call diasporic Jews to holy living. He calls it a "Covenant Letter to the Diaspora." He suggests five exemplars: Jer 29:1-23; The Epistle of Jeremiah; 2 Macc 1:1-9; 1:10–22:18; *2 Baruch* 78–86, and the epistle of James (Ibid, 101). I will suggest a sixth, Rev 1:9–22:21, in Part III on usages of the word *ekklēsia* in early Christ-follower sources.

[395] The implicit identification only of Judah, and not of Israel, as *hē ekklēsia* is evident in the appositional construction in LXX 2 Chron 30:24. It reads, ὅτι Εζεκιας ἀπήρξατο τῷ Ιουδα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ("For Hezekiah set apart for Judah, even the congregation"). In the next verse (30:25), the Chronicler applies the term *ekklēsia* to Judah in contradistinction to other Israelites: καὶ ηὐφράνθη πᾶσα ἡ ἐκκλησία, οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐκκλησία Ιουδα καὶ οἱ εὑρεθέντες ἐξ Ισραηλ καὶ οἱ προσήλυτοι οἱ ἐλθόντες ἀπὸ γῆς Ισραηλ καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ιουδα ("And all the congregation, the priests, and the Levites rejoiced, and all the congregation of Judah, and they that were present of Jerusalem, and the strangers that came from the land of Israel, and those dwelling in Judah").

There are at least four ways in which the word *ekklēsia* is differentiated from *synagōgē* in the LXX. While *synagōgē* translates *qāhāl* throughout Genesis–Numbers, *ekklēsia* does not do so until LXX Deut 4:10.[396] Second, while both words can be used of a collective identity, *ekklēsia* far outnumbers *synagōgē* when referring to gatherings of people. Third, when referring to a "gathering," *ekklēsia* does so only of people, not of animals or items. Fourth, *ekklēsia* occurs with a greater number of locutions tied to God or to God's people.[397] This semantic flexibility in the word *ekklēsia* suggests its functionality as a group designation and/or as a meeting name for God's people, the Jews.

3.2. Public Assemblies in Hellenistic-Era Judea (Judith, 1 Maccabees, Ben Sira)

3.2.1. Ekklēsia *in Judith*

The book of Judith, which ostensibly recounts 8th century BCE events, makes mention of an *ekklēsia*. This *ekklēsia* is presented as a specially constituted assembly of Jews during a time of national emergency (6:16, 21; 7:29; 14:6).[398] It purportedly

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[396] Deut 4:10 includes the phrase "the day of the assembly" (τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας) when referring to the day when Israel gathered to hear God speak at Mount Horeb. See also Deut 9:10 and 18:16. There are textual variations in Deut 9:10. For example, the Göttingen edition omits τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας at the end of the verse.

[397] When referencing God, examples of *ekklēsia* phraseology in the LXX include: "the assembly of God" (Neh 13:1; MSS S and L read κυρίου instead of ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ); "the assembly of the Lord" (Deut 23:1, 2, 3[2x], 8; 1 Chron 28:8; Mic 2:5), and "the assembly of the Most High" (Sir 24:2). The phrase "in the assembly of holy ones" (ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἁγίων) is found in Ps 88:6, wherein ἅγιοι means angels. *Ekklēsia* is used of an assembly for worship in Ps 21:23, 26. When referencing God's people, examples of *ekklēsia* phraseology include: "all the assembly of Israel" (Deut 31:30; 3 Kgs 8:14, 22, 55, 65; 1 Chron 13:2, 4; 2 Chron 6:3[2x], 12, 13; 7:8; 10:3; 1 Macc 4:59; Sir 50:13); "all the assembly of the sons of Israel" (Josh 8:35; Sir 50:20); "the assembly of the people of God" (Judg 20:2); "all the assembly of Judah" (2 Chron 23:3; 30:24, 25); "the assembly in Jerusalem" (2 Chron 30:2; 1 Macc 14:19); "the assembly of faithful [soldiers]" (1 Macc 3:13); and "the assembly of the people" (Jdt 14:6).

[398] The four passages in Judith read: (6:16) καὶ συνεκάλεσαν πάντας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς πόλεως, καὶ συνέδραμον πᾶς νεανίσκος αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ("They called together all the elders of the town, and all their young men and women ran to the assembly"); (6:21) καὶ παρέλαβεν αὐτὸν Οζιας ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς οἶκον αὐτοῦ ("Uzziah took him [Achior] from the assembly to his own home"); (7:29) ἐγένετο κλαυθμὸς μέγας ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάντων ὁμοθυμαδόν ("Then great and general lamentation arose throughout the assembly"); (14:6) ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν καὶ εἶδεν τὴν κεφαλὴν

included "all their young men and women" (6:21). The author's identification of this

assembly as an *ekklēsia* is anachronistic, not least since the original Athenian *ekklēsia* did

not come into existence until two centuries later. Given that Judith was composed

sometime during the Hasmonean period,[399] the ostensible *ekklēsia* of the 8th century BCE

Israelites has two potential models: either Greek *ekklēsiai* of the Hellenistic period or a

Hasmonean-era public synagogue assembly in Judea named *ekklēsia*. The latter option

seems preferable; unlike Greek *ekklēsiai*, Judith's *ekklēsia* allows women to participate

(6:16). This egalitarian motif is also the case in the public Jewish *ekklēsiai* described in

two other Hasmonean-era literary works: 1 Maccabees and Sirach.

3.2.2. Ekklēsia *in 1 Maccabees*

The occasional nature of Judith's *ekklēsia* is consistent with the *ad hoc* nature of

the *ekklēsiai* mentioned in the Hasmonean-era literary work known as 1 Maccabees.[400]

Two of the five *ekklēsia* usages in 1 Maccabees (1 Macc 5:16; 14:19) refer to an

occasional, public, religio-political assembly convened by the Maccabees.[401]

Ολοφέρνου ἐν χειρὶ ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ λαοῦ ("When [Achior] came [from the house of Uzziah] and saw the head of Holofernes in the hand of one of the men in the assembly of the people").

[399] Majority opinion places the compositional date of Judith "in the Maccabean era (in a broad sense)" (Benedikt Otzen, *Tobit and Judith* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002], 132). Both the *terminus a quo* and *ad quem* of Judith is said to be the time during which the *gerousia* existed in Judea. It is first mentioned in the charter of Antiochus III (*c*. 200 BCE) and later disbanded by the Romans in favour of a *boulē* (Ibid, 133). See Otzen for a list of scholars who date Judith either to the pre-Maccabean (post-300, *c*. 200, or *c*. 180 BCE), the Maccabean or early Hasmonean (167–*c*. 110 BCE; majority opinion), or to mid- to late Hasmonean or early Roman, periods (minority view) (Ibid, 132).

[400] The compositional date of 1 Maccabees lies somewhere between the rule of John Hyrcanus I (134–104 BCE) and the desecration of the Temple by Pompeii (63 BCE) (Harold Attridge, "Historiography," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* [CRINT II; ed. M. E. Stone; Assen/Philadelphia: Van Gorcum/Fortress Press, 1984], 157–84, esp. 157).

[401] 1 Macc 5:16 and 14:19, respectively, read as follows: ἐπισυνήχθη ἐκκλησία μεγάλη ("a great assembly was called") and καὶ ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐνώπιον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν Ιερουσαλημ ("And these were read before the assembly in Jerusalem"). The other three *ekklēsia* occurrences in 1 Maccabees are found in

The first such assembly is called an *ekklēsia megalē* (1 Macc 5:16).[402] Jonathan

Goldstein questions the authenticity of the phrase. He states that since "Judas and his

band were outlaws and were probably regarded as such by the high priest and the national

Council of Elders…it is best not to render the Greek by words which imply the meeting

of a fully constituted body."[403] Goldstein does not explain, however, why the phrase

ekklēsia megalē need necessarily suggest a "fully constituted body." Its absence in the

Greek inscriptional record until the Late Antique period, where it is used only of purpose-

built structures for Christ-follower meetings,[404] suggests that the author of 1 Maccabees

does not intend, thereby, a reference to a pre-existing Greco-Roman political institution.

He may, however, intend an allusion to a Jewish *ekklēsia megalē*, one which did

comprise a "fully constituted body." That Greek phrase occurs five other times in the

LXX. In two of the historical books, *ekklēsia megalē* simply refers to the large (*megalē*)

gathering of people at the dedication of the Solomonic Temple (LXX 3 Kgs 8:65; LXX 2

Chron 7:8).[405] 1 Macc 5:16 may also be using it in the same sense—"a greatly attended

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2:56 (Χαλεβ ἐν τῷ μαρτύρασθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ; "Caleb, because he testified in the assembly"), 3:13 (καὶ ἐκκλησίαν πιστῶν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ; "including a body of faithful soldiers who stayed with him"), and 4:59 (καὶ ἔστησεν Ιουδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐκκλησία Ισραηλ; "Then Judas and his brothers and all the assembly of Israel determined").

[402] 1 Macc 5:16 reads in full: "When Judas and the people heard these messages, a great assembly was called (ἐπισυνήχθη ἐκκλησία μεγάλη) to determine what they should do for their kindred [in Galilee and Gilead] who were in distress and were being attacked by enemies."

[403] Jonathan Goldstein, *1 Maccabees* (AB 41; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 299.

[404] There are six extant examples of *ekklēsia megalē* within the inscriptional record. All are Late Antique Christian references: *Inscr. Aeg. Thrace* 390 (Thrace, Paisoulai-Maximianoupolis; 6th cent. CE?); *SEG* 38:1856 (Egypt or Nubia; post-474/491 CE); *Asdracha, Inscr. Byz.* (AD 49/50A) 281,112 (Thrace, Hadrianopolis [Edirne]; 575–577 CE); *SEG* 44:588 (Thrace, Hadrianopolis [Edirne]; 576–577 CE); *IEph* 1373 (Ionia, found at Ephesos; fragments of a Christian text referring to the Church of John; n/d); *Miletos* 629 (Ionia, Miletos; a building inscription for the church of the archangel Michael; 602/606 CE).

[405] LXX 3 Kgs 8:65 reads, καὶ ἐποίησεν Σαλωμων τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ πᾶς Ισραηλ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἐκκλησία μεγάλη ("So Solomon held the festival at that time, and all Israel with him—a great assembly"). The parallel passage (LXX 2 Chron 7:8) confirms that *ekklēsia megalē* only has reference to the size of the group, and not to an official political institution. 2 Chron 7:8 reads, καὶ ἐποίησεν Σαλωμων

assembly." The two references to an *ekklēsia megalē* in Psalms read the same both in

Hebrew (Ps 22:26; 40:10) and in Greek (LXX Ps 21:25; 39:9).[406] Unlike 1 Macc 5:16,

however, the two Psalms presume a religious setting, such as the Temple.

There is a political context, though, for at least one of the *ekklēsia megalē*

occurrences in the LXX. The reference in LXX Neh 5:7 implies "a fully constituted

body" not least with judiciary powers, but at most of an *ad hoc* nature.[407] If the implied

reader of 1 Macc 5:16 presumed an allusion to LXX Neh 5:7, then Judas Maccabeus

implicitly gains political continuity with Nehemiah. Nehemiah's *ekklēsia megalē* also

occurred at a seminal point in the history of the Jewish nation. During that *ekklēsia*, he

decisively gained lasting political authority through the acquiescence of the Judean elite

to his demands that their use of indentured slavery and property confiscation be

discontinued and that property and family members be restored to their fellow Jews.[408]

The exalted political status of Nehemiah implicitly accords political legitimacy for Judas,

who through his *ekklēsia megalē* self-presents as a head of state, not as a brigand.

The second mention of a public *ekklēsia* in 1 Maccabees occurs at another

decisive point in the history of the Jewish nation. In 1 Macc 14:20-23, the Spartans send a

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τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἑπτὰ ἡμέραις καὶ πᾶς Ισραηλ μετʼ αὐτοῦ, ἐκκλησία μεγάλη σφόδρα ("At that time Solomon held the festival for seven days, and all Israel with him, a very great congregation").

[406] In both LXX Ps 21:25 and LXX Ps 39:9, the Hebrew prepositional phrase *běqāhāl rāb* (Ps 22:26; 40:10) is translated as *en ekklēsia megalē* (LXX Ps 21:25, παρὰ σοῦ ὁ ἔπαινός μου ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μεγάλῃ; LXX Ps 39:9, εὐηγγελισάμην δικαιοσύνην ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μεγάλῃ). Both the Hebrew and Greek can be translated either as "in the great assembly" or as a temporary collective designation, "in the great congregation" (NRSV).

[407] Neh 5:7 reads, καὶ ἐβουλεύσατο καρδία μου ἐπʼ ἐμέ, καὶ ἐμαχεσάμην πρὸς τοὺς ἐντίμους καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ εἶπα αὐτοῖς Ἀπαιτήσει ἀνὴρ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ὑμεῖς ἀπαιτεῖτε. καὶ ἔδωκα ἐπʼ αὐτοὺς ἐκκλησίαν μεγάλην ("After thinking it over, I brought charges against the nobles and the officials; I said to them, 'You are all taking interest from your own people.' And I called a great assembly to deal with them").

[408] LXX Neh 5:1-13.

message of condolence on bronze tablets to Simon Maccabeus on the occasion of the

passing of his brother Jonathan (143/142 BCE).[409] Therein, the Lacedaemonians renew

their alliance and ostensibly present themselves as Abrahamic descendants[410] ("our

brothers"; 1 Macc 14:20).[411] These tablets were read out "before the *ekklēsia* in

Jerusalem" (1 Macc 14:19).[412] The LXX uses *ekklēsia* here as a temporary collective

designation, which is consistent with Greek literary and inscriptional *praxis*.

Samuel Rocca makes mention of another *ekklēsia* in Jerusalem: "during the early

Hasmonean period the *gerousia* lost much of its power to the great assembly, *ekklēsia*

megalē."[413] He suggests that *ekklēsia megalē* is a term "coined by Simon in 141 BCE,

[which] clearly reflects the democratization of society."[414] His conclusions appear open

to question, not least on two fronts. First, the term *ekklēsia megalē* does not occur in

1 Maccabees 14 and is not associated with Simon Maccabeus in any other Jewish literary

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[409] This account in 1 Macc 14:19 accords with Greek *praxis* whereby decrees are cast in bronze *stelai*, engraved on wooden tablets, or written on papyrus, and then archived out of public view (Robert K. Sinclair, *Democracy and Participation in Athens* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988], 93; also Alan S. Henry, *The Prescripts of Athenian Decrees* [MnemosyneSup 49; Leiden: Brill, 1977], 31 n. 40).

[410] Louis Feldman finds a Jewish precedent for the Spartans' geneaological presupposition. Feldman states that Josephus "proudly quotes the non-Jewish writer Alexander Polyhistor, who reports that, according to Cleodemus the prophet, also called Malchus, two of Abraham's sons by Keturah joined the great hero Heracles in his campaign against Libya and Antaeus, the giant son of Earth, and that Heracles actually married the daughter of one of them, who became the ancestor of the barbarians called Sophakes (*A. J.* 1.165) (*Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible* [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998], 237). He notes further that "perhaps there is some connection between this and the statement in 1 Macc. 12:10, 20 and 14:20 and 2 Macc. 5:9 and *Ant*. 12.226 (the letter of Areios, the Spartan king to Onias), that the Spartans were regarded as descended from Abraham" (Ibid, 237 n. 36).

[411] The practice of reinforcing kinship ties, even mythical ones, reflects the *praxis* of *syngeneia* between Greek *poleis* and *phylai*. For epigraphic evidence of kinship diplomacy, see Patterson, *Kinship Myth in Ancient Greece*, 109–123.

[412] The Greek reads, ἐνώπιον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν Ιερουσαλημ.

[413] Samuel Rocca, *Herod's Judea: A Mediterranean State in the Classical World* (TSAJ 122; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 262.

[414] Rocca, *Herod's Judea*, 262.

work.[415] Second, although there is a "great assembly" associated with Simon Maccabeus,

the author of 1 Maccabees calls it a *synagōgē megalē* instead (1 Macc 14:28).[416] The

context speaks of a leadership vacuum after Jonathan's death, which resulted in a

synagōgē megalē being convened by "the priests and the people and the rulers of the

nation and the elders of the country." Simon was elected high priest, military commander,

and ruler (1 Macc 14:25-49). As early as the 19th century, scholarship has questioned the

technical nature of this term, preferring simply to translate it as "a great gathering."[417]

The term *synagōgē megalē* does not recur in Philo, Josephus, or the Apocrypha.[418]

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[415] Rocca appears to derive his conclusions from the comments of Abraham Schalit since he does not cite any primary textual sources (cf. Abraham Schalit, "Domestic Politics and Political Institutions," in *The Hellenistic Age: Political History of Jewish Palestine from 332 B.C.E. to 67 B.C.E.* [WHJP 6; ed. A. Schalit; New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1972], 255–97, esp. 257–59).

[416] 1 Macc 14:28 reads, ἐπὶ συναγωγῆς μεγάλης ἱερέων καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἀρχόντων ἔθνους καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῆς χώρας ἐγνώρισεν ἡμῖν ("in the great assembly of the priests and the people and the rulers of the nation and the elders of the country, the following was proclaimed to us").

[417] J. A. Selbie, "The Great Synagogue," in *A Dictionary of the Bible: Volume IV, Part II: Shimrath–Zuzim* (ed. J. Hastings; 1898; repr., Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific, 2004), 643–44, esp. 634.

[418] There is a rabbinic tradition which associates the term "great synagogue," or more precisely "the Men of the Great Synagogue" (*Gen. R.* 35:2), with events related to Ezra's leadership, as they are described in Nehemiah 8–10. *Avot* 1:1 chronologically locates the Men of the Great Synagogue between the Prophets and the Zugot (the Pharisaic leaders after the Maccabean victory). Simon II, the Just (High Priest, 219–199 BCE), is considered one of their "remnants" (see Hugo Mantel, "The Men of the Great Synagogue," *HTR* 60/1 [1967]: 69–91, esp. 69). Mantel notes four positions scholars take on the reliability of this Tannaitic tradition: (1) those who reject an early date for the Great Synagogue (H. E. Ryle), or who doubt its institutional status (H. Englander, E. Bickermann, Y. Gutman); (2) those who "identify the Great Synagogue as the official government in Jerusalem, under the presidency of the high priest" (N. Krochmal, S. Levy, L. Herzfeld, S. Sachs, D. Hoffman, S. Krauss); (3) those who claim that "Great Synagogue" was a title given to assemblies of key leaders, "which met in times of high national crises in order to decide on crucial issues" (e.g., Ezra, Simon II, and the assembly which authorized rebellion against Rome [66 CE]); and (4) Finkelstein who suggests that the Great Synagogue "was associated with a non-official religious movement…called Keneset Ha-Hasidim…a synonym for Pharisees (M. Yoma VII, I; M. Zabim III, 2; M. Bek. V, 5, etc.)…[who established the] Keneset ha-Gedolah, meaning Great Court (usually translated as Great Synagogue)" (Ibid, 69–70). Mantel sides with Finkelstein but offers two caveats: he dates the origin of the term Keneset at least a century and a half after Ezra's time and he redefines Keneset as "association" instead of as "an official, public court." He notes that "what remains to be pointed out is that the Jewish sects in Palestine itself, such as the Keneset, which was equivalent to the Pharisees, and its supreme council, the Keneset ha-Gedolah, were modeled in their organization on the Hellenistic religious and social associations" (Ibid, 75). Mantel identifies twelve similarities between the Keneset and Greco-Roman voluntary associations (Ibid, 75–91).

The other three *ekklēsia* occurrences in 1 Maccabees refer only to a group, rather than to the meeting of a group: "a body of faithful [soldiers]" (1 Macc 3:13); the historical *ekklēsia* of Israel in the desert (1 Macc 2:56); and a Maccabean-era group designation which alludes back to the *ekklēsia* of Israel during David and Solomon's day (4:59; *pasa hē ekklēsia Israēl*).[419]

The phrase *pasa hē ekklēsia* Israēl in 1 Macc 4:59 appears to allude to LXX 2 Chron 6:3. In 2 Chronicles 6–7, the Chronicler relates Solomon's dedication of the Temple before *pasa hē ekklēsia* Israēl, along with the concomitant descent of God's glory (LXX 2 Chron 7:1-3).[420] The motif of Temple (re-)dedication is common both to 1 Maccabees and 2 Chronicles. Thus, an informed reader of 1 Maccabees could have seen a rhetorical agenda in the lexical and thematic commonalities. This reading strategy would situate the description of the Maccabean rededication ceremony as a "type-scene," or "type-narrative," of the Solomonic Temple dedication.[421] Such an intertextual reading

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[419] In 1 Macc 4:59 Judas Maccabeus, his brothers, and his victorious followers (*pasa hē ekklēsia Israel*), after having purified and re-dedicated the Temple, "determined that every year at that season the days of dedication of the altar should be observed with joy and gladness for eight days, beginning with the twenty-fifth day of the month of Chislev."

[420] The same prepositional phrase is found both in LXX 2 Chron 6:12 and 13 within the account of Solomon's prayer of dedication for the Temple (ἔναντι πάσης ἐκκλησίας Ισραηλ; "in the presence of the whole assembly of Israel"). Accusative and nominative forms of only the nominal phrase each occur in 2 Chron 6:3 (εὐλόγησεν τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν Ισραηλ, καὶ πᾶσα ἐκκλησία Ισραηλ παρειστήκει; "he [King Solomon] blessed all the assembly of Israel while all the assembly of Israel stood").

[421] Robert Alter uses the term "type-scene" for a conventional way in which a significant episode in a hero's life is literarily presented (*The Art of Biblical Narrative* [New York: Basic Books, 1981], 51–52). One common "type-scene" is a hero's betrothal. Conventional elements include the hero journeying to a distant land, meeting an eligible girl at a well, the girl rushing home to announce the hero's arrival, the hero being honoured with a meal, and a betrothal being subsequently concluded. Instances of this "type-scene" are said to occur in Gen 24:10-31 (Abraham), Gen 29:1-20 (Jacob), Exod 2:15b-21 (Moses), Ruth 2 (Ruth), and 1 Sam 9:11-12 (Saul). Robert Alter also explores the "type-scene" conventions evident in the stories of Esau and Jacob, Tamar and Judah, and Joseph and his brothers (*The World of Biblical Literature* [New York: Basic Books, 1992], 114–17). Paul R. Noble expands upon Alter's insights but uses the term "type-narrative" in relation to these three stories "which each manipulates a set of shared motifs in such a way as to provide meaningful variations on essentially the same underlying plot. Thus, although each story

implies that God's glory did in fact descend at the Temple rededication led by the Maccabean brothers and that it did so in a fashion not dissimilar to that which occurred at the Temple dedication led by Solomon. Such a "type-narrative" reading implicitly confers religious legitimacy onto the Maccabeans, which also, thereby, elevates their political status in the newly independent nation of Israel.

The semantic domain of the word *ekklēsia* in 1 Maccabees has implications for one's interpretation of the roughly contemporaneous book of Judith. The use of *ekklēsia* in 1 Macc 14:19 for an occasional, public, religio-political assembly in Jerusalem, not least by the time of Simon Maccabeus, makes it possible that Judith's regional, public *ekklēsia* is also modeled after a Hellenistic-era synagogue assembly, rather than only after a Greco-Roman *ekklēsia*. If so, then Judith's mention of women and young men taking part in the 8th century BCE *ekklēsia* may actually mirror *praxis* in synagogue assemblies contemporaneous with the author of Judith. 1 Maccabees also affects one's interpretation of *ekklēsia* usage in Sirach, another Hasmonean-era Jewish writing. One case in point is that, in their use of the word *ekklēsia*, they both appear to allude back to the Solomonic Temple dedication (1 Macc 5:16; Sir 50:13, 20).

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has a narrative integrity of its own, its full significance can only be grasped when it is read intertexually with the other two, since only then can the relevant motifs be identified and the individuality of their handling in each story be appreciated" ("Esau, Tamar, and Joseph: Criteria for Identifying Inner-biblical Allusions," *VT* 52 [2002]: 219–52, esp. 233).

3.2.3. Ekklēsia *in Sirach*

Evidence for a public Jewish synagogue assembly known as *ekklēsia* within Judea

surfaces in Ben Sira (*c*. 200 BCE), specifically in Sirach (*c*. 132 BCE),[422] which is the

Greek translation of the original Hebrew text.[423] Therein, the grandson of Ben Sira

ascribes the designation *ekklēsia* to the Judean assembly known in Ben Sira's Hebrew

text as *qhl*. In Sirach there are thirteen occurrences of the word *ekklēsia* and seven of the

word *synagōgē*.[424] Three *ekklēsia* occurrences mirror LXX usage in referring to the

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[422] Sirach is the Greek name of the author (Jesus son of Eleazar son of Sirach; Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Σιραχ Ελεαζαρ; 50:27). In Hebrew his name is Yeshua ben El-azar ben Sira. Ben Sira's grandson translated Sirach into Greek sometime after 132 BCE while living in Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy VIII Physkon Euergetes II (145–116 BCE). King Euergetes reigned in Alexandria from 170–163 (co-regent with Ptolemy VI Philometor who reigned from Memphis) and 145–116 BCE (sole regent) (Margaret Bunson, *Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* [rev. ed.; New York: Facts on File, 2002], 108, 346; see also, John G. Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach* [The Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974], 7). In the Prologue, Ben Sira's grandson states, "I came to Egypt in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of [Ptolemy] Euergetes." For more detailed dating discussions see, for example, David S. Williams, "The Date of Ecclesiasticus," *VT* 44, no. 4 (1994): 563–66, and Patrick Skehan and Alexander DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AYBC; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 8–9.

[423] Approximately two-thirds of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira is extant. Small fragments of Ben Sira in Hebrew were found in Qumran cave 2 (2Q18) and 4 (e.g., 4Q525, late 1st cent. BCE), with the text of 39:27–44:17 being discovered at Masada. The rest of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira derives from copies of early medieval manuscripts from the Cairo genizah (11th or 12th century CE) (3:6–16:26; 30:11–38:2; 39:15–51:30). Although some text was preserved at Qumran, Ben Sira does not reflect any of the themes, style, and preoccupations of the Qumran wisdom texts. It uses the sapiential tradition modeled on the biblical Proverbs (see John Kampen, *Wisdom Literature* [ECDSS; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011], esp. 341–64). For facsimiles of the restored Hebrew text, see Pancratius C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of all Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of all Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (VTSup 68; Leiden: Brill, 1997). For a precise inventory of the Cambridge Ben Sira Genizah manuscripts see Stefan C. Reif, "The Discovery of the Cambridge Genizah Fragments of Ben Sira: Scholars and Texts," in *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference, 28–31 July, 1996, Soesterberg, Netherlands* (ed. P. C. Beentjes; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 1–22, esp. 22. For a complete list of Ben Sira manuscripts from Qumran and Masada see Corrado Martone, "Ben Sira Manuscripts from Qumran and Masada," in *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference, 28–31 July, 1996, Soesterberg, Netherlands* [ed. P. C. Beentjes; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997], 81–94).

[424] Sirach uses the word *ekklēsia* in 15:5; 21:17; 23:24; 24:2; 26:5 ("the gathering of a mob"); 34[31]:11; 33:19; 38:33; 39:10; 44:15; 46:7; and 50:13, 20. Ben Sira speaks of a *synagōgē* as a place for legal judgments (41:18, ἀπὸ συναγωγῆς καὶ λαοῦ περὶ ἀνομίας) and as a community before which to show deference (4:7, "Endear yourself to the congregation" [προσφιλῆ συναγωγῇ σεαυτὸν ποίει]). As in the LXX, Sirach uses *synagōgē* to refer to ancient Israel (24:23; 46:14) and to smaller groupings, specifically to godless groups (16:6, ἐν συναγωγῇ ἁμαρτωλῶν; 21:9, συναγωγὴ ἀνόμων; 45:18, συναγωγὴ Κωρὲ).

supra-local *ekklēsia* of Israel (46:7; 50:13, 20).[425] The other ten occurrences are not used

as a group designation. One refers to "the gathering of a mob" (26:5). The other nine

speak of a publicly accessible meeting located in a particular region, within which

religio-political matters are addressed.[426] Runesson sees in each of these nine *ekklēsia*

occurrences a reference to some sort of institution contemporaneous with the author.[427]

These nine references raise a three-fold question. Does Ben Sira's grandson

accurately report the name of an early 2nd century Judean synagogue assembly or does he

anachronistically retroject the name of a late 2nd century Egyptian or Judean synagogue

assembly? In other words, was Ben Sira's *qhl* known as *ekklēsia* by early 2nd century

BCE Hellenistic Judeans, or is his grandson ascribing to the earlier Judean *qhl* the name

of one of three contemporaneous institutions in his own day (*c*. 132 BCE): a civic

ekklēsia in the Greek East, a Jewish *ekklēsia* in Egypt, or a Jewish *ekklēsia* in Judea?

Sirach's nine regional assemblies named *ekklēsia* share a number of similarities

with Greek *ekklēsiai* in their exercise of juridical, political, and religious functions. One

juridical issue with which Sirach's *ekklēsia* is tasked is that of judging adultery

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[425] The NRSV translation of Sir 46:7 lacks precision. It implies that the rebellious people were known as an "assembly." Rather, the Greek text differentiates between the rebellious people and the assembly before whom Moses and Caleb opposed the rebels ("when they stood before the assembly to oppose the rebellious people"; ἀντιστῆναι ἔναντι ἐκκλησίας κωλῦσαι λαὸν ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας).

[426] Theophilo Middendorp concludes that the two terms used for assembly in Sirach (*qhl* and *'dh*) refer to public assemblies in Jerusalem which are focused primarily on political matters after the supposed fashion of Hellenistic-era *ekklēsiai* (*Die Stellung Jesu Ben Siras zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus* [Leiden: Brill, 1973], 155–62). Sirach carefully maintains the distinction created in the LXX by only translating *qhl* with *ekklēsia* and using *synagōgē* for *'dh* (Ibid, 155–56, 159). Burton Mack claims that this translational distinction does not necessarily indicate an institutional distinction. Sirach is not necessarily implying that either 2nd century Judea or Egypt knew of a complimentary, or competitive, public institution to the *ekklēsia* which was known as *synagōgē* (*Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic: Ben Sira's Hymn in Praise of the Fathers* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985], 79).

[427] Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 312–13.

(23:24).[428] Adultery also was an item of jurisprudence for the Athenian *ekklēsia*, at least

until 355 BCE.[429] Politically, Sirach's *ekklēsiai* parallel Greek *ekklēsiai* as public forums,

within which respected community members voice their opinions,[430] and where honour

and praise is bestowed upon the blameless.[431] Theophilo Middendorp claims that it is

encomiastic speech which is evident in Sirach's assemblies, not simply rhetoric

appropriate to deliberation and jurisprudence.[432] Since *encomium* is a distinctively Greek

praxis, Middendorp asserts that the Greek *ekklēsia* is Sirach's primary model.

    Burton Mack demurs. He advises caution when viewing Ben Sira's public

assemblies through Greek eyes. He gives two reasons for seeing a Jewish heritage behind

Ben Sira's use of *ekklēsia* for a public assembly. First, Ben Sira's most panegyric

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[428] Sir 23:22-24: "the woman who is unfaithful to her husband… will be dragged before the assembly (εἰς ἐκκλησίαν)." Skehan and di Lella suggest that the adulteress is "brought to the public place (of scourging) alluded to in the alternative translation of v. 21b" (*The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 325). Claudia V. Camp's feminist reading of Ben Sira questions whether Sir 23:22-24 reflects actual Judean institutional *praxis* ("Honor and Shame in Ben Sira: Anthropological and Theological Reflections," in *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference*, *28–31 July, 1996, Soesterberg, Netherlands* [ed. P. C. Beentjes; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997], 171–188, esp. 183–86). She views Ben Sira's use of *ekklēsia* discourse as a rhetorical device meant to vindicate male honour (44:1-11; ch. 50), judge female shame (24:22-24) and, by gender association, to tarnish another woman, Lady Wisdom (Sir 24:12, 20-23). For an alternative interpretation of Lady Wisdom's loss of pre-eminence, see Shannon Burkes Pinette, "The Lady Vanishes: Wisdom in Ben Sira and Daniel," in *The "Other" in Second Temple Judaism: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins* (ed. D. C. Harlow, Karina Martin Hogan, Matthew Goff, and Joel S. Kaminsky; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 160–72.

[429] Cases of public morality, such as adultery, were brought forward within the Athenian *ekklēsia* for consideration as high treason by private individuals (*eisangelia eis ton dēmon*) until at least 335 BCE (Hansen, *Athenian Assembly*, 212).

[430] For example, Sir 15:5 (Lady Wisdom "will open his mouth in the midst of the assembly" [ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας/קהל]); Sir 21:17 ("The views of a prudent man are sought in an assembly [ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ]") and Sir 38:33 ("They do not occupy the judge's bench [ἐπὶ δίφρον δικαστοῦ], nor are they prominent in the assembly [ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ]").

[431] Sir 34[31]:11 (The blameless rich person's "prosperity will be established, and the assembly [ἐκκλησία/ל[ה]ק] will proclaim his acts of charity"). Public proclamation of civic benefaction is prevalent in 1st century BCE Greek honorary decrees (See Appendix #1). These were enacted within an *ekklēsia*. An inscription contemporaneous with Simon the high priest (Sirach 50) is *Milet* I 3, 145 (Asia Minor, Ephesos[?]; 200/199 BCE). It is an honorary decree for a local citizen, Eudemos Thallionos, who established and regulated administration of school.

[432] Middendorp, *Stellung*, 160–62.

passage, the hymn about Simon II (ch. 50), within which are found two *ekklēsia*

references, "does not correspond fully to the form of the Hellenistic encomiastic

speech."[433] Second, Mack states that, notwithstanding Ben Sira's appreciation for

"Hellenistic models of social governance, education, cultural forms, and thought, [he] has

not destroyed essentially Jewish concerns for theocracy, Torah, tradition, and

wisdom."[434] For Mack, the model for Sirach's *ekklēsia* has decidedly Jewish roots. If so,

is Ben Sira's grandson thinking of Jewish *ekklēsiai* in Judea or in Egypt?

　　Patrick Tiller states that Sirach's *ekklēsiai* are differentiated from Greek civic

ekklēsiai in that they "were not regular, legislative bodies."[435] In his mind, this fact

suggests that Sirach is describing a Judean institution, not one located within a Greek

polis.[436] Sirach's ostensibly Judean *ekklēsiai* are not simply forums for political and

juridical activity, however. In three *ekklēsia* references they also reflect religious *praxeis*

(Sir 24:2; 50:13, 20). In Sirach 24 items of a religious nature are central, while in Sir

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[433] Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic*, 81.

[434] Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic*, 79.

[435] Patrick Tiller cites four examples of "various assemblies where one could speak…but [which] were not regular legislative bodies." These are in Sir 15:5, 34[31]:11, 44:15 and 50: 13, 20 ("Sociological Settings of the Components of *1 Enoch*," in *The Early Enoch Literature* [ed. G. Boccaccini and J. J. Collins; Leiden: Brill, 2007], 237–56, esp. 247). Tiller does cite one potential example of a regularly constituted assembly (7:14). This example is problematic, however, since this verse does not use the word *ekklēsia* or its Hebrew equivalent *qhl*. Sir 7:14 reads, μὴ ἀδολέσχει ἐν πλήθει πρεσβυτέρων [עדת שרים] καὶ μὴ δευτερώσῃς λόγον ἐν προσευχῇ σου ("Do not babble in the assembly of the elders, and do not repeat yourself when you pray") (Ibid, 247). Although Goldblatt argues that Josephus uses *plēthos* to refer to an *ekklēsia*, Tiller does not cite Goldblatt as analogous support for his reading of Ben Sira's *plēthos* as an *ekklēsia* (David M. Goldblatt, *The Monarchic Principle: Studies in Jewish Self-government in Antiquity* [Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1994], 115).

[436] Tiller maintains this to be the case even in Sir 38:32 where the words *ekklēsia* and *boulē* are juxtaposed (*eis boulēn laou*) ("Sociological Settings," 247). Ben Sira speaks of Judean artisans: "Yet they are not sought out for the council of the peoples nor do they attain eminence in the public assembly" (ἀλλ᾽ εἰς βουλὴν λαοῦ οὐ ζητηθήσονται καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ οὐχ ὑπεραλοῦνται) (38:32, 33). Skehan and Di Lella note that artisans, are not "prominent in the assembly (vv. 32c-33a) [for the simple reason that]…they are not trained for civic or religious leadership in general…[and] not trained in wisdom" (*The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 451).

50:13 and 20 *ekklēsia* is used as a collective identity that alludes back to Solomon's

dedication of the Temple. Each of these religious contexts warrants further investigation.

3.2.3.1. Ekklēsia *in Sirach 24*

In Sir 24:2, Lady Wisdom is said metaphorically to speak within "the assembly of

the Most High (*en ekklēsia hypsistou*)…in the presence of His hosts."[437] This *ekklēsia*

appears to be a heavenly one given that the term "His hosts" (*dynameōs autou*) can refer

to heavenly hosts such as angels.[438] Middendorp suggests an alternative explanation. He

sees Sirach's use of *hypsistos* ("Most High") as being a euphemism for the

tetragrammaton (YHWH). This prevents offense with Hellenistic Jewish readers who

avoid direct equivalents like *kyrios*.[439] Middendorp suggests, therefore, that the *ekklēsia*

hypsistou in Sir 24:2 is simply symbolic language for a formal gathering of 2nd century

BCE Jews. If so, then to what type of assembly does Sirach's *ekklēsia hypsistou* refer?

Andries du Toit sees it as being both local and religious in nature. He notes, first,

that Sir 24:2 shifts the Deuteronomic definition of *ekklēsia kyriou*: "the term which

traditionally had an inclusive, supra-local connotation, now refers to a local assembly."[440]

Second, he states that "the fact that it is called an ἐκκλησία ὑψίστου rather points towards

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[437] Sir 24:2 reads, "Wisdom praises herself, and tells of her glory in the midst of her people. In the assembly of the Most High [ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑψίστου] she opens her mouth, and in the presence of his hosts she tells of her glory."

[438] Precedent for such an interpretation is found in LXX Ps 88:6 where the "holy ones" most naturally refers to angels ("Let the heavens declare your wonders, O Lord, and your truth in the assembly of the holy ones"; ἐξομολογήσονται οἱ οὐρανοὶ τὰ θαυμάσιά σου, κύριε, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειάν σου ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἁγίων). Skehan and Di Lella contend that the personages identified by the phrases "'the assembly of the Most High' and 'his host' are indeed the angelic attendants at God's throne, where Wisdom personified is also said to reside" (*The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 331). Lester L. Grabbe states that 24:2 is evidence of Ben Sira's acceptance of the existence of angels. He cites other potential examples of this belief in 17:32, 42:17, and 45:2 (*Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period: Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh* [London and New York: Routledge, 2000], 222).

[439] Middendorp, *Stellung*, 158.

[440] Du Toit, "*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 136.

a primarily religious occasion."[441] If so, then 24:2 differentiates itself from Hellenistic-era Greek inscriptions in using *ekklēsia* for a local meeting of a religious character.[442]

Richard Horsley views Sirach's *ekklēsia hypsistou* as political rhetoric not as religious euphemism. He asserts that "the hymn in Sirach 24 articulates something… more political, or rather more political-religious."[443] His rationale comes from Sir 24:8-12 where Wisdom's universal distribution (Sir 1:9-10, "poured…upon all the living") is geo-politically particularized "in (the Temple in) Zion, [with her having] assumed authority/power in Jerusalem."[444] Thus, he claims that "this declaration grounds the Jerusalem temple-state as a way of legitimating the established political order."[445]

If, as per du Toit and Horsley, Sir 24:2 reflects a symbolic description of an earthly *ekklēsia*, then it aligns with Mack's contention that the model for Sirach's *ekklēsia* has decidedly Jewish roots.[446] Wisdom's identification with the Torah (24:23)[447]

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[441] Du Toit, "*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 136. Du Toit does acknowledge that since local governance is by a priestly aristocracy, "we should not differentiate too strictly between political and religious meetings" (Ibid, 136).

[442] Although religious ceremony was part and parcel of each Athenian *ekklēsia* from its inception, the Hellenistic-era *ekklēsia* in Athens, or elsewhere in the Greek East, did not point towards a primarily religious occasion. For example, *Agora* 15 199 (Athens, 175/4 BCE): ὑπὲρ [ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν] οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Κεκροπίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσιῶν ὧν ἔθυον τ[ὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησι]ῶν τῶι τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Προστ[α]τηρίωι καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέμιδι τε[ῖ Βουλαίαι καὶ τεῖ] [Φ]ωσφόρωι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θε[οῖ]ς οἷς πάτριον ἦνˑ; *IG* II² 1042 (Athens, 41/0 BCE): ὑπ]ὲρ τῆς θυσίας ἣν ἔθυσ[εν μετὰ τῶν ἐφή][βων ἐν τῶι πρυτανείωι; τοῖς ἄλλοις [θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον; γεγονέναι πᾶσι τοῖς θύμα[σι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ σωτή]ρια. Additionally, the seven *ekklēsiai* within the inscriptional record which were called "sacred" (*hiera*) appear to have dealt predominantly with civic issues, not with religious ones (see n. 209).

[443] Richard A. Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries and the Politics of Second Temple Judea* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007), 146.

[444] Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries*, 147.

[445] Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries*, 147.

[446] See Mack's comments relative to nn. 433 and 434.

[447] For a discussion on the origin and nature of wisdom, see Daniel J. Harrington, *Jesus ben Sira of Jerusalem: A Biblical Guide to Living Wisely* (Interfaces; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2005), 31–32.

allows one to postulate that in 24:2 (and 15:5) Sirach speaks of a public synagogue.[448]

Therein, Sirach describes a publicly accessible assembly in which Jews gather to hear the

exposition of (religio-political) Torah by Lady Wisdom through the mouth of her human

representative for the purpose of making decisions on matters of community interest.

3.2.3.2. Ekklēsia *in Sirach 50*

In contradistinction to Sir 24:2, the word *ekklēsia* in Sir 50:13 and 20 does not

refer to a meeting of people but rather to a collective designation—*pasa ekklēsia* (*huiōn*)

Israēl.[449] The preposition *enanti* ("before") in Sir 50:13 reinforces the fact that the

ekklēsia therein refers to a gathered community. In Sir 50:13, the high priest Simon II

(219–196 BCE)[450] presides at the altar "before the whole assembly of Israel" (*enanti*

pasēs ekklēsias Israēl).[451] Simon is inextricably connected with God's glory in grandiose

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[448] The *ekklēsia* in Sir 15:5 may also presume a religio-political context. Lady Wisdom is said to open the mouth of "whoever fears the Lord…and holds to the law" (15:1). Harrington notes that in 15:1 "Ben Sira summarizes his whole theological outlook in one sentence…[He] links his three favorite theological concepts: fear of the Lord, the law, and wisdom" (Harrington, *Jesus ben Sira*, 111). Richard J. Coggins describes the scribe's audience as "the assembly gathered in the sacred tradition and for worship, [which] would fit in very well with what we know of the synagogue from a somewhat later period" (*Sirach* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998], 72).

[449] Sir 50:13 reads, ἔναντι πάσης ἐκκλησίας Ισραηλ, while Sir 50:20 slightly revises the Greek of 50:13 (and the Hebrew text of 50:20b) to read, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν υἱῶν Ισραηλ.

[450] Simon, or Simeon II, is the son of Onias (Yohanan). He served as high priest from 219–196 BCE and most likely died a few years prior to when Ben Sira was written (Harrington, *Jesus ben Sira*, 62). Skehan and Di Lella note that "Simeon II was given the title 'the Righteous' or 'the Just' because he was the last of the priestly house of Zadok to observe the Law faithfully" (*The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 550).

[451] Sir 50:20 slightly revises the original Hebrew of 50:20b to read, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν υἱῶν Ισραηλ. Otto Mulder explains this gender specific revision as reflecting post-exilic ideology: in pre-exilic *ekklēsiai* "women, children and foreigners were commonly included (Josh 8:35, 1 Kgs 8:14). After the exile this tends to restrict the perspective to the institutionalised cultic community in 1 Chron 29:10, 2 Chron 30:25, Neh 8:3. In spite of the limited character of the difference between G and H here, the expression nevertheless presents a completely different reality in the community in the temple" (*Simon the High Priest in Sirach 50: An Exegetical Study of the Significance of Simon the High Priest as Climax to the Praise of the Fathers in Ben Sira's Concept of the History of Israel* [Leiden: Brill, 2003], 298). The Hebrew text of 50:1-28 is only available in MS B on pages B XIX recto, B XIX verso and B XX recto. Ben Sira uses the word *qhl* in both verses as indicated in MS B XIX verso (50:11a-22b [T-S 16.314 verso]).

fashion (50:5; "how glorious he was!").[452] In this, he provides a fitting climax to Ben

Sira's "catalogue of biblical heroes…[who are] generally manifestations of the glory of

God" (chs. 44–49).[453] The "glory" motif associates each biblical hero with "the theme of

the covenant and the cultic complex of the Israelite priesthood, temple worship, and

sacrifice."[454] Simon's status as the climactic biblical hero (50:1-21) is further reinforced

in his allusional connection to the Solomonic Temple cult through his altar ministry

"before all the assembly of Israel" (*enanti pasēs ekklēsias Israēl*, 50:13; cf. LXX 2 Chron

6:12, 13). The rhetorical benefits of such an allusion appear also to have been

appropriated by the author of 1 Maccabees (4:59).

In Sir 50:20 the grandson of Ben Sira is not as faithful to his base text (LXX

2 Chron 6:12, 13) as he is in Sir 50:13; he adds the word "sons" to the phrase *pasēs*

ekklēsias Israēl.[455] The word "sons" also does not appear in the Hebrew, at least insofar

as the Cairo genizah text of Ben Sira is concerned (11th or 12th century CE).[456] Otto

Mulder claims that the addition of "sons" in 50:20 provides a more specific sense of

"institutionalized cultic community." This brings Sir 50:20 more into continuity with

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Both Sir 50:13c and 50:20b read the same: כל קהל ישראל. For facsimiles of Sirach 50 in Hebrew, see Mulder (Ibid, 69).

[452] For example, Sir 50:5-11 reads, "How glorious he was, surrounded by the people, as he came out of the house of the curtain. Like the morning star among the clouds, like the full moon at the festal season; like the sun shining on the temple of the Most High, like the rainbow gleaming in splendid clouds; like roses in the days of first fruits, like lilies by a spring of water, like a green shoot on Lebanon on a summer day; like fire and incense in the censer, like a vessel of hammered gold studded with all kinds of precious stones; like an olive tree laden with fruit, and like a cypress towering in the clouds. When he put on his glorious robe and clothed himself in perfect splendor, when he went up to the holy altar, he made the court of the sanctuary glorious."

[453] Harrington, *Jesus ben Sira*, 128.

[454] Harrington, *Jesus ben Sira*, 128.

[455] Sir 50:20 reads, in part, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν υἱῶν Ισραηλ.

[456] The word בני ("sons") does not occur in the Hebrew text of B XIX verso (50:11a-22b [T-S 16.314 verso] (Mulder, *Simon the High Priest*, 69).

post-exilic descriptions of an exclusively male cultic community (e.g., 1 Chron 29:10; cf. 28:1).[457] One example Mulder cites is the Chronicler's description of the Solomonic Temple dedication wherein only elders, heads of tribes, and leaders of the ancestral houses apparently are in attendance (2 Chron 5:2).[458] By contrast, in pre-exilic texts Mulder says "women, children and foreigners were commonly included" in *ekklēsiai*.[459]

There is another way to explain Sirach's addition of the word "sons." Outside of Sir 50:20, there is only other occurrence in the LXX of the collocation "all the *ekklēsia* of the sons of Israel" (LXX Josh 8:35).[460] The end of Deuteronomy forms the historical backdrop for the context of Joshua 8. As Moses' life concludes, he and Joshua recite to "all the assembly of Israel" (LXX Deut 31:30)[461] the words of a song which warns against apostasy (LXX Deut 32:1-43). Not long thereafter, apostasy does occur resulting in the initial defeat of the Israelites at Ai (Josh 7:1-6). After their second attack is victorious (Josh 8:10-17), Joshua leads the people in a time of recommitment (Josh 8:30-35). He reinscribes the Mosaic Law upon stone and then reads "all the words of the law,

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[457] Mulder, *Simon the High Priest*, 298.

[458] Within the account of Solomon's dedication of the Temple, the simple phrase *pasēs ekklēsias Israēl* occurs in LXX 2 Chron 6:3, but in conjunction with the preposition *enanti* in LXX 2 Chron 6:12, 13.

[459] Mulder, *Simon the High Priest*, 298. One exception not explained by Mulder is 2 Chron 31:18, where wives and children of priests appear to be included in the *qāhāl* (*lĕkāl qāhāl*), but where the LXX translates *lĕkāl qāhāl* with *eis pan plēthos* ("multitude," "number"), instead of with *eis pan ekklēsian*. If this represents a translational *tendenz*, then the translator is implying that women and children should not be considered a part of the *qāhāl/ekklēsia* of Israel, especially of its priestly component. This possibility seems to be reinforced by the fact that the LXX translator chooses to remove "little children and women" from his translation, yet leaves "sons and daughters." Another possible interpretation is that suggested in the NRSV translation wherein the word *qāhāl* is translated "multitude," which translation the LXX also employs by using *plēthos*. Both the LXX and the NRSV indicate that the priests and their households are "the whole multitude" which was enrolled by genealogy for the purpose of being on the distribution list for receipt of the priestly portions of food and goods.

[460] LXX Josh 8:35 reads, ὅ οὐκ ἀνέγω Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὰ ὦτα πάσης ἐκκλησίας υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, τοῖς ἀνδράσιν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις καὶ τοῖς προσηλύτοις τοῖς προσπορευομένοις τῷ Ισραηλ.

[461] LXX Deut 31:30 reads, ἐλάλησεν Μωυσῆς εἰς τὰ ὦτα πάσης ἐκκλησίας Ισραηλ τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ᾠδῆς ταύτης ἕως εἰς τέλος.

blessings and curses…in the hearing of all the assembly of Israel [*kol-q^ehal yiśrā'ēl*], and

the women, and the little ones, and the aliens who resided among them" (Josh 8:34,

35).[462] As in Sirach, LXX Josh 8:35 adds the word "sons" (*huiōn*) to the same Hebrew

phrase (*kol-q^ehal yiśrā'ēl*) and translates it as *pasēs ekklēsias huiōn Israēl*.

If Sirach's addition of *huiōn* (50:20) intends an allusion back to Joshua's time

when Israel recommitted to Torah faithfulness (LXX Josh 8:34, 35), and if Simon's

blessing of "all the *ekklēsia* of the sons of Israel" with "the blessing of the Most High"

(50:21) is meant to allude back to Joshua's blessing (and cursing) of *pasēs ekklēsias*

huiōn Israēl (LXX Josh 8:34, 35),[463] then Sirach reinscribes his grandfather's attempt to

promote Torah faithfulness among the original Judean readership with his own attempt to

call his contemporary Alexandrian readership to Torah observance. If Sirach's Greek

speaking readership connected those allusional dots, then they may even have viewed the

aristocratic high priest Simon II as a counterpart to Moses (Sir 45:2) and Joshua (Sir

46:1), thus, enhancing Simon's status as a religious Torah teacher and political nation

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[462] The unpointed Hebrew text of Josh 8:35 reads the same as in Sir 50:20 (כל קהל ישראל).

[463] The epithet "the Most High" (50:21) is clearly identified as the Jewish "God Most High" four verses earlier (50:17; *theos hypsistos*). The phrase *theos hypsistos* occurs in numerous Jewish sources. In the LXX the phrase *theos (kyrios) hypsistos* (articular or anarthrous) is found 20 times (e.g., Gen 14:18-22; Job 31:28; Ps 7:18; 56:3; and Dan 5:1). Some Jewish inscriptions (2nd to 4th cents. CE) from the Bosporus Kingdom also refer to a *theos hypsistos*. See Gibson's discussion of the full invocation θεῶι ὑψίστωι παντοκράτορι εὐλογητῷ, which is found in three inscriptions *CIRB* 1123, 1125, 1126 (*Jewish Manumission Inscriptions*, 106–23). *CIRB* 1123 begins with, "To Theos Hypsistos, all powerful, blessed" and ends with, "under Zeus, Ge ["Earth"], and Helios ["Sun"]." One cannot extrapolate from these facts, however, the corollary conclusion that all instances of the phrase *theos hypsistos* refer to the Jewish God. Its use is not distinctive of Jews. Non-Jews denoted Zeus or other transcendent gods as *theos hypsistos* (Gibson, *Jewish Manumission Inscriptions*, 109–11). Bosporan examples from Tanais include *CIRB* 1277 (173–211 CE) and *CIRB* 1283 (228 CE). Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg note that "there is no evidence pointing to the presence of Judeans at Tanias" (*AGRW*, nos. 91 and 92). Paul Trebilco, in his study of Jews in Asia Minor, contends that, since Greco-Romans also denoted Zeus or other transcendent gods as θεὸς ὕψιστος, Jews decreased their use of that epithet in public settings (*Jewish Communities in Asia Minor Society* [NTSMS 69; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991], 142–44).

builder (Sir 50:1-4).[464] If Sirach alludes to LXX Josh 8:35, then, contrary to Mulder, Sir

50:20 does not implicitly promote a post-exilic, patriarchal, public *ekklēsia* within which

women, children and foreigners were excluded. This being the case, Sirach places his

ekklēsia at odds with the "male citizen only" demographics of a Greek civic *ekklēsia*.

This would make Sirach's *ekklēsia* an inclusive precedent for any early Christ-followers

who required a historical model of an *ekklēsia* within which unrestricted social

interaction between men and women, at the very least, was prioritized (e.g., Gal 3:28).

This still leaves open the question, though, as to why Ben Sira and his grandson

would need rhetorically to 'construct' a grandiose aristocratic high priest who walks in

the shoes of Moses and Joshua. Ben Sira's grandson writes in tumultuous times, both

from the perspective of religious and political change. He writes from Alexandria in the

38th year of the reign of Ptolemy VIII Physkon (*c.* 132 BCE),[465] during a time when his

grandfather's homeland, Judea, continued to be under Seleucid control (Demetrius II

Nicator; 147–125 BCE),[466] and in the same year that civil war broke out in Egypt. The

people of Alexandria, who were loyal to Cleopatra II, the estranged wife of Ptolemy VIII,

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[464] Tiller notes that "it is clear from the characterization of Simon that the high priesthood has taken over the functions of kingship (fortifications and water supply; cf. 48:17 and 50:2-4), while remaining focused on the temple-cult" ("Sociological Settings," 247). The consolidation of political and religious power into the hands of the high priest is not out of character for Hellenistic-era Judea. During the Ptolemaic reign (301 BCE–198 BCE), the high priest in Jerusalem functioned as a religio-political regent responsible for the oversight of the Temple-state of Judea.

[465] Ptolemy VIII Physkon Euergetes II reigned from 170–163 (co-regent with his brother Ptolemy VI Philometor) and from 145–116 BCE (sole regent).

[466] Demetrius II Nicator successfully fought together with his father-in-law Ptolemy Philometor against Alexander Balas, usurper to the Seleucid throne, for control of Coele-Syria in the decisive battle at Antiochia on the Ainoparus (146 BCE).

revolted against the rest of Egypt, which was loyal to Ptolemy VIII and his new wife (and *daughter*), Cleopatra III.[467] This civil war lasted sixteen years (132–116 BCE).

The literary enhancement of the role of the Judean high priest by Ben Sira's grandson may reflect counter-Ptolemaic rhetoric. Aside from the internecine conflict and incestuous marriage associated with Ptolemy VIII's reign, Ben Sira's grandson may also have reacted negatively to a specific religious development associated with Onias IV, the grandson of Simon II. Sometime after arriving in Egypt,[468] Onias IV gained approval from Ptolemy VI Philometor (169–145 BCE) to build a temple-fort at Leontopolis near Memphis (*c*. 154 BCE).[469] Its height purportedly paralleled that of the Temple in Jerusalem.[470] Josephus contends that Onias planned thereby to cause a schism with the Temple in Jerusalem. John J. Collins calls this view "highly implausible."[471] In fact, Collins contends that "there is no record that [Onias'] temple was ever a bone of

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[467] J. G. Manning, "Ptolemies," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome* (7 vols.; ed. M. Gagarin; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 5.60–62, esp. 5.61.

[468] For a survey of scholarly opinions on whether it was Onias III (167 BCE; *B.J.* 1.31-33; 7.420-36) or Onias IV (162 BCE; *A.J.* 12.9.387-88) who fled to Egypt, see John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 69. He notes that "Josephus' account is riddled with contradictions and implausibilities" (Ibid, 69).

[469] *B.J.* 7.426. Josephus states that Memphis was 180 furlongs (36 km) away. This places the temple in the nome of Heliopolis. Collins states that "Onias the general was identical with Onias the priest, and that his settlement in the land of Onias was a military colony…[and] he was allowed to build his temple as a reward for his service [to Philometor]" (Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 69).

[470] *B.J.* 7.426-432, esp. 427: "Onias built a fortress and a temple…a tower…to the height of sixty cubits." The Temple in Jerusalem was also said to be 60 cubits in height. See a survey of archaeological findings in Kasher, *Alexandrian Jews*, 121–32.

[471] Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 71. Josephus writes that "by building this temple he [Onias] should draw away a great number [of Jews from Jerusalem] to himself" (*B.J.* 7.431). Arnaldo Momigliano agrees (*Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975], 118). Collins disagrees, especially since "if Onias wanted to set up a temple that would be a center for Egyptian Jewry and rival Jerusalem, he would have set it up in Alexandria" (*Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 71).

contention."[472] Any ill will between the Alexandrian Oniads and the Hasmoneans had

dissipated by the time of Ananias, the son of Onias IV, who Josephus states intervened on

behalf of Alexander Jannaeus before Queen Cleopatra III (142–101 BCE).[473]

Historical realities notwithstanding, Ben Sira's grandson may have viewed things

quite differently. Since he lived in Alexandria, his political loyalties may have been so

firmly planted in Cleopatra II, and his Torah-based ideological worldview so inextricably

linked with his grandfather's, that he could not countenance an incestuous Ptolemaic king

whose brother had granted permission to construct a 'rival' Jewish temple in Leontopolis.

His Greek translation of Ben Sira allusionally connects the Jews in Simon II's day with

the Hebrews who witnessed the dedication of the Solomonic temple (*pasa ekklēsia*

Israēl). This adds rhetorical force to Ben Sira's laudatory depiction of the *Judean*

Temple's high priest, a high priest whose political sympathies did not lie with the

Ptolemies.[474] Tiller adds one more observation that raises the political profile of the

Judean high priest in Sirach even further. He notes that Sirach "never, or almost never,

mentions the *gerousia*" as playing a role during *ekklēsiai*.[475]

In sum, Sirach appears to describe a public synagogue institution in Judea, not

least in nine of his thirteen references to an *ekklēsia*. Therein, he depicts a publicly

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[472] Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 71. Collins states that "it is noteworthy that, despite the flagrant violation of Deuteronomic law posed by a temple outside of Jerusalem, later Rabbinic Judaism stopped short of condemning the Oniad temple outright…(*Menachot* 13:10). The Talmud confirms this view and adds explicitly that the temple of Onias was not idolatrous" (Ibid, 72).

[473] Josephus claims that Ananias said to Cleopatra III, "For I would have you know that an injustice done to this man [Alexander Jannaeus] will make all of us [Alexandrian and Judean] Jews your enemies" (*A.J.* 13.354).

[474] One other example of an earlier Jewish literary work from Egypt that reflects pro-Temple rhetoric is *Sib. Or.* 3. Collins writes that "the hypothesis that *Sib. Or.* 3 was composed in circles close to the younger Onias [IV] accounts satisfactorily for all aspects of the work [such as]…enthusiasm for the Ptolemaic house…[and] the strange silence…on the Maccabean revolt" (*Apocalyptic Imagination*, 124).

[475] Tiller, "Sociological Settings," 246.

accessible meeting, one that is contemporaneous with, or earlier than, himself, and within

which juridical, political, and religious matters are addressed.

3.2.3.3. Four Interpretations of Ekklēsia in Sirach

Sirach's translation of Ben Sira's *qhl* with *ekklēsia* may reflect rhetoric more than

reality. Four interpretive options arise. Is Ben Sira's grandson viewing the Judean *qhl*

through the lens of a Greco-Roman *ekklēsia*, an Alexandrian Jewish *ekklēsia*, or a Judean

ekklēsia, or is he simply translating *qhl* as *ekklēsia* due to translational constraints?

Greco-Roman Ekklēsia*?*

Du Toit, following Middendorp, claims that Sirach's Judean *ekklēsiai* are

anachronistically presented along the lines of Greek civic *ekklēsiai*.[476] If that is true, then

the word *ekklēsia* in Sirach is not the actual name used by Judean Jews for their publicly

accessible assemblies. This makes *ekklēsia* surrogate terminology by which an

Alexandrian Jewish readership, one familiar with Greek *ekklēsiai*, is able more readily to

understand how public assemblies in faraway Judea function. This implies that Greek and

Judean public institutions (i.e., synagogues) were functionally equivalent.

Alexandrian Jewish Ekklēsia*?*

It is also possible that, concurrent with the reign of Ptolemy VIII, Jewish semi-

public assemblies named *ekklēsia* were actually convened in Alexandria. If so, then Ben

Sira's grandson is viewing the Judean *qhl* through the lens of a Jewish synagogue

association in Alexandria called *ekklēsia*. While there is no extant evidence for the

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[476] Du Toit notes that "Sirach basically has the meeting of a Greek δῆμος in mind. Nevertheless, the Jewish theocratic idea is not yet abandoned. This is clear from 24.2, where he changes the traditional ἐκκλησία κυρίου to ἐκκλησία ὑψίστου in order not to offend Greek-oriented readers" ("*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 135–36). See also, Middendorp, *Stellung*, 172.

existence of Jewish *ekklēsiai* in Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy VIII, such an institution does appear to surface almost two centuries later. Runesson, Binder and Olsson suggest that three *ekklēsia* references in Philo describe Jewish synagogue communities in Alexandria.[477]

Judean Ekklēsia*?*

A third possibility is that Sirach's use of the word *ekklēsia* reflects actual Greek terminology used by Jews in Judea contemporaneous with Sirach's time (*c*. 132 BCE), or with Ben Sira's time (*c*. 200 BCE). The latter option is somewhat counter-intuitive. It requires Ben Sira's use of the Hebrew word *qhl* to be secondary rather than original. If Yeshua ben El-azar ben Sira, however, is constructing a Torah-based symbolic universe to counter a Hellenistic worldview, then one can understand why, in the politically tumultuous times of his day, he might choose to describe a public assembly in Judea, which the Jewish authorities of his day call *ekklēsia*, with a Hebrew term instead (*qhl*). In so doing Ben Sira implicitly re-casts that contemporary Judean assembly into continuity with the ancient Israelite *qhl*, a Hebrew community that was faithful to the Mosaic Law.

Ekklēsia *as Translational Conundrum?*

A fourth interpretive option may simply be that Ben Sira's grandson felt constrained by lexical considerations to translate *qhl* with *ekklēsia* rather than with *synagōgē*. In other words, since the LXX uses *synagōgē* to translate two Hebrew terms (*qhl*, *'dh*), but uses *ekklēsia* only for one (*qhl*), Sirach ensures that his readership in Alexandria, where the translation of the LXX first began, has no possibility of

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[477] *ASSB*, nos. 201–203 (*Virt*. 108, *Spec*. 1.324–325, *Deus* 111, respectively).

misunderstanding his grandfather's original wording; Sirach translates *qhl* with *ekklēsia*.

There is a semantic consequence, though, to this terminological choice. In the LXX,

synagōgē translates more precisely the type of assembly to which Sirach regularly

refers—a meeting in the generic sense—while *ekklēsia* refers more consistently to one

particular assembly—the supra-local *ekklēsia* of Israel and its meetings.[478] Sirach appears

to take pains to avoid that confusion. He does not use *ekklēsia* in a supra-local sense.

Rather, he applies the term *ekklēsia* to a local public assembly, one that is only

occasionally convened, and then only within certain regions of Israel's geo-political

boundaries (e.g., Jerusalem). In this, Ben Sira's *qhl*, which was translated as *ekklēsia* by

his grandson, is presented as a public synagogue institution, complete with religious (e.g.,

Torah reading) and administrative (e.g., judicial, political) elements.

While all four options are possible, one seems preferable— *ekklēsia* as a public

synagogue institution in Judea around 132 BCE. One factor in particular tips the scales in

favour of such a view. If the *ekklēsia* in 1 Macc 14:19 is a public institution which existed

in Jerusalem during Simon Maccabeus' day (*c.* 141 BCE), then it is not unreasonable to

assume that only nine years later when Ben Sira's grandson emigrates from Judea to

Alexandria and there translates *qhl* with *ekklēsia* that he is doing so because actual

ekklēsiai in Judea, especially in Jerusalem, still existed.

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[478] The LXX translates קהל as *ekklēsia* in Deuteronomy (except 5:22), Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. In the rest of the LXX קהל is translated by *synagōgē*.

3.3. *Public Assemblies in 1ˢᵗ Century CE Judea (Josephus)*

Josephus uses *ekklēsia* 48 times.[479] He mirrors its use in the LXX for "a

summoned assembly."[480] This summoned assembly can consist of all Hebrews/Jews in a

particular region,[481] or of a sub-group of a larger community.[482] In both cases, Josephus

implies that once an *ekklēsia* is dismissed, it ceases to exist as a communal identity.[483] In

order to indicate a legally sanctioned assembly, Josephus pairs *ekklēsia* with verbs also

used by Greek sources.[484] Josephus most clearly indicates a formally constituted

assembly by conjoining *eis ekklēsian* with *synagō* (11x).[485] His eleven references are

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[479] Josephus uses the word *ekklēsia* forty times in *Antiquitates judaicae* (*Jewish Antiquities*), seven times in *Bellum judaicum* (*Jewish War*), and once in *Vita* (*Life*). The 48 *ekklēsia* references are: *Antiquitates judaicae* 3.84, 188, 292, 300, 306, 307; 4.22, 24, 35, 36, 63, 142, 176, 309; 5.72, 93, 105, 110, 111; 6.86, 222; 7.370; 8.122, 222, 358, 368; 9.8, 10, 250; 11.172, 228; 12.164; 13.114, 216; 14.150, 252; 16.62, 135, 393; 19.332; *Bellum judaicum* 1.550, 654, 666; 4.159, 162, 255; 7.412; and *Vita* 268. Josephus lived from *c.* 37–97 CE.

[480] Josephus most commonly uses the prepositional phrase εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, and its variations (εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν [4x], εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας [1x]) to indicate an assembly of people (30x). Of this total, the anarthrous prepositional phrase is used 25 times. Other prepositional phrases used by Josephus to indicate an assembly of people are ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ (1x), ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (1x), and ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίας (1x).

[481] Two examples are *A.J.* 3.84 ("He called the multitude into an assembly [*ekklēsia*] to hear what God would say to it [the assembly of people]") and *B.J.* 7.412 ("after gathering all the Jews into an assembly [*ekklēsia*]").

[482] Three examples are *A.J.* 6.222 ("and after coming to Samuel and finding an assembly [*ekklēsia*] of prophets of God"), *A.J.* 8.222 ("Then Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, made an assembly [*ekklēsia*] of the two tribes"), and *A.J.* 16.393 ("after bringing into an assembly [*ekklēsia*] three hundred officers who were under an accusation").

[483] Three examples are *A.J.* 3.306 ("and when the assembly [*ekklēsia*] was dispersed, they [the men], their wives, and children continued the lamentation"), *A.J.* 8.122 ("After the king had spoken these things to the multitude, he dispersed the assembly [*ekklēsia*]") and *A.J.* 14.150.

[484] Josephus collocates *synagō* with *ekklēsia* (not only *eis ekklēsian*) for formal assemblies of Jews called by: Moses (*A.J.* 3.188; 4.35, 63, 142, 309), Joshua (*A.J.* 5.72, 93), Ahab (*A.J.* 8.368), Jehoshaphat (*A.J.* 9.8), Mordecai (*A.J.* 11.228), Ptolemy (*A.J.* 13.114), Herod (*A.J.* 16.62), and Queen Salome (*B.J.* 1.666). Josephus' use of collocation of the verb ποιέω and ἐκκλησία to denote the formation of an assembly of people (*A.J.* 6.86; 8.222, 358; *Vita* 268) also mirrors Greek inscriptional and literary *praxis* (e.g., Thuc. *Pelop. War* 1.139.3; 4.118.14; 6.8.2; Lysias, *Against Erat.* 12.72; Plut., *Cleomenes* 10.1; *IMT NoerdlTroas* 4 [Troas, 2ⁿᵈ cent. BCE (?)]; *Syll.*³ 622 [Delphi, 185–175 BCE]).

[485] For full text of the prepositional phrase *eis ekklēsian* in its eleven pairings with *synagō* plus its eleven pairings with verbs which speak only of convening or entry, see Appendix #9 (*Verbs with* Eis Ekklēsian: *Josephus*). Feldman notes that Josephus' collocation of *ekklēsia* and *synagō* for indicating the convening of a regular assembly (e.g., *A.J.* 3.188 and 4.176) accords with the practice of other Greek writers (*Flavius Josephus: Judean Antiquities 1–4* [trans. and commentary Louis Feldman; Leiden: Brill, 2004], 341 n. 87; 393 n. 527). He does not, though, compare occurrences of *ekklēsia* and *synagō* with or

consistent with Greek literary *praxis* in that they always depict the person who gathers

(*synagō*) the *laos* into an *ekklēsia* as being a high-ranking (religio-) political dignitary of

that *laos*.[486] The other verbs paired with *eis ekklēsian* can also indicate a legitimate

assembly into which people are called by an official community leader.[487] Only twice

does *eis ekklēsian* occur without a verb. In both instances an unauthorized *ekklēsia* is

convened for the purpose of inciting rebellion, first, against Moses (*A.J.* 4.22), and,

second, against King Agrippa (*A.J.* 19.332).[488] Josephus implicitly reinforces the illegal

nature of each *ekklēsia* by avoiding any mention of a verb of summoning/convening/

entry. In *A.J.* 19.332, for example, Josephus speaks of a man named Simon, a renegade

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without the preposition *eis*, nor does he provide corroborative evidence for his case from Plutarch who numerous times uses the same formulation (ἐκκλησίαν ... συναγαγών) in reference to the convening of civic *ekklēsiai* (e.g., *Dion* 33.2; 48.2; *Timoleon* 10.2; *Caesar* 19.2; *Lycurgus*, 6.2; 29.1; *Caius Marius*, 33.3; *Amilius Paulus*, 11.1; 30.4; 36.2; *Agis* 9.1; *Camillus* 42.4; *Cato the Younger*, 18.1; *Lives, Caius Marcius Coriolanus* 26.3). See further in Appendix #8. The eleven occurrences of verbs of convening or entry that are paired with the prepositional phrase εἰς ἐκκλησίαν are *synkaleō* (3x), *kaleō* (1x), *proagō* (1x), *synerchomai* (2x), *athroizō* (2x), *proeimi* (1x), and *hēkō* (1x).

[486] See Appendix #8. *Synagō* is paired with *eis ekklēsian* in Polybius (5x), Diodorus Siculus (4x), Plutarch (7x), Pausanias (1x), and in only one inscription (*Samos* 119). *Synagō* is paired with the simple noun *ekklēsia* 47 times in Greek literary works, and 18 times in Greek inscriptions. None of these eighteen inscriptional examples come from Attica, with only four hailing from Hellas proper (Macedonia, Thessaly, and Peloponnesos). Ben Sira's sole mention of the anarthrous *eis ekklēsian* is juxtaposed with the lexically related compound verb *exagō* and is set within the context of a formal synagogue meeting in which juridical matters, specifically adultery, are addressed (Sir 23:24).

[487] Of Josephus' 25 *eis ekklēsian* occurrences, 4 are found in *Jewish War*, and 21 in *Antiquities*, with 16 of those referring to biblical timeframes (e.g., Moses, Joshua, David, Mordecai; see Appendix #9). The public nature of these assemblies is made even more explicit by Josephus in *A.J.* 4.309 where Moses is said to gather (*synagagōn*) *eis ekklēsian* not just men, but also women and children, and even slaves. The intermingling of persons of different gender, legal status, and citizenry status was rare, at best, within Greek civic *ekklēsiai*. Each of Josephus' 6 remaining references to community leaders gathering people *eis ekklēsian* refer to a public meeting of Jews convened within Judea or Galilee for the enactment of business related to local matters. The six places where Josephus uses the phrase *eis ekklēsian* in relation to a purportedly official gathering of Jews are found in *B.J.* 1.654 (Herod, Judea; πρόεισιν), *B.J.* 1.666 (Queen Salome, Judea; συνῆγον), *B.J.* 4.162 (Ananus, Judea; συνελθόντος), *B.J.* 7.412 (Alexandria; *hoi prōteuontes tēs gerousia*; ἀθροίσαντες), *A J.* 16.393 (Herod, Judea; προαγαγὼν) and *A.J.* 19.332 (Simon, Judea; no verb). Aside from Josephus' 25 usages of the anarthrous prepositional phrase *eis ekklēsian*, four times he also uses the articular phrase *eis tēn ekklēsian*, whether in the plural (*A.J.* 3.292; ἐχρῶντο) or in the singular (*A J.* 3.307, συντρέχουσι; 4.24, ἧκεν; 4.35, συνῆλθον). Each describes a formal assembly of the people of Israel during biblical timeframes.

[488] See Appendix #9 for the Greek text of *A.J.* 4.22 and 19.332.

leader in Jerusalem, who illegally calls together an *ekklēsia* during the king's absence. He

convenes that *ekklēsia* so as to enact a decree excluding Agrippa from the Temple.[489]

Josephus' use of *ekklēsia* terminology raises the question as to whether it is *etic* or

emic terminology relative to his Judean referents.[490] Du Toit argues that Josephus' view

of *ekklēsia* is "thoroughly Hellenized," meaning that his interpretive template for Jewish

assemblies is the Greek civic assembly.[491] "Exhibit A," so to speak, in du Toit's case is

Josephus' practice of not following the LXX in modifying *ekklēsia* with the two genitival

constructs "of the LORD" (*kyriou*) or "of God" (*theou*) when speaking of the *ekklēsia* of

Israel. Louis Feldman mirrors du Toit's view. He sees a solely political dimension in

Josephus' use of the word *ekklēsia*. He cites as evidence the fact that Josephus

incorporates political procedures from Greek civic *ekklēsiai* into his descriptions of the

communal *praxeis* of the *ekklēsia* of Israel in the desert.[492] Steve Mason indirectly

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[489] Josephus does not pair a verb with the phrase πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ("multitude into an assembly"; *A.J.*19.332).

[490] Kenneth Pike first used the neologisms "*emic*" and "*etic*" from analogy with the linguistic terms "phonemic" and "phonetic." He states that "descriptions or analyses from the *etic* standpoint are 'alien' in view, with criteria external to the system. *Emic* descriptions provide an internal view with criteria chosen from within the system. They represent to us the view of one familiar with the system and who knows how to function within it himself" (*Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour* [Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1954], 153; see also, idem, *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate* [Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1990]). Marvin Harris provides a further nuance relative to Pike's original definition of the terms *emic* and *etic* when applied to the study of cultural systems (*Cultural Materialism* [updated ed.; Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2001], esp. 37–40). Within the context of *ancient* societies, April D. DeConick helpfully describes an *emic* term as "a word actually used by ancient people to describe their experiences" ("What is Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism?" in *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism* [Symposium 11; ed. A. D. DeConick; Atlanta: SBL, 2006], 1–24, esp. 2). DeConick defines an *etic* term as one that reflects "a modern typology, [it is] contemporary analytic vocabulary that we are imposing on the ancients in order to investigate their religiosity" (Ibid, 2). She notes the functionality of an *etic* term: "it serves the modern scholar heuristically as a taxonomy aiding our engagement in historical investigation and research. It is a comparative analytic tool created and employed by outsiders to the culture and imposed on insiders" (Ibid, 2).

[491] Du Toit, "*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 134 n. 68.

[492] Regarding Josephus' recounting of Moses' orders to Korah and his followers (*A.J.* 4:35; Num 16:6-7), Louis Feldman observes that "Moses makes a proposal to the multitude, and they give their free

corroborates the "Hellenized" readings of these two scholars. Mason claims that

Josephus' emphasis on the *politeia* of Israel in *Antiquities* brings him regularly to use

Greek political language for Israel and her constitution.[493] Josephus' main impulse in this

regard is said to be his desire to use terminology that was familiar to his target audience:

Greek speakers in Rome.[494]

Even if one grants Josephus' definition of *ekklēsia* as being "thoroughly

Hellenized,"[495] it would not be solely political for at least three reasons. First, Greek civic

ekklēsiai were not solely political; they integrated religious and political issues.[496]

Second, one of the public *ekklēsiai* in the Land described by Josephus expressly

concerned itself with religious matters: the *ekklēsia* convened by Simon against King

Agrippa (*A.J.* 19.332). The incorporation of religious issues in that *ekklēsia* accords with

Levine's definition of a public synagogue.[497]

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consent [which shows that] Josephus continues to use Greek political vocabulary when he describes this meeting as an assembly (ἐκκλησία)" (*Flavius Josephus*, 341 n. 87).

[493] Stephen Mason, "Should Any Wish to Enquire Further (*Ant*. 1.25): The Aim and Audience of Josephus' *Judean Antiquities/Life*," in *Understanding Josephus: Seven Perspectives* (JSPSup 32; ed. S. Mason; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 64–103, esp. 80–87. For example, in *A.J.* 3.84, Josephus cites Moses as saying that God "has suggested…an order of political government (*politeia*) [for you]."

[494] The Greek civic *ekklēsia* was well known to Josephus' Hellenistic Jewish and/or gentile audience. Given that the word *synagōgē* was already in use in a more specialized sense for Jewish gatherings or buildings, it is not surprising that Josephus only uses the word *synagōgē* eight times. Six times Josephus uses *synagōgē* in reference to a building (*A.J.* 19.300, 305[2x]; *B.J.* 2.285, 289; 7.44). The other two times are to a collection of water (*A.J.* 15.346) and of books (*A.J.* 1.10). Elsewhere Josephus replaces the word *synagōgē* with *ekklēsia* whenever the LXX context for the occurrence of *synagōgē* does not speak of a building within which Jews gathered.

[495] Du Toit states that Josephus' "ἐκκλησία is thoroughly Hellenized" because the modifying phrase κυρίου/θεοῦ "is completely lacking" ("*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 134 n. 68).

[496] See the discussion in §2.4 of Part I on the integration of religious ritual within the agendas of Greco-Roman civic *ekklēsiai*.

[497] For further details regarding the communal nature of public synagogal entities, especially among rural areas in Israel, see Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 1–6. He states that "Because of its centrality and importance in the community, the synagogue played an integrative role in ancient Jewish society. The inclusiveness of its activities, ranging from social to religious and from political to educational, underscores this fact" (Ibid, 5).

Third, a fusion of religion and politics is clearly implied in the only time that

Josephus uses *ekklēsia* as a collective designation. In *A.J.* 4.176, Josephus calls the

theocratic community of Israel, as it is about to enter the Promised Land, simply an

ekklēsia. In so doing, he avoids attaching either of the religious modifiers usually added

by the LXX ("of the LORD/*kyriou*" or "of God/*theou*).[498] Did Josephus assume that his

Hellenized readers would understand the religio-political nature of that community

simply through the word *ekklēsia* itself?[499] Even if that was not his understanding, it is

still difficult to maintain that Josephus reflects "Hellenized" usage here: there is no

Hellenistic precedent for a religio-political *community* permanently being designated as

an *ekklēsia*. As will be seen, the only possible precedents are Jewish, whether the LXX,

association synagogues located in Egypt (Philo) and Judea (Paul), or the *ekklēsiai* of early

Christ-followers.[500]

The *ekklēsiai* mentioned by Josephus range in location from Judea to the

Diaspora, excluding Galilee. Within Judea, Josephus mentions the existence of a public

ekklēsia in Jerusalem during Herod's reign. Rocca calls it "the General Assembly,"

although there is no adjectival qualifier in Josephus' Greek text to warrant such a

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[498] *A.J.* 4.176 reads, Μωυσῆς ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ συναγαγών ("Moses gathered the *ekklēsia* near the Jordan"). Elsewhere, Josephus speaks of the people of Israel being gathered into an *ekklēsia*, but not of the people of Israel being called an *ekklēsia* (cf. *A.J.* 3.84, 188, 300, 307; 4.22, 24, 35, 36, 63, 142, 176, 309).

[499] In 47 out of Josephus' 48 usages of the word *ekklēsia*, he refers to an assembly of all Israelites or Jews gathered in a certain place, or to a gathering of a local assembly either of a sub-group of Israelites (e.g., prophets; *A.J.* 6.222) or of Jews (100 prominent men; *Vita* 268).

[500] For an extensive analysis of Josephus' familiarity with New Testament concepts and content, see Steve Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003). Mason does not note, though, that Josephus' unmodified use of *ekklēsia* for the *ekklēsia* of Israel (*A.J.* 4:176) requires a source other than the LXX. Pre-existing Greco-Roman usage does not use *ekklēsia* as a permanent collective identity for a group of people, only some Jewish or early Christ-follower communities do.

distinctive title.[501] He contends that its value to Herod lay in its function as a sounding

board for his policies and for assessing his level of popularity among the Judean populace

(e.g., *A.J.* 16.62).[502] This political strategy is not atypical of earlier Hellenistic rulers who

"liked to demonstrate that their rule derived from the people."[503] E. P. Sanders argues

that Herod convened this assembly only when he desired to legitimate instances of capital

punishment.[504] Rocca differs. He presumes, without documentation, that "Herod

convened this assembly on more trivial occasions not mentioned by Josephus."[505]

Josephus also uses *ekklēsia* to designate a Jewish assembly in Alexandria. He

mentions that "principal men of the *gerousia*" (*hoi prōteuontes*) convened an *ekklēsia*

(*B.J.* 7:412).[506] The *prōteuontes* called the *ekklēsia* to debate the fate of Sicarii who had

fled to Alexandria after the fall of Masada. Eleanor G. Huzar notes that a Greek civic

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[501] Rocca cites three instances in Josephus of what he calls Herod's "General Assembly" (*A.J.* 15.381, *A.J.* 16.393-94, and *B.J.* 1.150) (*Herod's Judea*, 266). A Greek equivalent for the word "General" does not occur in Josephus' text; *ekklēsia* is unmodified. In *A.J.* 16.393-94 and in *B.J.* 1.150, Herod brings into an *ekklēsia* (*eis ekklēsia* and *en ekklēsia*, respectively) his son Tero, the barber Tryphon, who along with Alexander, were accused of plotting an insurrection. The *laos* carried out the execution. In *A.J.* 15.381 Rocca identifies "the multitude" (*plēthos*) as another instance of Herod's "General Assembly." In *A.J.* 15.381 Herod calls the *plēthos* together (*synkaleō*) before initiating work on the Temple Mount. Goldblatt presumes that this *plēthos* constituted an *ekklēsia* since the multitude was invited and it played a public role (*Monarchic Principle*, 115). There is a second, and final, mention of *plēthos* in Josephus, but Rocca does not mention it (*B.J.* 1.648-650). According to Goldblatt, Josephus speaks of Herod convening an assembly to judge those accused of being responsible for pulling down the eagle from the entrance to the Temple precincts.

[502] Rocca, *Herod's Judea*, 266. He surmises that "the Herodian *ekklēsia* was probably convened *ad hoc* and consisted entirely of free men of military age, perhaps divided between priests and laymen as in the *ekklēsia megalē* called by Simon" (Ibid, 266–67).

[503] Rocca, *Herod's Judea*, 266. Rocca notes that diasporic precedence is provided by the "Ptolemies in Alexandria, who abolished the *boulē* but conserved the *ekklesia*" (Ibid, 266 n. 69). Rocca directs the reader to the study by "Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellenistique*, II, 440–45, 522–27, 537–39" (Ibid, 266 n. 69).

[504] E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief—Early Roman Period (63 BCE to 66 CE)* (Philadelphia: TPI, l992), 483–84.

[505] Rocca, *Herod's Judea*, 266 n. 71.

[506] *B.J.* 7.412 reads, "but when the principal men (οἱ πρωτεύοντες) of the [Jewish] senate [in Alexandria] saw what madness they were come to, they thought it no longer safe for themselves to overlook them. So they got all the Jews together to an assembly (ἀθροίσαντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους), and accused the madness of the Sicarii."

ekklēsia had not existed in Alexandria since before the Julio-Claudian period (29 BCE–

68 CE).[507] Thus, either Josephus is using Greek *ekklēsiai* outside of Egypt as his literary

template for the Jewish assembly in Alexandria, or he is referring to an actual Jewish

assembly that was named *ekklēsia*. Philo lends credence to the authentic nature of

Josephus' Alexandrian *ekklēsia* when he speaks of a publicly accessible *ekklēsia* for

Alexandrian Jews that was convened decades earlier (*Spec*. 1.324–25; pre-45 CE).[508]

Aside from Philo's works, there is a second reason why Josephus may be

historically accurate in his use of *ekklēsia* for Alexandrian synagogue assemblies.

Josephus demonstrates insider knowledge in his description of another Jewish political

institution: the *gerousia* ("senate" or "council"; *B.J.* 7:412). Both Greeks and Jews in

Alexandria had a *gerousia* as their chief leadership council.[509] The Jewish *gerousia* was

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[507] Eleanor G. Huzar, "Alexandria and Aegyptum in the Julio-Claudian Age," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, 2.10.1 (ed. H. Temporini; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 619–68, esp. 656–63. Huzar also notes that Augustus disbanded the *boulē*. Huzar cites *PSI* 1160 (20/19 BCE) as evidence that a *boulē* existed prior to Augustus' conquest of Alexandria (Ibid, 667 n. 202). The Alexandrians sent delegates to Augustus early in his reign (*c*. 20/19 BCE, perhaps again in 13 CE) to request the reestablishment of the *boulē* (Ibid, 667). The *koina tōn archontōn* was the Roman replacement for, but with lesser authority than, the defunct *boulē*. This council was presided over by a board of the *prytaneis*, the executive board of the city. Huzar notes that the *prytaneis* was wholly subservient to the Roman Prefect, with the major officials being directly appointed and the lesser officials closely supervised (Ibid, 661).

[508] *Spec*. 1.324–25 reads, "Thus, knowing that in the assemblies (*en tais ekklēsiais*) there are not a few worthless persons who steal their way in and remain unobserved in the large numbers which surround them…." See further in Part II, §4.1 on Philo's use of the word *ekklēsia*.

[509] Kasher, *Alexandrian Jews*, 172. Kasher gives a summary of the scholarly *status quaestiones* on the Alexandrian *gerousia*. The Greek *gerousia* was either "a public institution operating mainly in matters of religion which sometimes took part in the administration of the city…[or] a body representing a social organization, such as 'older citizens' or 'younger citizens,' which at most had some political influence in the life of the city" (Ibid, 172). Huzar concurs and adds that the Greek *gerousia* had 173 members ("Alexandria and Aegyptum," 662). Kasher notes that "the important point here is that the Greek community organization in Alexandria had a *gerousia*, just as the Jewish *politeuma* had, and in that respect had no advantage. This fact is evidence of *isopoliteia* that the Jews enjoyed according to Josephus" (*Alexandrian Jews*, 172). The Jewish *gerousia* had replaced the office of the *ethnarchēs*, which was disbanded by Augustus. The Jewish *gerousia* was comprised of a council of 71 elders (*genarchai*) who were connected in some fashion with the gymnasium (Philo, *In Flacc*., 73ff) (Huzar, "Alexandria and Aegyptum," 661; see also Arnaldo Momigliano, review of S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, M. P. Charles-Worth,

established for the *politeuma* ("community")[510] in Alexandria well before Josephus'

account of the *sicarii*. The Jewish *gerousia* was formally instituted after the death of their

ethnarch (10/11 CE) by decree of Caesar Augustus (12 CE).[511]

By way of overview, Josephus uses all three of the most common synagogue

terms: *synagōgē*,[512] *proseuchē*,[513] and *ekklēsia*.[514] Of these, only *ekklēsia* is never used by

Josephus in reference to a physical structure. He uses *ekklēsia* in reference to public

meetings, but not as the self-designation of a semi-public Jewish voluntary association.

3.4. Summary: Ekklēsia *and Public Jewish Assemblies*

A number of conclusions can be reached with respect to *ekklēsia* occurrences in

Judith, 1 Maccabees, Ben Sira, and the writings of Josephus. With respect to the

Hellenistic-era writings (Judith, 1 Maccabees, Ben Sira), three conclusions seem

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The Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. X. The Augustan Empire, 44 B.C.–A.D. 70, *JRS* 34 [1944]:109–16, esp. 114–15).

[510] In two roughly contemporaneous Egyptian inscriptions, Runesson, Binder and Olsson translate the word *politeuma* as "community" (*CJZ* 70 = *CIG* 3.5362; 8–6 BCE; *CJZ* 71 = *CIG* 3.5361, *SEG* 16.931; Oct. 24, 24 CE) (*ASSB*, nos. 131, 132). The word *politeuma* disappears in favour of *synagōgē* in *CJZ* 72 (= *SEG* 17.823; Dec 3, 55 CE). Harland notes that a comparison of these three Greek inscriptions from Berenike demonstrates that groups of Jews in Berenike (Cyrenaica) "employed somewhat interchangeably the designations 'the corporate body [*politeuma*] of Judeans in Berenice' and 'the synagogue [*synagōgē*] of Judeans in Berenice'" (*Dynamics of Identity*, 41). With respect to *CJZ* 72, Runesson, Binder and Olsson note that it "contains several striking features. The most striking is the sudden disappearance of the terms *politeuma* and *amphitheatron* in reference to the Jewish community and its civic center. In lieu of these, the word *synagōgē* appears now for the first time referring to the congregation in line 3 and the building in line 5" (*ASSB*, no. 133).

[511] Kasher, *Alexandrian Jews*, 254 (cf. Momigliano, review of S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, M. P. Charles-Worth, 114–15). Kasher also cites Philo as evidence that a Greek *gerousia* existed alongside the Jewish one (*Flacc*. 74, 80; "our *gerousia*"). He notes that "the first-person possessive adjective ["our"] is clear evidence that there was more than one *gerousia* in Alexandria, and this is confirmed by some epigraphical and papyrological material" (Ibid, 253). Kasher provides a select bibliography of evidence for a Jewish *gerousia*: "Momigliano, *JRS* 34 (1934) [*sic!* 1944] 114–115; El-Aggadi, *JEA* 50 (1964) 164–69, Musurillo, 108–110, Fraser, vol. 1, 95; vol. 2, 176–177 nn. 14–16 (where extensive bibliographic details are found)" (Ibid, 172 n. 18).

[512] See n. 350 for Josephus' use of *synagōgē* in reference to physical structures.

[513] See n. 343 for Josephus' use of *proseuchē* in reference to physical structures.

[514] See n. 345 wherein it is noted that Josephus also uses the term *hieron* for a synagogal structure in Jerusalem (*B.J.* 7.144).

warranted. First, each mentions a public gathering in Judea which was called *ekklēsia*. These *ekklēsiai* appear to have addressed the political, juridical, and possibly religious concerns of regionally defined communities.[515] Second, 1 Maccabees (4:59; 14:19) and Sirach (50:13, 20) are alone in their use of *ekklēsia* as a temporary collective designation for Jews during the time in which they are gathered in assembly. Third, *ekklēsia* is used in *etic* fashion in Judith wherein a Judean *ekklēsia*, which is contemporaneous with the author, appears to be retrojected into the narrative timeframe of 8th century BCE events. Sirach uses *ekklēsia* when ostensibly describing some early 2nd century BCE public Judean synagogue institutions. In reality, however, this practice may reflect a Seleucid-era Judean institution named *ekklēsia*, one that is contemporaneous, at the very least, with the translation of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira into Greek (132 BCE).

A public Jewish synagogue institution appears to have continued within Judea well into the 1st century CE, at least insofar as the witness of Josephus is concerned, although it is possible that he is using *ekklēsia* in *etic* fashion for the benefit of his Greco-Roman reading audience. The interrelationship between each of the three synagogue terms found within Josephus' writings (*synagōgē*, *proseuchē*, *ekklēsia*) can be encapsulated as follows: Josephus' *ekklēsiai* may have been constituted within a *proseuchē* or a *synagōgē* after being convened by the leadership of a local *synagōgē*. As is the case with Judith, 1 Maccabees, and Ben Sira, in Josephus' writings the word *ekklēsia* does not refer to a physical structure,[516] while *synagōgē* can. In the Jewish

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[515] E.g., Jdt 6:16, 21; 1 Macc 5:16; 14:19; Sir 15:5; 21:17; 23:24; 38:33; 39:10.
[516] The practice in the LXX of using *ekklēsia* only to indicate assemblies of people, and not the physical structures within which those people meet, is consistent with Greek *praxis* in the Classical, Hellenistic and Imperial periods. In Part I (*Ekklēsia* in Greek and Roman Sources), I note that the word

writings studied thus far, a consistent pattern repeats itself: the gathered community of

Jews, known as *synagōgē*, make decisions relative to local administrative, judicial, social,

and religious matters during the course of a public *ekklēsia* gathering.

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ekklēsia did not identify physical structures within which the *ekklēsia* met. The *ekklēsia* met in locations such as the agora (Athens), the Pnyx (Athens), or the *ekklēsiasterion* (Priene).

4. **Ekklēsia** *and Non-Civic Jewish Institutions*

In the Jewish sources examined thus far, a *public ekklēsia* has primarily been in

view. In this section, usages of the word *ekklēsia* for *semi-public* Jewish synagogue

communities will be examined. Both Ben Sira[517] and Philo[518] mention cultically-focused

synagogue associations, but as will be seen, only Philo designates one as an *ekklēsia*.

4.1. Egyptian Jewish Non-Civic Groups Named **Ekklēsia***? (Philo)*

Philo uses the word *ekklēsia* twenty-three times. Nineteen *ekklēsia* occurrences

are set within the context of Israel's desert wanderings, with fifteen of those referring

directly or indirectly to the giving of the law in Deuteronomy 23. Du Toit views these

fifteen *ekklēsia* references as "self-evident designations… [with] a cultic connotation,"[519]

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[517] As one who dedicated himself to the life of a "scribe" (Prologue, 39:1-11), Ben Sira invites his less educated readers to "draw near to me, you who are uneducated, and lodge in the house of instruction" (51:23; ἐγγίσατε πρός με, ἀπαίδευτοι, καὶ αὐλίσθητε ἐν οἴκῳ παιδείας) for the purpose of Torah education (51:24-28). The Greek phrase translated "house of instruction" (*oikos paideias*) derives from the Hebrew phrase *beit midrash*. Ben Sira's description of what appears to be a dedicated structure for religious education presages later rabbinic usage of the same phrase ("house of study/learning") to identify the structures within which they facilitated Torah education. In *m. Ter*. 11:10 the *bet hamidrash* may very well be a building, which brings Runesson to claim that "the rabbis and their predecessors…[were] a voluntary association whose institution was the *bet hamidrash*" (*Origins of the Synagogue*, 486; see also 223–34; cf. Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 105). Runesson claims that the community which meets in Sirach's "house of instruction" reflects "the earliest evidence for this type of institution [Jewish voluntary association] in the land" of Israel (*Origins of the Synagogue*, 314, 318).

[518] Philo speaks of Essenes (Judea) and Theraputae (Egypt) "because they are models of Judaism according to his ideals" (see *Hypothetica* 11, 18 and *Prob*. 88–91) (Peder Borgen, "Philo of Alexandria," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* [CRINT II; ed. M. E. Stone; Assen/ Philadelphia: Van Gorcum/Fortress Press, 1984], 233–82, esp. 248). For Philo, the Essenes are ideal examples of the practical life, and the Theraputae of the contemplative life (Borgen, "Philo," 248). For a fuller discussion of areas of agreement between Essenes and Theraputae, see Samuel Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judaism* (New York: Ktav, 1972), 194–96. One essential contrast is that, unlike the Essenes, the Theraputae allowed women a role in cultic activities, at least insofar as their presence in Sabbath meetings would seem to indicate (*De Vita Contempl*. 32 f). The Theraputae read "twice every day, at morning and at evening…and the interval between…they take up the sacred scriptures and philosophize concerning them, investigating the allegories of their national philosophy" (*De Vita Contempl*. 27–28).

[519] Du Toit, "*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 136.

with only one being used of a local congregation (*Virt*. 108).[520] In this Philo maintains the emphasis of LXX Deuteronomy 23 in which "the focus shifted to the *group* who attended these meetings."[521] Du Toit disavows the possibility that Philo's nineteen *ekklēsia* references to the Israel of the desert tradition, including the *ekklēsia* in *Virt*. 108, indicate a contemporary Jewish synagogue community or meeting.[522] The final four of Philo's twenty-three *ekklēsia* mentions refer to other incidents during the Exodus. These four do not refer to ethno-religious Israel. Du Toit rightly identifies three as only speaking of "public meetings in the Greek sense," not of ancient or contemporary Jewish

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[520] Du Toit states, though, that irrespective of the localized use of *ekklēsia* in *Virt*. 108, "there seems to be a correlation between the local Jewish community and the Jewish people as a whole. To join a local ἐκκλησία means becoming a part of the Jewish people" ("*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 137). Another one of Philo's nineteen cultic references (*Her*. 251) may indicate a synagogue assembly within which the words of the Exodus account are being read: "And, again, in Exodus, in the *ekklēsia*, [we read]" (καὶ ἐν Ἐξαγωγῇ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν).

[521] Du Toit, "*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 137 [author's emphasis]. Du Toit claims that in LXX Deut 23 the *ekklēsia kyriou* is "understood as a closed group with boundary markers and entrance requirements… the ἐκκλησία κυρίου is no longer a one-off assembly; it has acquired a permanent existence of its own and the meeting aspect has become supplementary" (Ibid, 135). He also cites a similar semantic development in LXX Neh 13:1-3 where "separating those of foreign descent from the ἐκκλησία actually means excommunication from the people of Israel" (Ibid, 135).

[522] Du Toit, "*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 136. Direct or indirect references to Deuteronomy 23 are found in *Conf*. 144(2x); *Deus* 111; *Ebr*. 213(2x); *Leg*. 3.8, 81(2x); *Migr*. 69; *Mut*. 204; *Post* 177; *Somn*. 2.184, 187; *Spec*. 1.325; *Virt*. 108. Of these, five contain direct quotations from Deut 23 (*Conf*. 144; *Ebr*. 213; *Leg*. 3.81; *Post*. 177; *Somn*. 2.184; cf. *Virt*. 106). Exodus references occur in: *Dec*. 32, 45; *Her*. 251; and *Post*. 143. The fact that the LXX translates *qāhāl* with *ekklēsia* only beginning in Deuteronomy and there only for the assembly of the nation of Israel as they hear God speak at Mount Horeb (e.g., Deut 4:10; "the day of the *ekklēsia*") serves implicitly to reinforce one of Philo's ideological goals—to establish Moses, the author of Torah, as the philosopher *par excellence* in whose footsteps later Greek philosophers follow (Philo states, for example, that Moses "had reached the very summit of philosophy" and "had learnt from the oracles of God the most numerous and important of the principles of nature" [*Op*. 8]). By ascribing an *ekklēsia* identity to the nation under Moses' leadership, the LXX serendipitously locates Moses' Israel, at least insofar as Philo's ideological agenda is concerned, as a precursor for later Greek *poleis* which adopt *ekklēsia* as the title for their civic assemblies. Given that Torah is Philo's perfect examplar upon which all true philosophy is built, including that of the later Greek philosophers, and that 19 of Philo's 23 *ekklēsia* references are to the Israel in the desert which receives that Torah, then Philo's Moses can be said doubly to presage later Greek culture. If, as I will argue, Philo's *ekklēsia* in *Virt*. 108 is a contemporary non-civic group in Alexandria which prioritizes Torah instruction for Egyptian proselytes, then Philo's Hellenized depiction of Moses derives not simply from an ideological agenda, but ostensibly also from a socio-historical reality.

assemblies.[523] The fourth (*Aet*. 13) refers to the Platonic conception of a "divine

assembly" of the gods.[524]

Philo's awareness of *ekklēsia* terminology not only stems from his familiarity

with the LXX, nor only from his awareness of *ekklēsiai* in Greek *poleis* other than

Alexandria.[525] Philo seems to have had first-hand experience of an *ekklēsia* and of at least

two other Jewish governance models in Alexandria: the *gerousia*[526] and the purported

"great synagogue."[527] Runesson, Binder and Olsson posit that three of Philo's *ekklēsia*

mentions refer to a contemporary, local Jewish group in Egypt which designates either its

meeting or the community itself as an *ekklēsia* (*Virt*. 108, *Spec*. 1.324-25, *Deus* 111).[528]

Scholarly opinion is divided, though, as to whether the three *ekklēsia* references are

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[523] Du Toit, "*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 136. In *Abr*. 20, *Prob*. 138, and *Spec*. 2.44, Philo recounts political institutions among Greco-Roman *poleis* of his day, excluding Alexandria: (*Abr*. 20) "the bad man runs about through the market-place, and theatres, and courts of justice [*dikastēria*] and council halls [*bouleutēria*], and assemblies [*ekklēsias*], and every meeting [*syllogon*] and collection of men [*thiason anthropōn*]"; (*Spec*. 2.44) "in all the cities which they inhabit, avoid all courts of justice [*dikastēria*], and council halls [*bouleutēria*], and market-places [*agoras*], and places of assembly [*ekklēsias*]"; (*Prob*. 138) "for what other object are councils [*boulai*] and assemblies [*ekklēsiai*] convened nearly every day."

[524] *Aet*. 13 reads, "some say that the world has been proved by Plato in the Timaeus to be both uncreated and indestructible, in the account of that divine assembly [*dia tēs theoprepous ekklēsias*] in which the younger gods are addressed by the eldest and the governor of them all."

[525] Within the context of asking "what other object have Greece and the nations of the barbarians ever had in all the continual seditions and wars," Philo answers "for what other object are councils (*boulai*) and assemblies (*ekklēsiai*) convened nearly every day, rather than about freedom" (*Prob*. 138).

[526] Josephus also makes mention of an Alexandrian *gerousia* (*B.J.* 7.412; *hoi prōteuontes tēs gerousia*).

[527] See Levine's discussion of Philo's mention of "the largest and most magnificent [synagogue] in the city" of Alexandria (*Embassy*, 134) (*Ancient Synagogue*, esp. 90–96). Philo (*Embassy*, 133) mentions that the synagogue was "lavishly decorated with, inter alia, insignia, shields, golden crowns, stelae, and inscriptions honoring emperors" (Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 90). The specific phrase "great synagogue" is used of the Alexandrian synagogue only in late antique writings such as Tosefta Sukkah 4.6 and Jerusalem Talmud Sukkah 5.1, 55 A-B. The Tosefta describes the main hall with the basilica-style term *dyplastoon* (a stoa within a stoa, or double stoa) (see Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 92–93). For rabbinic evidence on the great synagogue in Alexandria, see George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era–The Age of Tannaim* (Cambridge, MS: Harvard University Press, 1930), 3.91f..

[528] The full citations, respectively, are On Virtue (*De virtutibus*) 108, The Special Laws (*De specialibus legibus*) book 1, sections 324–25, and That God is Immutable (*Deus ist immutabilis*) 111. See *ASSB*, nos. 201–203 (esp. see each of the "Comments" sections).

simply part of Philo's historical narrative on the Israel of the desert wanderings (e.g.,

LXX Deut 23) or whether they refer to actual institutions contemporaneous with Philo. I

begin my analysis with *Virt*. 108, a passage most consistently identified by scholars as

designating a Jewish non-civic institution in Alexandria during Philo's day.

4.1.1. De virtutibus *108*

In *Virt*. 108 Philo refers back to Deut 23:8, 9 on how sojourners are to be treated,

specifically new converts.

> If any of them should wish to pass over into the Jewish community [τὴν Ἰουδαίων
> πολιτείαν], they must not be spurned with an unconditional refusal as children of
> enemies, but be so favoured that the third generation is invited to the congregation [εἰς
> ἐκκλησίαν] and made partakers in the divine revelations [λογῶν θειῶν] to which also the
> native born, whose lineage is beyond reproach, are rightfully admitted.[529]

Two questions arise. First, is Philo's rewritten citation of LXX Deut 23:8, 9 meant

as instruction for his contemporary audience?[530] If so, then, second, is Philo's *ekklēsia* in

Virt. 108 a public meeting of all Jews within a specific section of, say, the Delta quarter,

or does it refer to the collective designation of a Jewish voluntary association? In order to

address these two questions, the immediate literary context of *Virt*. 108 and its

relationship to Philo's political theory bear investigation. Philo's *De Virtutibus* has four

component parts: On Courage (1–50), On Philanthropy (51–174), On Repentance (175–

186), and On Nobility (187–227). *Virt*. 108 is found within the section of On Nobility

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[529] *ASSB*, no. 203; translation by Runesson, Binder and Olsson.
[530] LXX Deut 23:8, 9 reads, οὐ βδελύξῃ Ιδουμαῖον, ὅτι ἀδελφός σού ἐστιν, οὐ βδελύξῃ
Αἰγύπτιον, ὅτι πάροικος ἐγένου ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτοῦ, υἱοὶ ἐὰν γενηθῶσιν αὐτοῖς, γενεὰ τρίτη εἰσελεύσονται εἰς
ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου. A translation of MT Deut 23:7, 8 (NRSV) reads, "You shall not abhor any of the
Edomites, for they are your kin. You shall not abhor any of the Egyptians, because you were an alien
residing in their land. The children of the third generation that are born to them may be admitted to the
assembly of the Lord."

entitled On Philanthropy (also called "On Humanity"). Therein, Philo argues that "humanity is the virtue closest to piety and is its sister, and even its twin (*Virt*. 51)."[531]

Virt. 108 concludes a topic begun at *Virt*. 80—*philanthropia* ("love of people," "charity"). Three types of people are considered worthy of Jewish *philanthropia*: members of the same nation (*hoi homoethneis*), incomers (*hoi epēlutai*), and settlers (*hoi metoikoi*). Philo appears to use the term *hoi epēlutai* (incomers) in reference to proselytes: "abandoning their kinsfolk by blood, their country, their customs and the temple and images of their gods…they have taken the journey to a better home…to the worship of the one and truly existing God" (*Virt*. 102).[532] This Philonic concern for the acceptance of proselytes is also mirrored by Josephus (*Ag. Ap*. 2:261). Philo enjoins love for the third group called *metoikoi* as well. As foreigners (*metoikoi*) living in a land that is not their own, they live in an alien state (*Virt*. 105), just as Israel also once did in Egypt.

In *Virt*. 102–108 Philo narrows his focus to one specific ethnic group—the Egyptians. He quotes LXX Deut 23:8 as a rationale for showing *philanthropia* to Egyptians (*Virt*. 106): "you shall not abhor an Egyptian because you were a sojourner in Egypt." In *Virt*. 108 he again refers to Deut 23:8 but this time on how to treat one very

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[531] Samuel Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 70.

[532] For a fuller discussion on Philo's use of οἱ ἐπηλύται for proselytes see Peter Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time* (NovTSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 256–259. See also, Sandmel who mentions, without any apparent need for argumentation, that *Virt*. 102–104 "speaks of proselytes" (*Philo of Alexandria*, 71). Walter T. Wilson situates *Virt*. 108 in the context of Borgen's comments on Philo's three-fold conversionist paradigm (Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria*, 208–216). Wilson states that Philo's use of the phrase "passing over" and his concept of repentance entails conversion and includes "three basic components: the acceptance of monotheism, moral reform, and a new identity predicted on one's relationship to God" (*Philo of Alexandria: On Virtues* [PACS 3; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011], 362–63).

specific subset of Egyptians. He entreats his Jewish readership to focus their

philanthropia upon the ostensibly new converts to their community.

How much warrant, in fact, is there for postulating a contemporary referent for

Philo's *ekklēsia* in *Virt*. 108? Some scholars, while conceding that *Virt*. 108 refers to a

localized group, identify that group only as a local congregation of Israel during the

desert wanderings.[533] By contrast, Walter T. Wilson, in his seminal study of *De*

Virtutibus, presumes a contemporary readership when translating *Virt*. 108.[534] His

primary rationale for such a translation derives from what Klaus Berger has already

observed.[535] Given that the word *ekklēsia* occurs in obvious parallelism both with

Egyptian converts and with the phrase *pros tēn Ioudaiōn politeian*, and since the word

politeia is not used in LXX Deuteronomy for the Israelites in the desert, it is probable

that Philo is writing about the *politeia* of his Jewish contemporaries in Alexandria.

This, then, also makes Philo's references to an *ekklēsia* and to Egyptian converts

contemporary commentary. Peder Borgen too is of this opinion. He categorically states

that "it is evident that Philo does not only refer to the Laws of Moses as such, but that he

also applies Deut 23:8 to the concrete Jewish community in his own time, since he writes

'into the community of Jews (πρὸς τὴν Ἰουδαίων πολιτείαν).'"[536] Samuel Sandmel also

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[533] See K. Berger, "Volksversammlung und Gemeinde Gottes. Zu den Anfängen der christlichen Verwendung von 'ekklesia,'" *ZThK* 73 (1976): 167–207, esp. 190; du Toit, "*Paulus Oecumenicus*, 136–37; and Paul Trebilco, "Why Did the Early Christians Call Themselves ἡ ἐκκλησία?" *NTS* 57 (2011): 440–460, esp. 448.

[534] Wilson translates *Virt*. 108 as: "And if any of them should want to cross over to the Jewish polity, they are not to be scorned unyieldingly like the children of enemies, but are to be treated in such a manner that the third generation is invited into the congregation and granted that share of the divine oracles into which the native- and noble-born are also rightfully initiated" (*Philo of Alexandria*, 65).

[535] Berger, "Volksversammlung," 190.

[536] Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria*, 249. Kåre Fuglseth concurs. He writes that "when it comes to the admitting of new participants of the Jewish community in Alexandria, Philo argues that Egyptians who

agrees, but for different reasons. He notes "two curious factors of omission" in Philo's

political discussions: (1) the political affairs in Judea (e.g., Maccabeans, Herod the

Great); and (2) David as king.[537] Given Philo's silence on both points, Sandmel infers

that "Philo is concerned more with the situation of the Jewish community in Alexandria

as part of a unique *politeuma* than with the Judean situation and experience."[538]

Aside from Philo's reference to Egyptian converts and to "the Jewish polity" (*tēn*

Ioudaiōn politeian), four other factors suggest contemporary commentary in *Virt*. 108.

First, Philo makes a syntactical change from his base text of LXX Deut 23. He removes

the adjectival qualifier *kyriou* from the phrase *eis ekklēsian*.[539] The ambiguity of this

simpler phrase would have allowed Philo's readership to assume that a contemporary

institution (*ekklēsia*), not necessarily only the assembly of Israel in the desert (*ekklēsian*

kyriou), was in view. This reading strategy is probable given that there is no inherent

contradiction between ancient peoples' understanding of *ekklēsia* as an historic or as a

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wanted to become proselytes may do so (*Virt*. 106–108)" (*Johannine Sectarianism in Perspective: A Sociological, Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Temple and Social Relationships in the Gospel of John, Philo, and Qumran* [NovTSup 119; Leiden: Brill, 2005], 327).

[537] Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria*, 103.

[538] Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria*, 103–104. Sandmel contextualizes the description of the Jews as a *politeuma* (e.g., *Virt*. 108) within Philo's political theory that requires a differentiation of "men" into three categories: "The Jews, in his view, comprise a *politeuma*, which we might translate as a 'political' entity. In part, Jews dwelled in the Dispersion, among non-Jews; in part, Jews dwelled in Judea where Gentiles in some abundance were to be found. Accordingly, Philo's thought about Jews as a *politeuma* required him to distinguish among a host population, and transient or permanent outsiders" (Ibid, 102).

[539] Du Toit notes a semantic shift in the meaning of ἐκκλησία κυρίου that begins with LXX Deut 23 and continues into Lam 1:10: "In Deut 23, where this phrase [ἐκκλησία κυρίου] occurs five times, several *entry conditions* [author's emphasis] are stipulated. It seems likely that ἐκκλησία is here understood as a closed group with boundary markers and entrance requirements. The ἐκκλησία is becoming an entity which is not restricted to the occasion of the meeting event, but outlives it. This becomes even clearer in the tradition emanating from Deut 23. In Neh 13.1–3, separating those of foreign descent from the ἐκκλησία actually means excommunication from the people of Israel. The ἐκκλησία κυρίου is no longer a one-off assembly; it has acquired a permanent existence of its own and the meeting-aspect has become supplementary. The same may be true of Lam 1.10" ("*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 135).

contemporary institution; they did not possess a historical-critical perspective.[540] Thus,

Philo's readers would have thought of their own contemporary *ekklēsia* when they read

of the *ekklēsia* in the desert. For them, the former was in continuity with the latter.

Second, in contrast to LXX Deut 23, Philo emphasizes the local, rather than the

supra-local nature, of the *ekklēsia* in *Virt*. 108.[541] Third, Philo makes contemporary

commentary in at least one other place within the literary context for *Virt*. 108, that is,

within On Philanthropy (*Virt*. 80–108). Oppenheimer views Philo's mention of Temple

tithes needing to be paid to the priest (*Virt*. 95) as being an implicit commentary on

Jewish practice current in Philo's day. In *Spec*. 1.156, however, Philo makes clear that he

is aware that ancient Hebrews did not tithe to priests. Therein, he correctly states that

their tithe was directed to the Levites.[542] Fourth, Runesson, Binder and Olsson claim that

the "instruction" mentioned in *Virt*. 108 implies contemporary Alexandrian *praxis*:

> The natives of the land, who were descendants of God's people, had the right to be
> instructed in divine words. The verb *hierophanteisthai* means 'to be initiated in, to be
> instructed in.' The sojourners received the same right. The formulation is reminiscent of
> Philo's descriptions of the activities in the prayer halls.[543]

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[540] With respect to Greek "history," in the Introduction to their recent edited volume, John Marincola, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, and Calum Alasdair Maciver state that classicists are now less interested in "what actually happened and more in what the Greeks believed to have happened" and how such beliefs affected contemporary social identity construction and socio-political developments (*Greek Notions of the Past in the Archaic and Classical Eras: History without Historians* [ELS 6; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012], 12). In his review of this volume, Bernd Steinbock concurs. He claims that "the last three decades have seen a sharp rise in studies which seek to situate the accounts of the Greek historians within their contemporary ideological and communicative framework" (review of John Marincola, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, and Calum Alasdair Maciver, eds., *Greek Notions of the Past in the Archaic and Classical Eras: History without Historians*, BMCR 2013.10.53).
[541] Du Toit notes that there seems to be "a correlation between the local Jewish community and the Jewish people as a whole [such that] to join a local ἐκκλησία means becoming part of the Jewish people" ("*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 136–37).
[542] Ahron Oppenheimer, *The 'Am Ha-Aretz: A Study in the Social History of the Jewish People in the Hellenistic–Roman Period* (ALGHJ VIII; trans. I. H. Levine; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 39–40 nn. 46, 47.
[543] Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 263.

If one allows that Philo is speaking of a contemporary institution in *Virt*. 108, then a second question arises: Is the *ekklēsia* therein a meeting of Alexandrian Jews which is publicly accessible, a semi-public meeting of a voluntary association, or a collective designation for a voluntary association? The text by itself is ambiguous. What is clear, though, is that Philo's *ekklēsia* in *Virt*. 108 has one essential characteristic. It is a forum for ethno-religious activity and its practice of "initiating" sojourners within an *ekklēsia* is congruent with religious activities in prayer halls that Philo describes elsewhere.

The binding nature of this new religious identity for Egyptian converts finds reinforcement in another syntactical change made by Philo to his base text. He changes the verb of entry/initiation from *eiserchomai* (LXX Deut 23:8) to *kalēo* (*Virt*. 108). The compound form *eiserchomai* (LXX Deut 23:8) is not paired with the word *ekklēsia* in Greek inscriptions, only the related compound forms *eperchomai* and *synerchomai* are.[544] Philo follows the more common practice found in Greek literary sources, and in at least one extant inscription, wherein *kalēo* is juxtaposed with *ekklēsia*.[545] Semantically, *kalēo* carries with it the sense of a legal summons to an official judicial or legislative body,[546]

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[544] As is to be expected, when the compound verb *eperchomai* occurs with a preposition, it is *epi* not *eis*. Only one extant inscription pairs the anarthrous prepositional phrase *eis ekklēsian* with an *erchomai* compound verb. In this case, however, it is *synerchomai*, not the *eiserchomai* of Philo's base text (LXX Deut 23:8, 9). *IEph* 1383/*Ephesos* 149 (Ionia, found at Ephesos) is a decree of the *boulē* and *dēmos* of Ephesos concerning the celebration of holidays. It reads, καὶ τανῦν συνελθόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ θυσ[ίας —] [— μη]νὸς ἐπικαλουμένας ἡμέρας ἀγαθὰς στεφανηφορού(ν)των κα[—] [— συ]νφέροντος. See Josef Keil's discussion in *JÖAI* 30.1-2 (1937):197–200.

[545] The simple verb καλέω is collocated with ἐκκλησία in: Diod. Sic. 15.75.1; Pausanias, *Descr*. 7.14.2; Plutarch, *Rom*. 27.6; and Thucydides, *Pelop. War*, 8, 97. The compound verb συγκαλέω is used by Polybius when describing the convening of an ἐκκλησία of the army by one of its generals (*Hist*. 11.27.5).

[546] *LSJ*, "καλέω," A.4, "as a law-term, *summon*…before court": Dem. 19.211 (καλεῖν ἔμ' εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον); A.I, "call, summon": Homer, *Od*.1.90 (εἰς ἀγορὴν καλέσαντα); *Il*.10.195 (ὅσοι κεκλήατο βουλήν). *LSJ* cites Richard C. Jebb who notes that, "the Homeric βουλή consists, not of all the chiefs, but of a select number, specially summoned" (*Sophocles: The Plays and Fragments, with critical notes,*

especially when paired with the word *ekklēsia*.[547] The sole inscriptional example of this formula also speaks of a summons before a legislative body.[548] Josephus replicates this syntactical formula in his use of both the simple and compound forms of *kalēo* in contexts where an *ekklēsia* is legally convened by a community representative.[549]

If Philo intentionally juxtaposes *kalēo* with *ekklēsia* due to the resultant forensic connotation, then his clause *kalein te eis ekklēsian* carries with it a legislative force that reinforces the permanent nature of Egyptian proselytes' membership in the *ekklēsia*.[550] This *ekklēsia* is not simply a semi-public voluntary association. The legal force of *kalēo* implies that the *ekklēsia* in *Virt.* 108 is an official collective, whether a meeting or a non-civic group, that represents the *politeia* of Alexandrian Jews for the purpose of providing

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commentary, and translation in English prose. Part VII: The Ajax [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907], 749).

[547] Compound verbs forms of *kalēo* (παρακαλέω and ἐπικαλέω), when paired with the word ἐκκλησία, also signify official civic occasions. Only παρακαλέω, however, functions as a verb of entrance/initiation, and then only once (*IG* XII,3 1270; παρακληθεὶς ἐν τᾶι ἐκλησίαι ὑπὸ τῶν κτοινετᾶν συντελέσαι ἰ[δ]ίαι τὰ ἔργα ἐπαγγείλατο καὶ συνετέλεσε). Of the other eight inscriptions which juxtapose παρακαλέω with an *ekklēsia* reference, five use παρακαλέω in the more restrictive sense of exhorting or encouraging a person who has already entered the *ekklēsia* (ἐπέρχομαι) to enact a specific course of action (e.g., *IMT SuedlTroas* 579; ἐπελθὼν ἐπ' ἐκκλησίαν παρακαλέσει φίλους ὄντας). Of these five inscriptions, four pair παρακαλέω with ἐπέρχομαι (*Miletos* 26, *Teos* 40, *Tit. Calymnii Test.* XIII, *IMT SuedlTroas* 579) and one with συνέρχομαι (*IEph* 1383). The verb ἐπικαλέω is juxtaposed with *ekklēsia* in *IEph* 1383/*Ephesos* 149 (καὶ τανῦν συνελθόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ θυσ[ίας —] [— μη]νὸς ἐπικαλουμένας ἡμέρας ἀγαθὰς στεφανηφορού(ν)των κα[—] [— συ]νφέροντος).

[548] *IDid* 314/*Didyma* 472 (Ionia, no city mentioned, 2nd cent. BCE[?]): ἐπιτελέσασα δὲ καὶ τοὺς κόσμους ταῖς τε γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις εὐαρέστως, καλέσασα δὲ ἐν τ[ῇ ἐκ]κλησίᾳ [τὰς γ]υναῖκας. Regarding potential definitions of καλέω, *LSJ* notes that it can be used "as law-term, summon, of the judge, καλεῖν τινας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, cite or summon before the court, D.19.211, etc.; simply καλεῖν ib.212, Ar.V.851, etc." (I. 4.).

[549] *A.J.* 7.370 (συνκαλέω; David calls the ruler of the Hebrews together into assembly); 13.216 (καλέω; Joseph, the nephew of Onias the high priest, convened an *ekklēsia* at the Temple, in which "the multitude" [*plēthos*] confirmed him as their ambassador to the Ptolemaic king).

[550] While Philo pairs καλεῖν with ἐκκλησία, at least two Greek literary works pair καλεῖν/κάλεον with two other Greek civic institutions: the *boulē* (Homer *Od.* 10.197; αὐτοὶ γὰρ κάλεον συμμητιάασθαι [see βουλή in 10.195]) and the *dikastērion* (Dem. 19.211, 212; for the functions of *dikastēria* see n. 109).

ethno-religious instruction.[551] This being the case, then Philo acknowledges the

possibility not only that individual Egyptians converted to the *politeia* of the Alexandrian

Jews, but that, coincidental with their new dyadic identity, they became part of a local

socio-religious sub-group, one which either self-designates as *ekklēsia* or, at the very

least, designates its public or semi-public meeting as an *ekklēsia*.

4.1.2. De specialibus legibus *(The Special Laws) 1.324–25*

Spec. 1.324–25 is the second place in Philo's works where Runesson, Binder and

Olsson suggest that contemporaneous reference is made to a Jewish *ekklēsia*:

> Thus, knowing that in assemblies (*ekklēsiai*) there are not a few worthless persons who
> steal their way in and remain unobserved in the large numbers which surround them, it
> [the law] guards against this danger by precluding all the unworthy from entering the
> holy congregation (*hieros syllogos*).[552]

The first question to ask is whether Philo is referring here to ancient practice or to

a contemporary situation? Philo's differentiation of *ekklēsia* from the *hieros syllogos*

("holy congregation") parallels the Hebrew Bible's differentiation of the assembly of

ancient Israelites (*qhl*) from the holy congregation (*qhl* or *'dh*) known as "Israel." This

could imply that ancient practice is here being replicated.

There is other evidence, though, which favours a contemporary referent for the

ekklēsiai of *Spec*. 1.324–25. Borgen notes that *Spec*. 1.324 begins Philo's discussion of

who is to be left out of communal life. Among others, Philo lists sexual deviants (Deut

23:1–2) and polytheists.[553] Borgen finds explicit evidence that Philo "has his own

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[551] *Virt*. 108ab reads, "a share of the divine words…being instructed in the will of God."

[552] Translated by Runesson, Binder and Olsson (*ASSB*, no. 210).

[553] Runesson, Binder, and Olsson note that Philo creates five classes of men who, based on his
allegorical interpretation of LXX Deut 23, are to be excluded from the *hieros syllogos*: "(1) deniers of the
Platonic Forms or Ideas, (2) atheists, (3) polytheists, (4) those who rely on the human mind, or (5) those

contemporary situation in mind" in the fact that Philo concludes section one of *Special*

Laws with the phrase "we, the pupils and disciples of Moses" (*Spec*. 1.345).[554] If Philo's

"we" includes his contemporary readership, then to what Alexandrian institution might

the word *ekklēsiai* refer? Since a civic *ekklēsia* did not appear to exist in Alexandria

during the Julio-Claudian era,[555] it is problematic to identify Philo's reference to *ekklēsiai*

with Greco-Roman public assemblies. It seems more probable that Philo uses *ekklēsia*

terminology in *Spec*. 1.324 either to explain to a Greco-Roman audience how a Jewish

synagogue meeting works or to speak of an actual Jewish institution in Alexandria.

Du Toit suggests that Philo's *ekklēsiai* are publicly accessible Jewish political

assemblies.[556] George H. van Kooten follows suit, but adds a disclaimer:[557] "Philo refers

to the political *ekklēsia* as a counter-example to the synagogue." [558] In other words, van

Kooten bifurcates the two terms and seems to imply thereby that they represent two

mutually exclusive institutions, one for political purposes (*ekklēsia*) and one for religious

concerns (*hieros syllogos*).[559] He sees the public nature of the "political *ekklēsia*" implied

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who rely only on the human senses, making gods of them and forgetting the truly living God" (see also *Spec*. 3.344) (*Ancient Synagogue*, 260).

[554] Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria*, 256. Runesson, Binder, and Olsson also contend that, in *Spec*. 3.124–25, Philo uses *ekklēsia* in reference to a contemporaneous institution (*ASSB*, no. 201).

[555] See n. 507.

[556] Du Toit states that, "*Abr*. 20; *Prob*. 138 and *Spec*. 1.325; 2.44 refer to public meetings in the Greek sense" ("*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 136). For example, *Abr*. 20 reads, in part, ἀγορὰν καὶ θέατρα καὶ δικαστήρια βουλευτήριά τε καὶ ἐκκλησίας καὶ πάντα σύλλογον καὶ θίασον ἀνθρώπων.

[557] George H. van Kooten allows that only the *ekklēsia* in *Spec*. 1.324–25 is a contemporaneous institution. He claims that *Deus* 111 and *Virt*. 108 only "adopt the *ekklēsia* terminology from the LXX but do not prove that their authors technically described the Jewish synagogue meeting as an ἐκκλησία" ("Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ: The 'Church of God' and the Civic Assemblies (ἐκκλησίαι) of the Greek Cities in the Roman Empire. A Response to Paul Trebilco and Richard A. Horsley," *NTS* 58/4 [Oct. 2012]: 522–48, esp. 535).

[558] By "counter-example," van Kooten means that "whereas the political ἐκκλησίας are in practice open to all since access cannot be controlled, the holy congregation [i.e., synagogue community] should take precautions so that all of the unworthy are precluded from entering" ("Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 535).

[559] Van Kooten, "Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 535.

in the fact that the unworthy can enter it. By contrast the semi-public nature of the 'religious' *hieros syllogos* is evident in the fact that this communal gathering has membership restrictions ("all the unworthy [are precluded] from entering"; *Spec.* 1.325).[560]

If I have read van Kooten correctly, then his dichotomy suffers on four fronts. First, a purely political *ekklēsia* did not exist in antiquity. One cannot bifurcate "politics" and "religion" in respect of ancient governance institutions. Second, a "political" (i.e., civic) *ekklēsia* did not exist in Philo's Alexandria. Third, if Philo's *ekklēsia* is a Jewish institution, then, *de facto*, it cannot be a "counter-example" to the synagogue. In fact, if this Egyptian *ekklēsia* is analogous to Josephus' Judean *ekklēsiai* then, at the very least, it is a publicly accessible synagogue assembly wherein communal needs relative to local politics, religion, jurisprudence, administration, social life, and economics can be addressed. Josephus seems to imply the existence of such an Alexandrian synagogue assembly when he mentions that the *gerousia* convened an *ekklēsia* there after the fall of Masada. It addressed at least one communal socio-political need: safety and security (*B.J.* 7:412). Fourth, Runesson, Binder, and Olsson suggest that Philo may be using *ekklēsia* and *hieros syllogos* as two descriptors for one Jewish religio-political assembly. Given

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[560] Another basis upon which van Kooten could have differentiated the *ekklēsia* from a semi-public group is by virtue of the large numbers of people who are said to have gathered *en tais ekklēsiais*. The large numbers of this group runs counter to the average size of a Greco-Roman voluntary association, which Philip Harland says usually numbered from 10 to 50 (*Dynamics of Identity*, 26). A notable exception to the small size of most voluntary associations is the 2nd cent. CE association headed by Pompeia Agrippinilla. She is a priestess of Dionysus from Toree Nova in the Roman West. Her group consists of 400 Dionysian "initiates" (*mystai*) (*IGUR* 160; *c.* 160 CE). They are almost entirely 'household' members, whether familial or servile (*Dynamics of Identity*, 26 and 32; see also, idem, *Associations*, 30). For a detailed discussion of *IGUR* 160, see Bradley H. McLean, "The Agrippinilla Inscription: Religious Associations and Early Church Formation," in *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity. Essays in Honour of John C. Hurd* (JSNTSup 86; ed. B. H. McLean; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 239–70.

Philo's ascription of a sacred nature (*hieros*) to the "congregation" (*syllogos*), they

conclude, in line with Berger, that "*ekklēsia* and the synonymous *syllogos*…[probably]

refer to some form of synagogue fellowship," that is, Sabbath assembly.[561]

The translation of *hieros syllogos* as "holy congregation" by Runesson, Binder,

and Olsson perhaps allows one more conclusion: Philo's *hieros syllogos* is not simply a

communal gathering ("Sabbath assembly") but a communal designation. If so, then *Spec*.

1.324–25 may imply that a voluntary association known as *hieros syllogos* sponsored

meetings (*en tais ekklēsiais*) which were publicly accessible to local Jews. This scenario

accounts for two paradoxical facts: there are participants in the meetings (*ekklēsiai*) who

are in an unworthy state (e.g., atheists, polytheists),[562] yet participation in the synagogue

association is only available to the worthy.[563]

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[561] Berger writes, "Für Philo ist *ekklēsia* in seiner Gegenwartsbedeutung vor allem die Zusammenkunft der Gemeinde am Sabbat, und in dieser Institution dürfte sich für das hellenistische Judentum im allgemeinen 'helige Ekklēsia' darstellen" ("Volksversammlung," 173–74, cited in Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 260). Pseudo-Philo uses *ecclesia* (Latin) in reference to Sabbath assemblies (*Bib. Ant.* 11.8). It reads, "Take care to sanctify the Sabbath…You shall not do any work on it, you and all your help, except to praise the LORD in the assembly [*ecclesia*] of the elders and to glorify the Mighty One in the council [*cathedra*] of older men" (*ASSB*, no. 64; translation by Runesson, Binder, and Olsson). Pseudo-Philo cites Exod 20:8, in reference to the Sabbath, with his phrase "the assembly of the elders," slightly revising LXX Ps 106:32 (HB Ps 107:32) (ὑψωσάτωσαν αὐτὸν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λαοῦ καὶ ἐν καθέδρᾳ πρεσβυτέρων αἰνεσάτωσαν αὐτόν). In speaking of the "assembly of the elders," Pieter van der Horst also affirms that "the author presupposes a form of communal Sabbath worship" ("Was the Synagogue a Place of Sabbath Worship Before 70 CE?" in *Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue: Cultural Interaction During the Greco-Roman Period* [ed. S. Fine; New York: Routledge: 1999], 16–37, esp. 25). Howard Jacobson points to *Jub*. 2:21 as being a parallel (*A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* [Leiden: Brill, 1996], 1:468).

[562] See n. 553 for the identities of the five classes of men who Philo claims should be excluded from the "holy congregation" of Deut 23.

[563] Runesson, Binder, and Olsson note that "The Greek words *hieros syllogos* (without definite article) could also be translated as 'a holy congregation.' Philo often returns to this allegorical interpretation of Deut 23 frequently using the word *ekklēsia* and sometimes also *syllogos*" (*Ancient Synagogue*, 260). By translating *hieros syllogos* as "a holy congregation," Runesson, Binder, and Olsson remove the impression that *hieros syllogos* is a sub-category of *ekklēsia*.

My analysis of *Virt*. 108 and *Spec*. 1.324–25 suggests the conclusion that *ekklēsiai* functioned complementarily with three other Jewish religio-political governance institutions in Alexandria: *gerousia*, *proseuchē*, and *synagōgē*. What jurisdictional niche might Philo's *ekklēsiai* have fulfilled? By the time of the pogrom (38 CE), Alexandria, not least the Delta quarter, had a sizeable concentration of Jews.[564] Given their numbers, one would expect that a multi-layered administrative system was in place. S. R. Llewelyn follows the majority view that the Jewish *politeuma* ("community") was given oversight by a *gerousia*, which functioned as an oversight council for several synagogues:

> its power [is] notorial (supervision of contracts), judicial (settlement of disputes) and administrative (application of government legislation to Jewish courts). However, the powers of the *gerousia* were not limited to these spheres; it might also police dissent within the community, send envoys to a ruler to represent its interests and vote honours to a benefactor.[565]

A governance system in which a body of community leaders (e.g., *gerousia*) oversees multiple synagogue communities in some sort of "federal" system finds later attestation in an Egyptian *polis* well south of Memphis (*CPJ* 2.432; 113 CE). It is called Arsinoë, and also known as Crocodilopolis. Aryeh Kasher notes that a Jewish synagogue existed there since "the early days of the Ptolemaic settlement program."[566] In an official report to Arsinoë's auditor on municipal water usage, two Jewish institutions are

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[564] *Flacc*. 55; *B.J.* 2.495. Josephus states that the Delta quarter was near the palace and bordered on the sea (*C. Ap*. 2.33-36).

[565] Llewelyn, "The Elders and Rulers (Archons) of the Jews," in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published 1986–87. Vol. 9 of New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (ed. S. R. Llewelyn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 69–72, esp. 71.

[566] Kasher states that the existence of a synagogue in Arsinoë is "definitely proven by a dedicatory inscription in honour of Ptolemy III Euergetes I and his family from a local synagogue (*CPJ* 3.1532A=*SB*, 8939)" (*Alexandrian Jews*, 138). See n. 366 for further details on one inscription and two papyrii from Crocodilopolis within which occur two synagogue terms, *proseuchē* and *synagōgē* (*CIJ* III.1532A=*JIGRE* 117; *CPJ* I.129; *CPJ* I.134). A 2nd century CE papyrus from Arsinoë–Crocodilopolis affirms the continued existence of *proseuchai* in that region (*CPJ* 2.432=P.Lond. III 1177; 113 CE).

mentioned as owing twice the monthly amount that was charged to a nearby bath

house.[567] The one institution is called "synagogue of the Thebans."[568] The other is simply

called *eucheion*.[569] Kasher claims that "the distinction made suggests that the local Jews

at the time were organized into two *landsmannschaft*-type bodies, one of people from

Thebes (Diospolic Magna) and the other probably of local people."[570]

The interrelationship between these two synagogue organizations varies

depending on how one translates *archontōn Ioudaiōn proseuchēs* (line 57). Kasher

favours the translation: "from the Jewish *archontes* for the synagogue of the

Thebans…and similarly for the prayer house."[571] This identifies the Jewish community of

Arsinoë as being, what Kasher calls, a "federative organisation."[572] Llewelyn nuances

Kasher's position. He presumes that "each synagogue or local Jewish community had its

own council of elders, and that a federation of councils had a common executive board or

committee, the archons."[573] He forwards papyrological (P. Monac. III 49) and literary

sources as evidence for an administrative division of roles.[574] Llewelyn states that "the

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[567] Runesson, Binder, and Olson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 192. They conclude that "the high fees imply elevated water usage—and thus present possible evidence for the observance of ritual ablutions in or near these structures" (Ibid, 192).

[568] Προσεθχὴ θηβαίων (*CIJ* 2.432, line 57; see *ASSB*, no. 149).

[569] *CPJ* 2.432, line 60. The word εὐχεῖον implies a place of prayer, not unlike the term *proseuchē*. Runesson, Binder, and Olson observe that this is the only extant use of this term for a Jewish community (*Ancient Synagogue*, 328).

[570] Kasher, *Alexandrian Jews*, 140.

[571] Kasher, *Alexandrian Jews*, 140. If one translates it, as Fuks does, "from the *archontes* of the synagogue of the Theben Jews," then this suggests that the local synagogue (the *eucheion*) did not have *archontes* in leadership (Ibid, 140).

[572] Kasher, *Alexandrian Jews*, 140.

[573] Llewelyn, "The Elders and Rulers," 71.

[574] Llewelyn notes that in P.Monac. III 49 two titles are used for the leadership of a Jewish community in the Ptolemaic *chora* called Heracleopolis: πρεσβύτεροι and ἄρχουσι ("The Elders and Rulers," 69; for full text of the papyrus see, D. Hagedorn, *Griechische Papyri (Nr. 45–154): Griechische Urkundenpapyri der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, Band III [ed. U. Hagedorn, D. Hagedorn, R. Hübner and J. C. Shelton; Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1986], 8–10). The question is whether these represent

advantage of such a system would be to give each community a larger collective voice and more effective representation at the centres of regional administration."[575] If a small Jewish populace in Arsinoë was a "federative organisation," then it seems natural to presume that the more populous Jewish community in Alexandria self-organized under the oversight of a federation of councils led by a common executive board (*gerousia*), under which regionally-centred groups of Jews convened publicly accessible synagogue gatherings (*synagōgai*), some of which may even have been named *ekklēsia*.

4.1.3. Quod Deus ist immutabilis *111*

The third example in Philo of a contemporaneous local assembly named *ekklēsia*, to which Runesson, Binder, and Olsson point, is found in *Deus* 111:

> But there is a different mind which loves the body…Pleasure. Eunuch-like it has been deprived of all the male and productive organs of the soul…debarred from the holy congregation [*ekklēsias tēs hieras*] in which the talk and study [s*yllogoi kai logoi*] is always of virtue.[576]

Philo's phrase *ekklēsia tēs hieras* is not LXX terminology; it neither occurs in the base text of *Deus* 111 (LXX Deut 23),[577] nor anywhere else in the LXX. To what, then,

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different levels of hierarchical power or simply parallel administrative bodies with differentiated functions. Llewelyn does not favour viewing the πρεσβύτεροι as forming the *gerousia*, with the ἄρχουσι being the executive committee within it. Rather he contends that P.Monac. III 49 "seems to see the elders and *gerousia* as separate bodies" (Ibid, 71). He claims that this organizational relationship lies behind the use of the same terms in Ezra 10:8, 14 and 1 Macc 14:28. Both display, what Llewelyn calls, "a separation based on a local/regional basis," that is, the *archons* are regional authorities and the *presbyteroi* are local officials (Ibid, 71). This regional differentiation is even more evident in 1 Macc 14:28 where a list is given of people who witness the conferral of the priesthood upon Simon. Among them are listed the archons of the nation and elders of the countryside (ἄρχοντες ἔθνοθς καὶ οἱ πρεβύτεροι τῆς χώρας). Llewelyn observes that "it is in these last two references that one finds the closest parallels to the federal system alleged to operate in P.Monac. 49 (Egypt)" (Ibid, 72).
    [575] Llewelyn, "The Elders and Rulers," 71.
    [576] *ASSB*, no. 202; translated by Runesson, Binder, and Olsson.
    [577] LXX Deut 23:2, 3, 4, and 9 each only use the phrase *ekklēsia kyriou* not *ekklēsia tēs hieras*.

might this phrase refer? There are three candidates: the congregation of ancient Israelites, assemblies of contemporary Jews in Alexandria, or an allegorical referent.

Philo's related phrase (*ekklēsias hieras*) comes into play when reaching a decision on the best interpretation of *ekklēsia tēs hieras*. *Ekklēsias hieras* is found three times (*Som*. 2.184, 187; *Migr*. 69), with only one instance possibly referring to an Alexandrian synagogue community or its assembly (*Migr*. 69).[578] In *Som*. 2.183–188, Philo recounts the contrasting life stations of two people: the butler of Pharaoh and the Jewish high priest. In his speech, the butler of Pharaoh, while alluding to Deut 23, states that, given his status as a eunuch, he has been "excluded from the assembly (*syllogos*) and sacred meeting (*ekklēsias hieras*) of the people" (*Som*. 2.184). It seems clear that Philo intends here a reference to an Egyptian socio-political institution, but one that is contemporaneous only with the eunuch's day. Philo's second use of *ekklēsias hieras*, which speaks about the high priest, is only allegorical in nature (*Som*. 2.187).[579]

The third occurrence of *ekklēsias hieras* (*Migr*. 69) holds greater promise. It is found in the *Migration of Abraham*, a literary work which interprets Abraham's life allegorically as a journey of the soul from sensuality to reason (e.g., *Migr*. 17–21). Therein, Philo writes regarding atheists and polytheists that "the law banishes them both from the sacred assembly (*ekklēsias hieras*)" (*Migr*. 69). Although he mentions "law," Philo does not justify their banishment by citing a specific commandment of "*the* law,"

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[578] Aside from the phrase ἐκκλησία ἱερά, Philo uses four other phrases to interconnect the ἐκκλησία with deity: ἐκκλησία θεοῦ (*Leg*. 3.8; *Ebr*. 213), ἐκκλησία θεία (*Conf*. 144), ἐκκλησία τοῦ πανηγεμόνος (*Mut*. 204; cf. *Leg*. 3.81), and ἐκκλησία κυρίου. Philo only uses ἐκκλησία κυρίου in direct quotations from Deut 23 (*Leg*. 3.81; *Post*. 177; *Ebr*. 213; *Conf*. 144).

[579] Philo states that the high priest is one who as "guide and father…is no insignificant part of the sacred assembly (*hieras ekklēsias*)…of the parts of the soul" (*Som*. 2.187).

that is, the Mosaic Law. Rather, he pleads his case only by dint of reason. The two types

of ungodly people (atheists and polytheists) are compared to two types of animals (two

unclean reptiles) and are described as two types of human beings (eunuchs and children

of a harlot, respectively). How does this line of argumentation help in clarifying what

Philo means by *ekklēsia hiera*? Simply put, one can argue that the timeframe within

which "law" exists is the same timeframe within which the *ekklēsia hiera* exists. There

are three potential timeframes for Philo's "law."

First, one could suggest that Philo is simply being chronologically consistent in

his storyline by not citing Mosaic Law during an Abrahamic timeframe. If this is the

case, though, then Philo is being inconsistent on another level. The word *ekklēsia* is not

used within LXX Genesis; it only first occurs within LXX Deuteronomy when Moses

recounts the law he was initially given at Mount Horeb.[580] Thus, if one uses the first

occurrence of *ekklēsia* terminology to delimit the timeframe of "law" then the *terminus a*

quo of the "law" becomes the time of Moses and the *terminus ad quem* in Philo's day.

Second, if one presumes that the first occurrence of the word *ekklēsia* is the

terminus ad quem of Philo's "law," then that "law" is in fact "the Law" (i.e., the Mosaic

Law). This makes Philo's *ekklēsia hiera* the assembly of Israel at Horeb (Deut 23:2).

Such a conclusion is paradoxical, though, given that Philo does not to cite a specific

Mosaic commandment. Had he done so he would immeasurably have solidified, and even

settled, his case for the banishment of atheists and polytheists from the "sacred

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[580] The LXX only first uses the word *ekklēsia* in Deuteronomy 4:10 when speaking of the "day of the assembly" ("when you stood before the Lord your God in Horeb for the day of the assembly"; ἣν ἔστητε ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν ἐν Χωρηβ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας).

assembly." In fact, Philo's silence here is quite uncharacteristic of his vociferous proclamation elsewhere. In book 1 of *On the Special Laws* Philo uses the first and second commandments of the Decalogue to rail against polytheism and idols.[581]

A third, and perhaps least problematic interpretation, is that Philo avoids pairing "law" with any Mosaic commandments because he intends a more generic reference to legal judgments enacted among Alexandrian Jews in his day. If so, then the *ekklēsia hiera* in *Migr.* 69 is an Alexandrian synagogue community, or its assembly, although the lack of extant evidence in Jewish sources for an *ekklēsia hiera* places such a conclusion into question. The Greek inscriptional record, however, does make mention of a *hiera ekklēsia*. Inscriptional examples of this type of civic institution date from the Hellenistic to the late Imperial periods, and are found in Asia Minor and in the Aegean Islands.[582] Although no conclusion can be reached as to whether Philo had personal knowledge of such an institution, given the random nature of archaeological and inscriptional discoveries, one cannot discount outright the possibility that *hierai ekklēsiai* existed closer to, or even in, Egypt.

In sum, it seems that of the three places where Philo uses the phrase *ekklēsia hiera* (*Som.* 2.184, 187; *Migr.* 69), only *Migr.* 69 has any prospect of referring to a contemporaneous Jewish synagogue assembly in Alexandria. This implicitly reinforces the possibility that Philo's analogous phrase *ekklēsias tēs hieras* also refers to a

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[581] See, for example, Borgen's brief content survey of Philo's work, *On the Special Laws*, books 1–4 (*Philo of Alexandria*, 71–73).
[582] See n. 209 for details on the seven inscriptions which mention a *hiera ekklēsia*.

contemporary Jewish institution, perhaps even one which barred eunuchs from communal participation. Contextual considerations within *Deus* 86–121 further that possibility.

Borgen notes that, within the broader literary context of *Deus* 111 (*Deus* 86–121), Philo uses a simple question and answer process by which to unravel the meaning of Gen 6:8 ("Noah found grace before the Lord God").[583] Within the immediate context of *Deus* 111 (*Deus* 104–116), Philo focuses upon Noah. He states that Noah (Gen 6:8) represents a lower worthiness, and thus was in need of grace, while Moses (Exod 33:17) was found worthy of grace. Philo adds Potiphar as another example of lower worthiness (*Deus* 111–116). Potiphar becomes an allegorical representation of the "mind," which is also then identified with a lower status (Gen 39:1; Deut 23:2). This mind, which Philo calls Pleasure, is characterized as loving the body and its passions.

People who live on the level of the mind are analogously viewed as eunuch-like slaves of pleasure and passion. These 'slaves' are incapable of receiving the divine message. Because of their lack of virtue, they cannot join "the holy congregation" (*ekklēsias tēs hieras*) whose meetings (*syllogoi*) revolve around the expression and discussion of virtue. Given the allegorical context of *Deus* 111, the *ekklēsias tēs hieras* could simply be symbolic terminology for a community which lives above the Noachic level of the mind. On the other hand, it could reflect a contemporary synagogue community. Runesson, Binder, and Olsson note that Philo's description of the activity which takes place within the *ekklēsias tēs hieras* ("talk and study…of virtue") reflects the

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[583] Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria*, 116. See Borgen's discussion of *Deus* 86–116 (Ibid, 116–18).

kind of socio-religious *praxis* that is consistent with the "definition of the prayer halls as Philo describes them elsewhere."[584]

The possibility that a Jewish association synagogue would exclude eunuchs is not unknown during the Second Temple period. One case in point is a Hasmonean-era Jewish voluntary association, one of whose writings was found at Qumran.[585] In 4QMMT (4Q394–399) the author(s)/redactor(s) describes "some of the works of the Torah" (4Q398 14 ii 3), specifically as they relate to communal *praxis*.[586] One of those works of Torah is to forbid eunuchs ("one with crushed testicles and one whose penis has been cut off"; 4Q394 8 iii 10; 4Q396 i 5; 4Q397 v 1) from entering the *qhl* (the Hebrew term translated *ekklēsia* in the LXX).[587]

In sum, the fact that the *ekklēsias tēs hieras* in *Deus* 111 involves itself in issues of religious jurisprudence (e.g., eunuchs, "talk and study") is consistent with Philo's non-

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[584] Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 262.

[585] Since the completed publication of the Scrolls, a fuller picture of the residents of Qumran has emerged. As such, I do not speak of "the community at Qumran," not least because of John Collins' view that "the sectarian movement known from the Scrolls cannot be identified simply as 'the Qumran community.' Qumran was at most one of many settlements of the sect" (John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010], 10). Collins also challenges the common perception in scholarship that identifies "the *yachad* with the (celibate) community that lived at Qumran" (Ibid, 65). Collins notes that the *Serek* (1QS) "assumes that the *yachad* has multiple places of residence" (Ibid, 69). The small group of the *yachad* who lived at Qumran is a more religiously strict "elite group [for whom] the intensification of holiness is reflected in the retreat to the desert" (Ibid, 73).

[586] The identity of the authorial community of 4QMMT is debated. See the helpful overviews by Hanna von Weissenberg (*4QMMT: Reevaluating the Text, the Function, and the Meaning of the Epilogue* [STDJ 82; Leiden: Brill, 2009], 17–21; idem, "The Centrality of the Temple in 4QMMT," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context* [STDJ 90; ed. C. Hempel; Leiden, Brill, 2010], 293–305, esp. 293–94) and John Collins (*Beyond the Qumran Community*, 9, 19–21). The majority of scholars view the authorial community of 4QMMT as being the members of the Qumran group or its predecessors (e.g., Strugnell, Eshel, D. Schwartz, and Regev). Other options include: (1) the Teacher of Righteousness (Qimron and Strugnell); (2) a group with similarities in halakhic practices to the later rabbinic descriptions of earlier Sadducees (Schiffman); (3) a group in Jerusalem cherishing a hope of return to the Temple (S. Hultgren).

[587] Fabry (*TDOT* 12:559) notes that 4QMMT applies various injunctions from Deut 23 (cf. *4QFlor* 1:4) to communal *praxis*. At that period of the sectarians' development, their community was known as *qhl* (the Hebrew word which the LXX only translates as *ekklēsia*).

civic *ekklēsia* in *Virt*. 108, within which the instruction and/or initiation of Egyptian

epēlutai ("incomers"/proselytes) takes place. The combined witness of these two

passages suggests that Philo conceived of a contemporaneous, semi-public synagogue

association named *ekklēsia* located within Alexandria whose membership focused upon

Torah instruction both for Jews and proselytes. Unlike Hellenistic-era Jewish *ekklēsiai*

(Judith, 1 Maccabees, Sirach), Philo's *ekklēsia* is not described as being a public

assembly within which juridical and political issues are also addressed.

4.2. Judean Jewish Voluntary Associations Named Ekklēsia*? (Paul)*

Paul's undisputed writings also can be said to use the word *ekklēsia* in reference

to a Jewish synagogue community or assembly. When speaking of *ekklēsiai* in Judea,

Paul adds a potentially redundant phrase—"in Christ Jesus" (Gal 1:22, "the *ekklēsiai* of

Judea in Christ Jesus"; 1 Thess 2:14, "the *ekklēsiai* of God in Christ Jesus that are in

Judea").[588] Trebilco represents the majority view in his claim that these two passages

refer to groups of Greek-speaking Jewish Christ-followers in Judea.[589] The pairing of

"Judea" with "in Christ Jesus" seems superfluous, though, if in Judea only Christ-

follower communities self-designate as *ekklēsiai*. Paul's apparent redundancy reflects

either an explanatory emphasis added for the sake of his Galatian and Thessalonian

readers, or an indirect reference to non-messianic Jewish *ekklēsiai* which existed in Judea

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[588] Gal 1:22 reads, ἤμην δὲ ἀγνοούμενος τῷ προσώπῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ. 1 Thess 2:14 reads, ὑμεῖς γὰρ μιμηταὶ ἐγενήθητε, ἀδελφοί, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

[589] Trebilco, "Early Christians," 440–460. Regarding Gal 1:22, and with respect to Paul describing the Christ-follower communities in Jerusalem and Judea as *ekklēsiai*, Trebilco writes that "Paul is referring here to a time three years after his Damascus Road experience (Gal 1.18), and so to a very early period. As Dunn notes, this passage implies that 'Paul's usage was not original to him or to his mission'" (Ibid, 442–43; see J. D. G. Dunn, *Beginning from Jerusalem: Christianity in the Making* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009], 2.600).

contemporaneously with messianic Jewish *ekklēsiai*. If the latter option is correct, then Paul is referring either to public Judean assemblies called *ekklēsiai*, which Josephus was later to write about, or to non-civic Jewish synagogue associations.

If Paul is speaking of public Jewish assemblies as they are defined by Levine, that is, of Judean synagogue assemblies which functioned as "courtroom, school, hostel, a place for political meetings, social gatherings, housing charity funds, a setting for manumissions, meals (sacred or otherwise), and, of course, a number of religious-liturgical functions," then a corollary assumption follows.[590] Paul's reference to *ekklēsiai* in Judea implies, then, that entire synagogue communities have come to be "in Christ Jesus." In other words, whole villages in rural Judea have embraced messianic belief in Jesus. The book of Acts does not preclude such a possibility.

The author of Acts records that soon after the day of Pentecost upwards of eight thousand Jews in Jerusalem came to faith in Jesus as the Jewish *Christos* (messiah).[591] Most of these new Christ-followers are said to have dwelt in Jerusalem or in the Diaspora.[592] Irrespective of whether this account reflects historical accuracy or ideological rhetoric, the narrative could be said to imply that rural Judeans were also among that number, and that upon returning to their villages, a wholesale joining of messianic communities took place. Such an interpretation, however, is tenuous at best,

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[590] Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 29. See also n. 13.

[591] Acts records that three thousand Jews came to faith "in Christ Jesus" on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:42) and five thousand soon thereafter (Acts 4:4).

[592] The five thousand new Christ-followers ostensibly came from the ranks of those who heard Peter speak in the portico of Solomon (Acts 3:11). Of the three thousand new Christ-followers on the day of Pentecost, many are said to have hailed from the Diaspora ("how is it that we hear, each of us, in our own native language? 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 visitors from Rome, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabs"; Acts 2:8–11).

not least given Acts' silence on this point. Silence directly counters the expressed purpose

of Acts which is to recount the spread and success of the early Jesus movement "in

Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria, and to the end [*sic!*] of the earth" (Acts 1:8). This

lacuna in Acts' narrative makes it highly unlikely that Paul's mention of *ekklēsiai* in

Judea (Gal 1:22; 1 Thess 2:14) refers to public synagogue communities or assemblies. If

Paul is not speaking of Judean Christ-follower *ekklēsiai*, then the only option remaining

is that he is referring to semi-public, non-messianic Jewish voluntary associations.[593] If

this assumption underlies Paul's terminology, then, aside from Egypt, Judea was one

more region wherein the word *ekklēsia* came to be used as a permanent group designation

by Jewish voluntary associations during the early 1st century CE.

4.3. Summary: Ekklēsia *and Non-Civic Jewish Institutions*

The word *ekklēsia* appears to be used by non-civic Jewish groups within Egypt

(Philo) and possibly even in Judea (Paul). Of the 23 *ekklēsia* occurrences in Philo,

scholars most commonly forward the one in *Virt*. 108 as referring to a non-civic

institution of Alexandria Jews during Philo's day. This *ekklēsia* is a forum for ethno-

religious activity, specifically for the initiation of Egyptian proselytes. It is more than

simply an association synagogue since it holds some sort of official status on behalf of

the *politeia* of Alexandrian Jews. This sub-group either self-designates as an *ekklēsia* or

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[593] David Instone-Brewer and Philip A. Harland suggest that the Mishnah confirms the existence of Jewish associations in Roman Palestine before 200 CE. The Mishnah does not, though, use the word *ekklēsia* for a Judean 'association'. Instead, Instone-Brewer and Harland claim that "the feminine noun *chavurah* refers to an 'association' of people who meet together for a ceremonial meal" (e.g., Passover meal [*m. Pes*. 7.3, 13; 8:7] and Sabbath meals [*m. 'Erub*. 6.6]) ("Jewish Associations in Roman Palestine: Evidence from the Mishnah," *JGRJCh* 5 [2008]: 200–21, esp. 208). They state that at least one *chavurah* reference "contains evidence that it originated before 70 CE" (*m. 'Erub*. 6.6; a Sabbath meal 'association') (Ibid, 212).

designates its meeting as an *ekklēsia*, a meeting that is either publicly accessible or for "members only."

Jewish association synagogues, contemporaneous with Philo and Paul, also appear to use *ekklēsia* terminology. In *Spec*. 1.324-325, Philo mentions a voluntary association, known as *hieros syllogos*, that held meetings (*en tais ekklēsiais*) which were publicly accessible to Jews, irrespective of their state of socio-religious worthiness. Philo seems to indicate that an Alexandrian association synagogue even went so far as to self-identify collectively as an *ekklēsia hiera*. This sacred *ekklēsia* involved itself in issues of religious jurisprudence (e.g., "talk and study" of Torah). Judean synagogue associations, which self-designated as *ekklēsiai*, may also have existed, although the ambiguity inherent in Paul's reference to *ekklēsiai* in Judea prevents any firm conclusion in that regard (Gal 1:22; 1 Thess 2:14).

5. Conclusion: Part II

It has been my primary intent in this chapter to investigate the use of the word *ekklēsia* within Jewish sources. Seven key literary witnesses have been brought to the stand—the LXX, Judith, Ben Sira, 1 Maccabees, Josephus, Philo and the apostle Paul.

Regarding Jewish *ekklēsiai* in the land of Israel, Judith, Ben Sira, 1 Maccabees, and Josephus describe *ekklēsiai* that are public synagogue institutions. The public nature of Josephus' *ekklēsiai* is evident in their functioning as venues for decision-making on issues related to administrative, judicial, and religious matters. Since an *ekklēsia* is not a physical structure, Josephus' *ekklēsiai* may have been convened within the *proseuchai* or the *synagōgai* that he mentions elsewhere. The apostle Paul, at best, can be said only to imply either that Jewish voluntary associations, or public assemblies, called *ekklēsiai* existed in the Judea of his day.

With respect to the possibility that Jewish *ekklēsiai* existed in Egypt during the 1st century CE, three of Philo's *ekklēsia* references appear to denote non-civic Jewish institutions.[594] In *Spec*. 1.324–25, Philo may be describing a publicly accessible assembly (*ekklēsia*) which is convened by a Jewish voluntary association (*hieros syllogos*). In two others cases, Philo seems to speak of non-civic *ekklēsiai*, whether assemblies or communities, that are responsible for the initiation and religious instruction of Egyptian converts (*Virt*. 108) and/or for religious "talk and study" (*Deus* 111).

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[594] See n. 30 where I clarify that my use of "non-civic"is as an umbrella term both for small, unofficial ("private") groups (e.g., voluntary associations), and for official groups such as age-based 'organizations' connected with the gymnasia (e.g., *epheboi*, *gerousia*).

Although others have suggested that *ekklēsia* is a synagogue term (Runesson, Binder, and Olsson), my research has attempted to establish that fact. If I have succeeded, then it would seem that if a 1st century CE voluntary association with a *corpus mixtum* of Jews and gentiles, or even one with an exclusively gentile composition, adopted an *ekklēsia* identity, its members could have been viewed as being in continuity with a Jewish, and not simply with a Greco-Roman, heritage. This fact has implications for early Christ-followers who self-designated collectively as *ekklēsiai*. Their sub-group identity, then, not only facilitated their permanent identification with a Jewish heritage, but, as was argued in Part I, also gave their communities socio-cultural relevance within the political culture of the Greek East during the Imperial period. Keeping in mind the preceding analyses of Greek and Jewish backgrounds, I now turn to a re-reading of the "*ekklēsia* discourse" that is found within the New Testament writings.

Part III: *Ekklēsia* in Early Christ-follower Sources

1. Introduction

At the outset of this study, I identified three key issues scholars debate with respect to *ekklēsia* usage among first-generation Christ-followers: (1) which sub-group of the early Jesus movement was first to adopt *ekklēsia* as a permanent group identity; (2) does a collective *ekklēsia* identity entail counter-imperial ideology, either by insider intent or by outsider perception; and (3) given that the LXX identifies historic Israel as an *ekklēsia*, does Paul's identification of his multi-ethnic communities as an *ekklēsia* serve further to integrate them with, or farther to separate them from, historic Israel?

Before assessing these three issues, it is necessary first to map out the various ways in which the word *ekklēsia* is employed within the New Testament. A survey of the 114 occurrences indicates that ten writings do not employ *ekklēsia* terminology: three Gospels (Mark, Luke, and John) and seven epistles (2 Timothy, Titus, 1, 2 Peter, 1, 2 John, and Jude).[595] In the remaining seventeen writings, fifteen use *ekklēsia* unequivocally as a permanent group designation,[596] while James and Hebrews use *ekklēsia* ambiguously in reference either to an assembly, an assembled congregation, or to a permanent group identity for that congregation after its dispersal.[597]

There are at least two ways to categorize *ekklēsia* usage within the New Testament. Wayne Meeks represents the first approach and K. L. Schmidt the second.

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[595] *BDAG*, 303–4. See n. 5 for the number of *ekklēsia* occurrences per New Testament writing.
[596] Matthew, Acts, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, Philemon, 3 John, and Revelation.
[597] Jas 5:14; Heb 2:12; 12:23.

Meeks looks only at how Pauline communities use *ekklēsia* as a group designation.[598] He

identifies six differentially sized Pauline sub-groups.[599] Meeks does not analyze Pauline

uses of the word *ekklēsia* in reference to a semi-public meeting, though.[600] Schmidt takes

a more comprehensive approach, one which I follow in this study. He looks at *ekklēsia*

occurrences throughout the New Testament and divides their semantic range into four

categories:[601] (1) as a title for the semi-public, ritual assembly ("meeting") of early

Christ-followers; (2) as a designation for the collective sum of all Christ-followers while

gathered together in assembly (e.g., "congregation"); (3) as a permanent collective

designation for Christ-followers even outside of their assembly times (e.g., "a church");

and (4) as a reference to the supra-local, or universal *ekklēsia* (e.g., "the Church"), of

which regional *ekklēsiai* (e.g., "churches") are local manifestations.

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[598] Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (London/New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 75.

[599] Meeks, *First Urban Christians*, 75. Meeks sees the smallest grouping of Christ-followers as being reflected in Paul's expression *hē kat' oikon ekklēsia* (Rom 16:5; 1 Cor 16:19; Phlm 2). The word *oikos* could refer either to private houses or tenement houses. Meeks distinguishes the "house assembly" from five larger assemblies. These five larger assemblies are: (1) "the whole assembly" at any given location (Rom 16:23; 1 Cor 14:23; Phil 4:15); (2) the *ekklēsia* as a trans-local entity (plural) within one geographical region (1 Cor 16:19, "the *ekklēsiai* of Asia"); (3) the *ekklēsia* as a trans-local entity located across geographical regions but aligned along ethnic or other criteria (Rom 16:4, "the *ekklēsiai* of the gentiles"; Rom 16:16, "the *ekklēsiai* of Christ"); (4) the trans-local assembly (singular and articular, *hē ekklēsia*) comprised of a number of local assemblies in any given region (e.g., Act 9:31, "the *ekklēsia* throughout all Judea, Galilee, and Samaria"; Phil 3:6, "a persecutor of the *ekklēsia*"); and (5) the trans-local assembly (singular and articular, *hē ekklēsia*) comprised of the sum total of all assemblies across the Roman Empire (1 Cor 12:28[?]).

[600] Pauline usages of *ekklēsia* for "meeting" include occurrences of the anarthrous phrase *en ekklēsia* (1 Cor 11:18; 14:19, 28, 35) and its plural articular variation *en tais ekklēsiais* (1 Cor 14:33b, 34; Pauline authorship is disputed for 1 Cor 14:33b-35).

[601] K. L. Schmidt, "ἐκκλησία," *TDNT*, 3.501–34, esp. 3.506. See Appendix #10 for a correlation of the four definitional categories for the word *ekklēsia* with its 114 occurrences in the New Testament (*Categorization of* Ekklēsia *Occurrences in the New Testament*).

2. The Origin and Nature of the Ekklēsia Designation in the First-Generation Jesus Movement

As I assess the origin and nature of *ekklēsia* usage in the early Jesus movement,

the witness of Paul's undisputed writings will predominate. Three factors favour such an

emphasis. First, Paul uses *ekklēsia* a disproportionately greater number of times and in

more definitionally diverse ways than do other New Testament writers.[602] Only Paul's

use of the word *ekklēsia* incorporates all six differentially sized groups mentioned by

Meeks and crosses all four definitional categories identified by Schmidt. Second, even

though Paul is not alone in ascribing a permanent *ekklēsia* identity to his communities, he

is alone in overseeing a trans-local network of *ekklēsia* communities, one that spans both

sides of the Aegean Sea.[603] Third, and most importantly, Paul's writings, as the earliest

Christ-follower documents, are the earliest witnesses of communities in the Jesus

movement being designated as *ekklēsiai*.

Aside from Paul, there are only five other New Testament writers who

unambiguously attribute a permanent *ekklēsia* identity to a community of Christ-

followers.[604] Even in these instances, though, that designation may be more rhetorical

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[602] As I already indicated, Paul's seven undisputed writings contain 44 of the 114 New Testament occurrences of the word *ekklēsia*. Paul is the sixth most prolific user of *ekklēsia* terminology in antiquity. Dionysius of Halicarnassus is first with 225 occurrences, followed by Plutarch (142), Diodorus Siculus (101), Demosthenes (76), and Aeschines (57) (see Appendix #6, Ekklēsia *in Greek Literary Works*). TheGreek writers, however, only reflect two of Schmidt's definitional categories: a meeting of people and a temporary group identity assumed during the course of that assembly, while Paul employs all four.

[603] Paul's *ekklēsiai* are located in Asia Minor and in Hellas (Thrace, Macedonia, and Achaia). The "John" of Revelation claims prophetic authority over seven *ekklēsiai* in Roman Asia. They are located in the cities of Ephesos, Smyrna, Pergamon, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea (Rev 2:1–3:22). The "John" of 2 and 3 John is elder of at least two *ekklēsiai* in Ephesos and/or in its immediate vicinity.

[604] Three of the five directly and unequivocally designate their own community/ies as an *ekklēsia* (deutero-Paul, the "elder" John, the "John" of Revelation). Matthew implies that same identity for his Galilean or Antiochean community when he places the word *ekklēsia* onto the lips of Jesus (Matt 16:18;

than historical. Each of those six writers may simply be prescribing his preferred group designation upon his community, as opposed to using the group designation by which the community members themselves self-describe. One case in point may be Paul's extensive use of the word *ekklēsia* within his Corinthian correspondence. This may reflect an implicit strategy by which rhetorically to prescribe an *ekklēsia* identity upon all of Paul's addressees given that his apostolic authority was not recognized by every sub-group within Corinth (e.g., "I belong to Paul…Apollos… Cephas"; 1 Cor 1:12; 3:4).[605]

There is no straightforward interpretation of *ekklēsia* usage in the Gospel of Matthew either: did the author place the word *ekklēsia* onto the lips of Jesus (16:18; 18:17) by way of allusion to the historic Israel of the LXX, or because *ekklēsia* was the group designation of Matthew's post-70 CE community?[606] Use of *ekklēsia* terminology within the book of Acts also cannot simply be taken at face value (e.g., Acts 5:11). Ancient historiographers are known to substitute contemporary and/or provincial terminology when writing of earlier events or locations unfamiliar to their reading audiences (e.g., Josephus). The book of Acts may be following suit in its designation of first-generation Christ-followers in Jerusalem as an *ekklēsia*.

18:17). As a historiographer, the author of Acts may be using regional terminology familiar to his reading audience, rather than the actual terminology by which pre-Pauline Jewish Christ-followers self-described.

[605] Paul uses the word *ekklēsia* 22 times in 1 Corinthians. This represents half of the 44 occurrences of the word *ekklēsia* in his undisputed writings. 2 Corinthians contains 9 occurrences.

[606] W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison seek to demonstrate that the author of Matthew is associating his community with the *ekklēsia* at Sinai (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew* [ICC; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988–1997], 2.629). Warren Carter emphasizes that the "non-use of of 'synagogue' distinguishes Jesus' group from those hostile and rejecting groups ('their synagogues' in 4:23; 9:35; 10:17; 12:9; 13:54; 23:34)" (*Matthew and the Margins: A Socio-political and Religious Reading* [London/New York: T&T Clark, 2000], 335). Anthony Saldarini states that the *ekklēsia* in Matthew is "an identifiable, formal group…[that is,] the Matthean group" but he is careful not to presume that *ekklēsia* is the actual group designation of the Mattheans (*Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994], 118, 119).

The various challenges inherent in interpreting writings of different genres highlight the need for a carefully nuanced approach when assessing *ekklēsia* usage among New Testament writers, including the apostle Paul.

2.1. Who Were the First Christ-followers to Self-identify as Ekklēsia?

Notwithstanding Paul's use of the word *ekklēsia* in greater number and with greater diversity than other New Testament authors, this does not *ipso facto* qualify him as the first Christ-follower to assign his communities such a group identity. Paul Trebilco forwards a different group of Christ-followers as the first *ekklēsiai* in the Jesus movement.

2.1.1. Pre-Pauline Jewish Christ-followers and the Ekklēsia of Israel

Following on from du Toit, Trebilco prioritizes two literary witnesses for substantiating his claim that pre-Pauline Hellenistic Jewish Christ-followers in Judea were the first groups in the Jesus movement to self-designate collectively as *ekklēsiai*. He cites the 'historiography' known as the book of Acts (e.g., 5:11; 9:31),[607] and Paul's historiographical statement in Gal 1:13.[608] His two witnesses bear further investigation.

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[607] While the book of Acts can be classified as historiography, Richard I. Pervo cautions against assuming, therefore, that Acts is historically reliable. He states that "although some still associate the author of Acts with Thucydides and Polybius and claim a high level of accuracy for the book, NT scholarship in general has taken at least a step or two back from that position" (*Acts: A Commentary* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009], 14). Pervo notes that Acts has been identified with two sub-categories of the genre of historiography: monograph (Conzelmann) and apologetic historiography (Sterling) (*Acts*, 15–16). Pervo, though, disputes these genre designations by noting ten variances in Acts from the genre of ancient historiography (*Acts*, 17–18). Daniel Marguerat surveys a number of other genre possibilities such as Roman history, Gospel summary, and exaltation of Christian faith (*Lukas, der erste christliche Historiker: Eine Studie zur Apostelgeschichte* [ATANT 91; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag Zurich, 2011], 57–67).

[608] Acts 5:11 reads, "great fear seized the whole *ekklēsia* [in Jerusalem]." Acts 9:31 reads, "the *ekklēsia* throughout Judea, Galilee, and Samaria had peace." Gal 1:13 reads, "I was violently persecuting the *ekklēsia tou theou*." Paul Trebilco particularly points to Paul's ascription of an *ekklēsia* identity to the community in Jerusalem (Gal 1:13) as substantive evidence that the later historiography of Acts also uses

With respect to Acts, Trebilco assumes, along with a number of other scholars,[609] that *ekklēsia* is the *emic* self-designation of first-generation Christ-followers in Jerusalem and Judea.[610] By contrast, other scholars (e.g., Richard Pervo, C. K. Barrett, Joseph Fitzmyer) contend that Acts is using the term *ekklēsia* anachronistically.[611] These scholars presume that the author of Acts is writing after the time of first-generation Christ-followers in Jerusalem and is attributing to that original community a group designation which the implied readers of Acts, but not the original community, adopted. In this they assume that *ekklēsia* in Acts is an *etic* group designation for first-generation Jewish Christ-followers in Jerusalem. This debate highlights the need for differentiating between *emic* ("insider" language) and *etic* ("outsider" language) terminology when reading historiography.[612] George Brooke cautions against reading historiography simply

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ekklēsia in *emic* fashion for that same community of Christ-followers ("Why Did the Early Christians Call Themselves ἡ ἐκκλησία?" *NTS* 57 [2011]: 440–460, esp. 442–43).

[609] J. Y. Campbell, '*The Origin and Meaning*,' 42; J. Hainz, *EKKLESIA. Strukturen paulinischer Gemeinde-Theologie und Gemeinde-Ordnung* (BU 9; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1972), 236, 251; H. Merklein, "Die Ekklesia Gottes. Der Kirchenbegriff bei Paulus und in Jerusalem," *Studien zu Jesus und Paulus* (WUNT 43; Tübingen: Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1987), 301–302; W. Krauss, *Das Volk Gottes. Zur Grundlegung der Ekklesiologie bei Paulus* (WUNT 85; Tübingen: Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1996), 112; M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer, *Paul between Damascus and Antioch: The Unknown Years* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 83; Ekkehard W. Stegemann and Wolfgang Stegemann, *The Jesus Movement: A Social History of its First Century* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999), 262; Andries du Toit, "*Paulus Oecumenicus*: Interculturality in the Shaping of Paul's Theology," *NTS* 55 (2009): 121–143, esp. 133.

[610] Trebilco, "Early Christians," 443. Trebilco appears to dismiss almost out of hand Pervo's claim that the use of *ekklēsia* in Acts is anachronistic (Ibid, 443 n. 12).

[611] See Pervo (*Acts*, 134 n. 83); C. K. Barrett (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* [ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994], 1.271); and Joseph Fitzmyer (*The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 31; New York: Doubleday, 1998], 325). Fitzmyer writes that "Luke is using the standard term current in his day, as he reflects on this incident and records with hindsight the community's reaction to it" (Ibid, 325). Saldarini suggests anachronism in Acts based on the fact that "only the author of Acts uses the term [*ekklēsia*] of mid first-century believers-in-Jesus in Jerusalem and Antioch" (*Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community*, 118).

[612] Historiography ("a writing about history") is an authorial construct. As such, historiography may or may not say anything valid with respect to actual communal socio-historical realities (George Brooke, "Introduction," in *Ancient and Modern Scriptural Historiography L'historiographie biblique, ancienne et moderne* [ed. G. Brooke and T. Römer; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007], 10).

as 'history,' that is, as accurate historical details. He argues that one must interpret

historiography in recognition of the fact that the text is simply "the history of the

ideological perspectives of the ancient author."[613] Stuart Beeson concurs. He writes that

"texts tell us most about their time of authorship, rather than of the time they

describe…."[614] Anomalously, Trebilco concedes these points elsewhere, but not for his

interpretation of *ekklēsia* use in Acts.[615]

Even if Acts is dated pre-70 CE, thereby removing the possibility of *ekklēsia*

being used anachronistically, at least two factors favour viewing Acts' attribution of a

permanent *ekklēsia* identity to the pre-70 community in Jerusalem as being *etic*

terminology. One is the fact that Acts uses at least one *ekklēsia*-related term in *etic*

fashion: the collocation *ennomos ekklēsia* (Acts 19:39).[616] The second factor involves

precedents from other historiographers. Josephus, for example, can be accused of

provincialism in his use of some Greek political terms.[617] Provincialism entails the use of

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[613] Brooke, "Introduction," xiii-xxxvii, esp. xiv. See further in n. 540 on how classicists read Greek "history."

[614] Stuart Beeson, "Historiography Ancient and Modern: Fact and Fiction," in *Ancient and Modern Scriptural Historiography L'historiographie biblique, ancienne et moderne* (ed. G. Brooke and T. Römer; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 3–12, esp. 9–10.

[615] Paul Trebilco highlights the need for critically evaluating group self-designations from at least three perspectives: "insider language," "outward-facing," and "outsider-used." He defines these three categories as follows: (1) "insider language" is terminology by which the group itself self-designates; (2) "outward-facing self-designations" are those used by insiders when communicating with outsiders; and (3) "outsider-used designations" reflect terminology used by outsiders by which to describe the in-group (*Self-designations and Group Identity in the New Testament* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012], 10).

[616] Acts 19:39 reads, εἰ δέ τι περαιτέρω ἐπιζητεῖτε, ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπιλυθήσεται ("If there is anything further you want to know, it must be settled in the regular/traditional assembly").

[617] See the discussion of Josephus' use of *ekklēsia* in Part II (§3.3. *Public Assemblies in 1ˢᵗ Century CE Judea*).

emic terminology from one geographical region to describe a similar institution found in another geographical region, but which is designated by other terminology.[618]

      2.1.1.1. Ennomos Ekklēsia *in Acts*

Acts' use of the phrase *ennomos ekklēsia* for the regular assembly of Ephesos (Acts 19:39) is unattested in inscriptions from Ephesos. Within extant epigraphic sources, there are only three adjectival modifiers used for the Ephesian *ekklēsia*: *nomimon*, *prōtēn*, and *hierā*.[619] The phrase *ennomos ekklēsia* only occurs twice in other inscriptions from Asia Minor (Mysia and Pisidia),[620] but 43 times in inscriptions from two regions of Hellas (Phokis and Thessaly).[621] Pauline *ekklēsiai* do not appear to have been established

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[618] Donald Binder helpfully differentiates between anachronism, provincialism, and bias (*Into the Temple Courts: The Place of the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period* [Atlanta: SBL, 1999], 89). "Anachronism" is the practice of interpreting earlier architectural and literary artefacts from the perspective of later evidence. "Provincialism" involves the attribution to other geographical regions, or social groupings, the socio-cultural realities of one's own geo-political region. "Bias" entails the interpretation or revision of source material for the purpose either of supporting one's pre-existing suppositions or of creating new ideologically motivated conclusions.

[619] A complete list of extant inscriptions from Ephesos which mention an *ekklēsia*, as listed in ascending chronological order, are: 3rd cent. BCE: εἰς τὴμ πρώτην ἐκλησίαν (*Miletos* 37; 212/211 BCE); 2nd cent. BCE: [ἰε]ρᾷ ἐκλησία (*IEph* 1570/*Ephesos* 3582; 2nd cent. BCE?); 2nd cent. CE: κατὰ πᾶσαν νόμιμον ἐκκλησίαν (*IEph* 27B + Add. p. 2/Ephesos 212; *IEph* 27G + Add. p. 2/*Ephesos* 602; 104 CE); κα]ὶ νομ[ίμοις ἐκκλ]ησίαις (*IEph* 27A + Add. p. 2/*Ephesos* 115; 104 CE); κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν (*IEph* 27G + Add. p. 2/*Ephesos* 602; *IEph* 33/*Ephesos* 828; 104 CE); τιθῆνται κατ' ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐπὶ τῶν βάσεων (*IEph* 28, 29, 30, 34/*Ephesos* 823, 824, 825, 829; 104 CE); Imperial period: ἐν τῇ ἱε]ρᾷ ἐκλησία (*IEph* 2902/*Ephesos* 1672); καθὼς περιέχ[ει] τὰ ὑπομνήματ[α] τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκκλησί[ας] (*IEph* 959 + Add. p. 23/*Ephesos* 626).

[620] The collocation ἐννόμος ἐκκλησία occurs in two Asia Minor inscriptions: *MDAI*(A) 32 (1907) 243,4 (Mysia, Pergamon; 75–50 BCE) and *TAM* III 4 (Pisidia, Termessos; 2nd cent. CE?).

[621] The collocation ἐννόμος ἐκκλησία predominantly occurs in inscriptions from central Greece (Phokis [32X; e.g., Delphi, Elateia] and Thessaly [11X]). These inscriptions are dated between the 2nd cent. BCE and the 2nd cent. CE.

there, only in other regions of Hellas, such as Attica (e.g., Athens),[622] the Peloponnesos

(e.g., Corinth),[623] and Macedonia (e.g., Thessalonica, Philippi).[624]

If one assumes that the author of Acts uses the phrase *ennomos ekklēsia* as a

literary strategy by which more clearly to communicate with his ostensible dedicatee,

Theophilus (Acts 1:1),[625] then Theophilus may very well have Hellenic roots, perhaps

even in or near Phokis or Thessaly. There is one more regionally specific political term

used in Acts (*politarch*) which potentially narrows Theophilus' region of origin still

further, specifically to Macedonia, which lies immediately north of Thessaly.

2.1.1.2. Politarch *in Acts*

The author of Acts displays precise knowledge of a group of Macedonian officials

who are called *politarchs* (Acts 17: 6). B. F. Cook notes that "the title 'politarchs'

(literally, 'rulers of the citizens') was used in several Greek cities," one of which is

Thessalonica.[626] Brad McLean brings greater specificity to Cook's observation: "in

Macedonia, a single supreme board called πολιτάρχαι dealt with civic and military

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[622] Surviving inscriptions from Athens do not make mention of an ἐννόμος ἐκκλησία. See n. 269 for adjectival modifiers used for the Athenian ἐκκλησία. The adjective νομίμος ("traditional, regular") only occurs once each in central Greece (Delphi, 185–175 BCE) and in Asia Minor (Ephesos, 104 CE).

[623] The 18 *ekklēsia* mentions in inscriptions found in Peloponnesos are not modified by any adjectives.

[624] Of the 41 *ekklēsia* occurrences in inscriptions found in Macedonia, 29 are by Christ-followers of the Late Antique period. The 12 inscriptions from early antiquity only modify *ekklēsiai* twice, once with νουμηνίαι (200–160 BCE; *EKM* 1.Beroia 1) and the other time with οἰκειότητα (243 BCE; *SEG* 12.373, ll. 18-34).

[625] This presumes, of course, that Theophilus is a real person rather than only a symbolic term broadly applicable to all Christ-followers (i.e., "lover of God"). Pervo notes that both Bede (*Expositio Actuum Apostolorum*, 6) and Origen (e.g., *Hom. In Lucam* 1.10–11) interpret the word "Theophilus" ("lover of God") symbolically (*Acts*, 35). Possible historical referents for "Theophilus" inlcude T. Flavius Clemens, the cousin of Emperor Domitian (Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Four Gospels: a Study of Origins* [London: MacMillan, 1936], 534–55), Theophilus, a son of Annas the High Priest, who was High Priest from 37–41 CE (Richard H. Anderson, "Theophilus: A Proposal," *EvQ* 69:3 [1997]: 195–215), and a Jewish elite holding Roman equestrian status (Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 195).

[626] B. F. Cook, *Reading the Past: Greek Inscriptions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 23.

matters."[627] A woodcut on the Roman arch at Thessalonica confirms the continued use of

politarch as a title for city officials well into the second century CE (*BMGR* 1877.5–

11.1). McLean notes that Beroia (Beroea/Berea) is another Macedonian *polis* which

designates its primary magisterial board as *politarchai*.[628] Berea is a *polis* near

Thessalonica. The perception of Acts' having insider knowledge of Berean and

Thessalonican political terminology is further reinforced in the fact that the title *politarch*

rarely occurs outside of Macedonian inscriptions. It is extant in 36 inscriptions,[629] 34 of

which are from Macedonia.[630]

Acts' familiarity with local political terminology from the regions of Thessaly

(*ennomos ekklēsia*) and Macedonia (*politarch*) could imply that Acts' intended reader has

socio-ethnic ties to both regions. If Theophilus has such trans-local roots, then he most

likely was a social elite, or notable. Three factors suggest this possibility.

First, as the dedicatee for Luke/Acts (Luke 1:3; Acts 1:1), Theophilus may have

been the writer's benefactor.[631] Second, Fitzmyer suggests that the phrase "most excellent

Theophilus" (Luke 1:3) infers that Theophilus holds elite status as a Roman knight (*ordo*

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[627] B. H. McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C.–A.D. 337)* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002), 311.

[628] McLean, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, 311.

[629] Imperial period Macedonian cities which designate their primary magisterial board as *politarchai* include Thessalonica (up to 2nd cent. CE), Styberra (95 CE), Herakleai (100–150 CE), and Beroia (41–44 CE) (McLean, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, 311). There are two non-Macedonian references to a *politarch*: one from Leontopolis in Egypt (*CIJ* 2.1530a/*Bernand*, *Inscr. Métr.* 16; early Imperial period), and one from Delphi in central Greece (*FD* III 3.207; 252/1 BCE).

[630] McLean provides an extensive list of other terms associated with the principal magisterial board of different *poleis* across the Greek East: *archontes* (Athens, Aphrodisias); *demiourgoi* (Aigina, Salamis, much of Peloponnesos); *ephoboi* (Lakonia); *kosmoi* (Crete); *politarchai* (Thessalonika, Beroia); *prostatai* (Cos); *prytaneis* (e.g., Knidos, Rhodes, Samos, Pamphylia, Cilicia, *poleis* of Peloponnesos); *stratēgoi* (e.g., Kalymnos, Iasos, Miletos, Sardis, Smyrna, most of the Greek cities of Caria, Lydia, Phrygia and Thessaly); *tagoi* (Thessaly); and *timouchoi* (Sinope) (*Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, 311).

[631] Pervo notes, though, that "the relation between dedication and patronage is too complicated to allow firm conclusions" (*Acts*, 35).

equester).[632] Third, Louis Feldman suggests that Theophilus may be of Jewish descent, which could even place him among those Jews in Berea who converted to Christ, some of whom are described as being "men of high standing" (Acts 17:12). Acts mentions that the Jews in Berea "examined the scriptures every day to see whether these things were so" (Acts 17:11). If the author of Acts also wrote the Gospel of Luke (Acts 1:1; cf. Luke 1:1-4), then his description of Berean attention to scriptural detail may explain why the author is so concerned with narratival accuracy in his account for Theophilus.[633]

How probable is it, though, that, as a Jew, Theophilus could also have been a Roman notable, perhaps even with equestrian status? At least two historical precedents exist for such a scenario, with each person playing an important military role for the Romans during the Jewish revolt: Philo's nephew Tiberius Julius Alexander and Flavius Josephus.[634] If Theophilus was a notable of the *ordo equester*, with a primary residence in Berea or Thessalonica, he would have been familiar with the *politarchai*. As noted, this civic governing body had responsibility not just for political matters but also for military affairs. The possibility of Theophilus' trans-local status as both a Berean Jew and as a Berean/Thessalonican Roman notable provides a fuller basis for understanding Acts'

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[632] Fitzmyer notes that the adjective *kratistos* used in Acts 1:1 (*kratistē Theophile*; "most excellent Theophilus") "was the Greek equivalent of Latin *egregius*, a title often used for the *ordo equester*, the 'knights' of Roman society. It is used of the governor Felix in 23:26" (*Acts*, 195).

[633] The Gospel of Luke explains that, "since many have undertaken to set down an orderly account of the events that have been fulfilled among us, just as they were handed on to us by those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and servants of the word, I too decided, after investigating everything carefully from the very first, to write down an orderly account for you, most excellent Theophilus, so that you may know the truth concerning the things about which you have been instructed" (Luke 1:1-4).

[634] Tiberius Julius Alexander abandoned the Jewish religion, became the Roman procurator in Judea in 46–48 CE, and was a not insignificant factor in helping the Romans quell the Jewish revolt of 66–70 CE (James C. VanderKam, *An Introduction to Early Judaism* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001], 138). After his capture by the Romans, Josephus assisted them in convincing the Jews in Jerusalem to surrender.

addition of a predominantly Thessalian adjective (*ennomos*) when speaking of an

Ephesian *ekklēsia*.

2.1.1.3. Josephus

The literary strategy of inserting provincial terminology into historiography for

the sake of a contemporary readership is mirrored by Flavius Josephus. In his *Antiquities*

of the Jews, Josephus describes the religio-political *praxis* of ancient Israelites in terms

reminiscent of democratic processes enacted by the *dēmoi* of 1st century CE Greek

poleis.[635] There are two ways to interpret Josephus' use of Greco-Roman politics. He

either could be using provincial terminology that was familiar to his Greek speaking

readership in Rome, or he is retrojecting the actual political *praxis* of Jews in the

1st century CE upon their ancient ancestors, the Israelites of the desert tradition. Either

way, Josephus' description of ancient Israelite political *praxis* is an *etic* one in which he

uses terminology familiar to his contemporary reading audience as a substitute for the

original terminology used by his historical referents.

In sum, the inscriptional record and historiographical works, such as Acts and

Josephus' *Antiquities*, highlight the importance of interpreting ancient historical evidence

with genre considerations in mind. Such considerations make it possible that the author of

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[635] For example, in Josephus' recounting of Moses' orders to Korah and his followers (*A.J.* 4:35; Num 16:6-7), Louis Feldman observes that "Moses makes a proposal to the multitude, and they give their free consent [*cheirotonia*, which shows that] Josephus continues to use Greek political vocabulary when he describes this meeting as an assembly (ἐκκλησία)" (*Flavius Josephus*, 341 n. 87). The word *cheirotonia*, which indicates a free vote by show of hands, occurs at least 47 times in association with an *ekklēsia* in Greek inscriptions. The regions represented include Attica, the Aegean Islands (Delos, Cos), central Greece, northern Greece, Asia Minor (Caria, Ionia, Troas, and Mysia). There are three 1st cent. CE examples (Kalindoia, Macedonia, *Meletemata* 11 K2, 1 CE; and two from Phokis in central Greece [*FD* III 6:27, 1–20 CE; *BCH* 108 [1984], 366, 20–46 CE]). Feldman also notes a syntactical correlation between Josephus and other Greek writers—Josephus' practice of indicating the meeting of a regular assembly with the clause ἐκκλησίαν ... συναγαγών (cf. *A.J.* 3:188 and 4:176; Ibid, 393 n. 527).

Acts uses *etic* terminology more familiar to his implied reader rather than using *emic* terms originally employed by Acts' historical referents. One example of provincialism in Acts could be its use of the term *ennomos ekklēsia*. This being the case, then it is not improbable that Acts' attribution of the term *ekklēsia* to the pre-70 community in Jerusalem as their collective designation is another example of provincialism, particularly if the implied reader's socio-economic roots are in Macedonia.

2.1.1.4. Ekklēsia*, the LXX, and Early Christ-followers in Jerusalem*
A second factor Trebilco forwards, not unproblematically, as evidence that first-generation Jewish Christ-followers used *ekklēsia* as a collective self-designation, is that Hellenistic and Hebrew Jewish Christ-followers in Jerusalem required different group identities. He states, firstly, that the Hellenists needed "to worship separately and to develop significantly different emphases in their theology and practice" than the Hebrew sub-group.[636] From this he concludes, secondly, that the Hellenists also required a group identity which was distinct from their Hebrew compatriots, who purportedly self-designated as *hoi hagioi* (e.g., Acts 9:13).[637] According to Trebilco, "the Hellenists' theological conviction that their group was in continuity with that assembly of Yahweh" known in the LXX as the *ekklēsia* of Israel, led them to adopt *ekklēsia* as their new identity.[638] Trebilco suggests that, among Jewish communities, "ἐκκλησία was 'free,'"[639]

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[636] Trebilco, "Early Christians," 440–41.

[637] Pervo, in his comments on Acts 9:13, implies that the *emic* group identity for (Hebrew) Jewish Christ-followers in Jerusalem is the articular, pluralistic term *hoi hagioi* (*Acts*, 248). Paul Trebilco is more explicit. He claims that "the use of οἱ ἅγιοι as a self-designation originated with Aramaic-speaking Jewish Christians in Jerusalem at a very early point" (*Self-designations*, 134).

[638] Trebilco, "Early Christians," 444. Trebilco claims that "it is more likely that the use of ἐκκλησία in the LXX [rather than the Greek civic *ekklēsia*] was the most crucial factor" for the selection of *ekklēsia* as a collective designation for early Christ-followers (Ibid, 446). This allowed the Hellenists to

since the term *synagōgē*, which the LXX also uses to describe Israel, had already been widely adopted by non-messianic Jewish communities.

There are at least three reasons for reading the evidence differently. First, it is evident from the writings of Philo and Paul that a case can be made for claiming that *ekklēsia* was not free, not least in Egypt and perhaps also in Judea. Trebilco does acknowledge that *Virt.* 108 is the one "place [in Philo where] ἐκκλησία refers to a local congregation."[640] Contrary to majority opinion, however, he does not consider that congregation as contemporaries of Philo.[641] Furthermore, if Paul presupposes that Jewish communities named *ekklēsiai* already existed in Judea (Gal 1:22; 1 Thess 2:14), then, within Judea, *ekklēsia* also was not "free" for pre-Pauline Jewish Christ-followers.

Second, why would Greek speaking Jewish Christ-followers require an *intra muros* group identity to counter outsider perceptions of apostasy when such an identity was readily available to them through their Hebrew speaking compatriots in Jerusalem? Trebilco claims that Hebrew speaking Christ-followers self-designated as *hoi hagioi* for

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"express their continuity with the OT people of God" (Ibid, 446). Klaus Berger contends, though, that the evidence is limited by which to connect the NT use of *ekklēsia* with the Israel of the desert period ("Volksversammlung," 185, 186, 204, 206). Berger claims that Hellenistic Judaism (and thus the LXX translators) derived its understanding of *ekklēsia* from civic *ekklēsiai* of the Greek East in the Hellenistic period (321–27 BCE). Du Toit critiques Berger's work since it "still reveals a predisposition towards minimizing the effect of Israelite-Jewish traditions" ("*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 133).

[639] Trebilco states that "other (non-Christian) Jews *could have* used ἐκκλησίαι for their gatherings, as well as συναγωγή; it simply seems that, as far as we know, none of them were using ἐκκλησία with reference to a contemporary 'assembly' in the same way they were using συναγωγή and thus ἐκκλησία was 'free'" ("Early Christians," 456).

[640] Trebilco, "Early Christians," 448.

[641] For my discussion of *Virt.* 108 see Part II, §4.1.1.

the purpose of claiming theological continuity with eschatological Israel—the "people of the holy ones" in Aramaic Daniel 7.[642]

Third, even if the question of 'otherness' was instead an *intra*-mural issue between different sub-groups of Jewish Christ-followers, it still does not necessarily follow that the Hellenists felt the need for a sub-group identity that was different from their Hebrew speaking compatriots. The Christ-follower community in Rome is a case in point. Robert Jewett suggests that the collective self-designation of that *corpus mixtum* of Jews and gentiles also was *hoi hagioi* (Rom 1:7).[643] If this was the case, then the Hellenistic Jewish Christ-followers in Rome, in their self-designation as *hoi hagioi*, did not adopt a sub-group identity that was different from the Hebrew speaking sub-group in their 'mother community' in Jerusalem, notwithstanding Trebilco's claim that they differed in theology and worship *praxis*.

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[642] Trebilco suggests that "after the resurrection, and in the light of the inaugurated eschatology which belief in the resurrection engendered, the earliest Jerusalem Christians used οἱ ἅγιοι as a self-designation as they reflected on Dan 7 in the light of Jesus' use of 'the son of man'" (*Group Designations*, 123). Trebilco acknowledges that a connection to Daniel 7 is problematized by John Collins' observation that the substantival use of *qedoshim* ("holy ones") in Daniel 7, and elsewhere in the HB and DSS, has primary reference to celestial beings (*Daniel* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993], 313 n. 322; idem, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* [2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 123–55). Trebilco comments, though, that "it is not very far from speaking of 'the people of the holy ones of the most High' (Dan 7:27), where 'holy ones' are angels, to assimilating the character (of being 'the holy ones') of the people's angelic patrons and representatives to *the people themselves* and actually calling *the people* 'the holy ones,' although we note that Daniel himself does not do this. But it is no surprise that *1 Enoch*, which is much influenced by Daniel, does do this" (*Self-designations*, 104–37, esp. 105). Trebilco's argument that the term οἱ ἅγιοι could have referred to human beings would have gained greater purchase, though, had he cited the claim by Crispin Fletcher-Louis that the substantival adjective "the holy ones" in Dan 7:13 is used in reference to pious Jews such as priests ("The High Priest as Divine Mediator in the Hebrew Bible: Dan 7:13 as Test Case," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1997 Seminar Papers* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997], 161–193, esp. 186–92; idem, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* [STDJ XLII; Leiden: Brill, 2002], 142 n. 16; 83 n. 82).

[643] Robert Jewett sees the phrase *klētois hagiois* (Rom 1:7) as referring to Jewish Christ-followers in Rome within Jerusalem's circle of influence (*Romans: A Commentary* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Augsburg/Fortress, 2007], 114).

Given the foregoing, it seems simplest to assume that first-generation Greek speaking, Jewish Christ-followers adopted *hoi hagioi* as their group identity. In so doing, the Hellenists' would have addressed their intra-mural, and inter-mural, religio-ethnic identity needs. If this was not the case, and, instead, the Greek speaking Jewish Christ-followers in Jerusalem self-identified collectively as *ekklēsiai*, then one could conclude that Paul's collection for *hoi hagioi* in Jerusalem (1 Cor 16:1; Rom 15:25) did not include the Hellenists. If Trebilco wishes to avoid such a conclusion, it would seem he needs either to change his view that Paul uses *hoi hagioi* as a group designation when speaking of the Jerusalem collection or that Jerusalem was the first place where Christ-followers self-identified as *ekklēsia*.

2.1.2. Paul and Greco-Roman Political Institutions

Contrary to Trebilco, George H. van Kooten does not look to Judea for the original community of Christ-followers who adopted a permanent *ekklēsia* identity.[644] He finds his answer in Paul's diasporic communities.[645] While I concur with van Kooten's conclusion, it appears that five of his rationales for arriving at that conclusion are open to question.

First, as already noted, Greco-Roman literary, epigraphic and papyrological sources do not use the word *ekklēsia* in the sense of a *permanent* group identity, whether in civic (political) or non-civic (e.g., voluntary association) contexts.[646] As such, the

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[644] "Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 522–27.

[645] "Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 527–36.

[646] At most, Greek sources use the word *ekklēsia* in reference to a temporary group identity, but only for as long as the *ekklēsia* ("gathering/meeting") is in session. This continues to be true even into the 1st century CE. In a letter from Artaban III, king of Parthia, to Seleucia approving the election of a city

Greek *ekklēsia* cannot form the primary basis for Paul's inspiration in adopting the word

ekklēsia as a permanent group identity for his non-civic groups.

Second, it does not seem to me that a political term with a Greek background

satisfies the primary criterion of Paul's group identity construction project. Paul needed a

term, first and foremost, which could indelibly situate his Greco-Roman Christ-followers

within the covenantal promises made to Abraham.[647] Additionally, if, Paul was concerned

with maintaining Jewish and gentile social and ethnic identities, then his communal

designation also needed to be inclusive enough for that socio-ethnic purpose.[648] *Ekklēsia*

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treasurer, the word *ekklēsia* is used in lieu of the word *dēmos* (*SEG* 7:2; 21 CE/Parthian year 268, Audnaeus 17). It reads, βασιλευόν[τος Σελευκου, ἔτους] ϛλ' καὶ ρ', μη[νὸς- - -], ἐν Σελευκ[είαι δὲ τῆι πρὸς τῶι] Εὐλαίωι Λ[ῴου- - -, ἐπὶ] Ἀμμωνί[ου. ἔδοξε τῆι ἐκκλησίαι· ("resolved by the *ekklēsia*").

[647] J. D. G. Dunn suggests that "'covenant' was not a major theological category for Paul's own theologizing" ("Did Paul Have a Covenant Theology? Reflections on Romans 9:4 and 11:27," in *Celebrating Romans: Template for Pauline Theology* [ed. S. E. McGinn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004], 3–19). While this may be true generally, William S. Campbell opts for viewing Abraham as the covenantal father of gentiles in answer to his question whether Paul uses the Abrahamic tradition as a way of "simply providing his converts with a fictive-family connection to an individual significant only as a 'punctiliar', exemplary believer? Or is he actually relating them to a particular people of God of whom Abraham was the father? Is Paul, in fact, rooting the Gentiles in the ancient stem of Abraham, or is he creating a new people of God?" ("'All God's Beloved in Rome!' Jewish Roots and Christian Identity," in *Celebrating Romans: Template for Pauline Theology* [ed. S. E. McGinn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004], 67–82, esp. 68). There are at least five intersections between the Genesis 15 covenant and Paul's theology which, when taken together, imply that, in Paul's mind, gentile inclusion is intrinsic to God's unconditional promises to Abraham: (1) Abraham's faith is the model for gentile faith (Gen 15:6; cf. Rom 4:1-5); (2) Abraham's uncircumcised state (Genesis 15) removes the necessity of gentile observance of Torah/Jewish identity marker observance (Rom 4:9ff); (3) God's unconditional promise of innumerable biological descendants (Gen 15:5), is extrapolated by Paul also to include uncircumcised gentiles (Rom 4:10-25); (4) While faith in the LORD's promise is the basis for Abraham's covenantal arrangement, for gentiles it is faith not only in the LORD but also in His promised One, the Lord Jesus Christ (Rom 4:24-25); (5) The peace with God, which ensues (Rom 5:1), is not simply existential (inner experience), nor fraternal (social relationships), but is forensic (a state): a state of permanently peaceful relations with the God of Abraham. For a discussion of Romans 4 and Abraham's faith, see Stephen Westerholm (*Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The "Lutheran" Paul and His Critics* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004], esp. 278–84, 307–21) and Benjamin Schliesser (*Abraham's Faith in Romans 4* [WUNT2.224; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007], esp. 152–220 [Gen 15:6 in Jewish theology], and 221–39). For a concise analysis of Paul's use of the Abrahamic covenant in Galatians 3, see J. Louis Martyn, *Theological Issues in the Letters of Paul* (rev. ed.; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 161–75.

[648] See n. 21 for Daniel Boyarin and his assessment of Paul's rhetoric on the continuation of Jewish identity (*A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* [Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994], 228–29). Peter Tomson argues that Jewish halakah, as exemplified in the "Apostolic

suited both of Paul's ostensible needs admirably. Notwithstanding its political roots in the Greek *polis*, the ethno-religious roots of the word *ekklēsia* in Jewish literature (e.g., LXX, Ben Sira, 1 Maccabees), and potentially in contemporary Alexandrian (Philo) and Judean synagogue communities, also could have been factors in Paul's choice.

Therefore, third, while van Kooten argues that Paul chose *ekklēsia* primarily for its ability to designate trans-local political organizations which paralleled municipal and imperial political structures, I would suggest that Paul's interest in its Greek background lay elsewhere. His group identity construction project required a term with Greco-Roman roots deep enough ideologically to facilitate, what Dieter Georgi calls, "libertarian and democratic universalism [and]…socially egalitarian pluralism" among the Jews and gentiles in his communities (e.g., 1 Cor 7:17-24; Gal 3:28).[649] The word *ekklēsia* fit the breadth of Paul's ideological needs well.

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tradition," which is continuous with the halakah of Jesus, provides a basis for understanding Paul's "practical instructions," thereby opening up the possibility of Torah observance for Jewish Christ-followers and Torah compliance by non-Jewish Christ-followers through adherence to the Noachian code (Acts 15) (*Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990], 1). Mark Nanos and Anders Runesson use the term "Apostolic Judaism" for Torah observant Jewish Christ-followers (Nanos, "Paul and Judaism: Why Not Paul's Judaism?" in *Paul Unbound: Other Perspectives on the Apostle* [ed. M. D. Given; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2010], 117–60, esp. 155 n. 96; Anders Runesson, "Rethinking Early Jewish–Christian Relations: Matthean Community History as Pharisaic Intragroup Conflict," *JBL* 127/1 [2008]: 95–132, esp. 100, 105; idem, "Inventing Christian Identity: Paul, Ignatius, and Theodotius I," in *Exploring Early Christian Identity* [ed. B. Holmberg; WUNT226; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008], 59–92, esp. 72). For a detailed argument in favour of the continuation of gentile social and ethnic identities, see J. Brian Tucker, "Intercultural Interaction and Identity Formation in Pauline Tradition: The Continuation of Gentile Identity in Christ" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL. Atlanta, GA, Nov. 22, 2010); idem, *Remain in Your Calling: Paul and the Continuation of Social Identities in 1 Corinthians* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011), esp. 70–86. Tucker provides an in-depth discussion of various scholary perspectives relative to the continuation of Jewish identity in Christ (*Remain in Your Calling*, 89–114), and of gentile identities in Christ (*Remain in Your Calling*, 115–35).

[649] Dieter Georgi, *Theocracy in Paul's Praxis and Theology* (trans. David E. Green; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 51.

Fourth, it appears that van Kooten may be leaving himself open to the charge of anachronistically reading Paul in light of Origen. He seems to presume that since Origen views Christ-follower *ekklēsiai* as alternative societies which paralleled the socio-political structures of Greek *poleis* and the Roman *imperium*,[650] that he has faithfully enacted Paul's original intent.[651]

Fifth, even though van Kooten convincingly argues that a collective *ekklēsia* identity need not entail counter-imperial ideology,[652] and that Paul's trans-local associations implicitly criticize "the morality of civic assemblies,"[653] his overall argument would have gained strength had he also explored how Paul's *ekklēsiai* constituted an implicit critique of those *polis* politics which validated socio-economic stratification and oligarchic privilege.

2.1.3. Paul and Jewish Sources

The five mitigating factors in van Kooten's argument suggest the need for an alternative approach for forwarding Paul as the first Christ-follower to appropriate *ekklēsia* as a collective identity. In order to demonstrate this, there are three Pauline

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[650] Van Kooten, "Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 4. Van Kooten claims that a double meaning of *ekklēsia* as political assembly and as the "church" is explicitly alluded to in Origen's *Contra Celsum* 3.29-30 (*c*. 249 CE): "He will be amazed at the one who both planned and had the power to carry into effect the establishment of *the assemblies of God* in all places, living beside *the assemblies of the people* in each city." Van Kooten comments further: "After Origen construes this antithesis between the Christian and the civic assemblies, and even characterizes the relationship of the former to the latter as one of political opposition, he opens up the possibility that both assemblies are not necessarily mutually exclusive (*Contra Celsum* 3.30: 'And so also, if you compare the council of the assembly of God with the council in each city, you may, in future, find that some council members of the assemblies are worthy, if there exists a city of God in the universe, to hold public office in it')" (Ibid, 5).

[651] Van Kooten states that "Origen draws the full consequences of the view that Christianity is an assembly of God which parallels the political assembly of the Greek cities of the ancient world (see further 8.5 and 8.74-75). In this I will argue that Origen is not original but follows Paul. The political meaning of *ekklēsia* must have been the first to spring to people's minds" ("Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 5).

[652] Van Kooten, "Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 531, 538–39.

[653] Van Kooten, "Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 535–558, esp. 558.

statements which first require reframing. In each, Paul appears to describe those whom he formerly persecuted as having already adopted an *ekklēsia* identity. He ostensibly identifies the Hebrew and Hellenistic Jewish Christ-followers in Jerusalem either as *hē ekklēsia tou theou* (Gal 1:13, 1 Cor 15:9) or as *hē ekklēsia* (Phil 3:6).[654]

There are at least three ways to read those historiographical comments of Paul. First, one could follow J. D. G. Dunn and Trebilco who claim that Paul's use of the articular phrase *hē ekklēsia tou theou* reflects the *emic* terminology of pre-Pauline Hellenistic Jewish Christ-followers in Jerusalem and surrounding regions.[655] Second, one could see anachronism at play. Van Kooten states that there is "no reason why the three references…[should not contain] a term of different origins that was also retrospectively applied by Paul to the Christian communities which he had persecuted."[656] A third way is to read Paul's statements as reflecting provincial terminology. In other words, in order more clearly to communicate with his addressees, Paul attributes to the Jewish Christ-followers whom he formerly persecuted the *emic* self-designation of his readers in Galatia, Corinth, and Philippi.[657]

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[654] Gal 1:13 reads, Ἠκούσατε γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφήν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, ὅτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐδίωκον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν ("I was violently persecuting the *ekklēsia* of God and was trying to destroy it"); 1 Cor 15:9 reads, Ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ ἐλάχιστος τῶν ἀποστόλων ὃς οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος, διότι ἐδίωξα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ("because I persecuted the *ekklēsia* of God"); Phil 3:6 reads, κατὰ ζῆλος διώκων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ("as to zeal, a persecutor of the *ekklēsia*").

[655] Dunn, *Beginning from Jerusalem*, 2.600. Trebilco concurs with Dunn's assessment. He argues that since in Gal 1:22 Paul is referring to "a very early period…[it] reinforces the likelihood that ἐκκλησία was first used as a self-designation in Jerusalem and Judea" ("Early Christians," 442–43).

[656] Van Kooten, "Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 526.

[657] Paul explicitly calls each community an *ekklēsia* in 1 Cor 1:2, Gal 1:2, and Phil 4:15.

Paul's Philippian epistle is an illustrative case in point.[658] In Phil 3:6, Paul

anomalously uses the unmodified noun *hē ekklēsia* in lieu of the complete phrase *hē*

ekklēsia tou theou (Gal 1:13; 1 Cor 15:9).[659] Why only in his later Philippian epistle does

Paul simplify his terminology? At least two reasons surface. First, the Christ-follower

ekklēsia in the Roman colony of Philippi[660] appears to have been predominantly, if not

even exclusively, gentile in makeup.[661] Thus, if, when writing to a largely gentile

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[658] Paul first came to Philippi on his second missionary journey which is generally dated between 49–52 CE (Peter O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* [NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991], 5).

[659] The articular phrase *hē ekklēsia tou theou* (and its variations) occurs once in the book of Acts (20:28) and eight times in Paul's authentic letters, twice in the plural: 1 Cor 1:2; 10:32; 11:16 (pl.), 22; 15:9; 2 Cor 1:1; Gal 1:13; 1 Thess 2:14 (pl.). Within the deutero-Pauline letters the articular phrase *hē ekklēsia tou theou* only occurs once (2 Thess 1:4) and that in plural form ("Therefore, we ourselves boast of you *en tais ekklēsiais tou theou* ["among the gatherings/congregations of God"] for your steadfastness and faith") (The anarthrous phrase *ekklēsia(s) tou theou* occurs twice in the deutero-Paulines [1 Tim 3:5, 15].) Contra Schmidt, Ladd, and Harris, none of the nine New Testament occurrences of the articular phrase *hē ekklēsia tou theou* necessarily refer to a universal, or trans-local, fictive entity which encompasses all Christ-followers, both Jew and gentile, across the Roman Empire (Schmidt, *TDNT* 3.506; George Eldon Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament* [rev. ed.; ed. D. A. Hagner; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993], 582; Murray Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* [NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 132–33). Two occurrences of *hē ekklēsia tou theou* refer to the community of Jewish Christ-followers whom Paul persecuted in Judea (Gal 1:13; 1 Cor 15:9). The other seven occurrences could simply reflect the fact that local groups of Pauline Christ-followers self-identified collectively as an *ekklēsia tou theou* (1 Cor 1:2; 10:32; 11:16, 22; 2 Cor 1:2; 1 Thess 2:14; [2 Thess 1:4]). This fact becomes clear in three of the seven references which locate the *ekklēsia tou theou* within a specific geographical region (*tē ousē en*…; 1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:1; 1 Thess 2:14), and one which speaks of multiple *ekklēsiai tou theou* (1 Cor 11:16).

[660] Following the battle of Actium (31 BCE), some of Octavian's disbanded troops and supporters were relocated to Philippi, which then became known as Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippensis. All citizens of Philippi were also considered to be citizens of Rome. Even Philippi's constitution, physical layout, and architectural style were modeled on those of Rome (O'Brien, *Philippians*, 4). John Reumann succinctly encapsulates the ethno-cultural mix in Philippi with his comment that "Philippi reflected Thracian underpinnings, Hellenistic culture, but dominant *Romanitas*" (*Philippians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AYB 33B; New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2008], 3). Latin was extensively used and the citizens wore Roman dress. Philippi was governed by Roman law and was given the highest privilege available to a provincial municipality—the *ius Italicum*. This status entitled the Philippians to full property rights (purchase, ownership, transference) and to the right of initiating civil lawsuits. Philippi was headed by two collegiate magistrates, whom the author of Acts identifies as *stratēgoi* (Acts 16:22, 35, 36, 38).

[661] Reumann notes that indications of a predominantly gentile population in Philippi include the fact that no archeological evidence exists for a synagogue, that Paul "may echo but never overtly quotes (OT) Scriptures," and that the existence only of a *proseuchē* in Philippi (Acts 16:16) implies that there was an insufficient number of male Jews available formally to constitute a *synagōgē* (*Philippians*, 4). See also

ekklēsia, Paul had used *emic* terms by which the original Jewish Christ-followers in Judea self-designated (e.g., *hoi hagioi*, Acts 9:13), that terminology may have been largely nonsensical.[662] Even the modifier *tou theou* may not have communicated well given a gentile audience's limited familiarity with the LXX and its *ekklēsia tou kyriou*.[663] Second, the inscriptional record is silent as to the existence of a civic *ekklēsia* in Philippi.[664] Paul's *ekklēsia* may have been "the only *ekklēsia* in town." If so, then his use of *ekklēsia*, without a modifier such as *tou theou*, could not have been mistakenly identified with a civic *ekklēsia*; his readers would have known that it referred to a Christ-follower *ekklēsia*.

In the final analysis, Paul's use of the unmodified word *ekklēsia* would have been sufficient in and of itself even when speaking in *etic* terms of the Judean Christ-followers whom Paul formerly persecuted. It should be noted, however, that not all of Paul's references to an *ekklēsia tou theou* point towards persecuted first-generation Jewish Christ-followers. In 1 Corinthians Paul uses *ekklēsia tou theou* to designate a contemporaneous sub-group of the Christ-following community in Corinth and beyond. This fact comes explicitly to the fore in 1 Cor 11:16. Therein, Paul not only refers to

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Markus Bockmuehl ("A Commentator's Approach to the 'Effective History' of Philippians," *JSNT* 60 [1995]: 57–8) and O'Brien (*Philippians*, 5).

[662] In Rom 15:25 Paul does appear to use *hoi hagioi* as a group identity for the original Jewish Christ-followers in Judea and surrounding regions. Unlike the Philippians, however, Paul's Roman readership, with its close ties to the apostolic community in Jerusalem, would have been quite familiar with socio-religious terminology adopted by the community in Jerusalem.

[663] Paul's choice to use *tēn ekklēsian tou theou* when writing about his former persecution of Judean Christ-followers to his gentile addressees in Galatia (Gal 1:13) seems inconsistent with his use only of *ekklēsia* when writing to his gentile addressees in Philippi. If Paul's syntactical variation is intentional, then perhaps it is due to his expressed awareness of the Galatians' familiarity with Jewish ethno-religious tradition, which could imply their concomitant familiarity with the LXX term *hē ekklēsia tou kyriou*.

[664] Only two inscriptions commissioned by Late Antique Christ-followers in Philippi mention an *ekklēsia*, and then only with respect to the institutional "Church" (*RIChrM* 233, 379 CE: τῆς καθολεικῆς ἐκλησίας; *RIChrM* 238, 4th–5th cents. CE[?]:πρεσβοιτέρου τῆς Φιλιππισίων ἁγίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκλησίας).

multiple *ekklēsiai tou theou*, but he may even be differentiating those Christ-follower sub-groups from himself and his communities.[665]

Ephesos appears to be another locale within which a local group of Christ-followers self-identifies as *hē ekklēsia tou theou*. In Acts 20:28, Paul is said to enjoin the Ephesian elders to "watch the flock." This "flock," which the Ephesian elders are "to shepherd," is ostensibly designated by Paul as *hē ekklēsia tou theou*.[666] In this account the author of Acts implies that Paul refers only to the local association of Christ-followers in Ephesos as *ekklēsia tou theou*, not to the trans-local community of Christ-followers. This being the case, then there appears to be two independent witnesses of the possibility that, not least in Ephesos and Corinth, there existed a sub-group of Christ-followers who self-identified collectively as *hē ekklēsia tou theou*. If Acts' recounting of Apollos' ministry reflects historical reality, then it may be that the primary apostolic allegiance of the *ekklēsia tou theou* in Ephesos and Corinth did not lie with Paul. Given Apollos' deep Jewish roots (Acts 18:24, 28) and his extended stays in Ephesos (Acts 18:24-26) and in Corinth (Acts 18:27–19:1), it does not seem beyond the realm of possibility that the *ekklēsia tou theou* in Ephesos is related to the sub-group of Christ-followers in Corinth who claim to "belong to Apollos" (1 Cor 1:12; 3:4-6).

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[665] 1 Cor 11:16 speaks of multiple *ekklēsiai tou theou* (οὐκ ἔχομεν οὐδὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ θεοῦ; "we have no such custom, nor do the *ekklēsiai* of God"). The other occurrences of the articular phrase *hē ekklēsia tou theou* in 1 Corinthians also could refer to a specific sub-group in Corinth. They are found in 10:32 ("Give no offense to Jews or to Greeks or to the *ekklēsia* of God") and 11:22 ("Or do you show contempt for the *ekklēsia* of God and humiliate those who have nothing?").

[666] Acts 20:28 reads, "Keep watch…over all the flock [in Ephesos], of which the Holy Spirit has made you elders to shepherd the *ekklēsia tou theou* that he obtained with the blood of his own Son" (ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου).

In sum, two overarching comments can be made in relation to New Testament occurrences of the phrase *hē ekklēsia tou theou*. Both Paul (1 Corinthians) and the author of Acts refer to a contemporary diasporic, and not only to a historic Judean, community of Christ-followers. Second, Paul's three references to the *ekklēsia* (*tou theou*) whom he persecuted need not *necessarily* reflect the *emic* terminology of Paul's victims. It could simply be that Paul speaks of his historical referents in terms that reflect the group identity of his epistolary addressees in Galatia, Corinth, and Philippi.

When it comes to discerning ancient sources which inspired Paul's adoption of a permanent *ekklēsia* identity, it is not helpful to bifurcate those sources into either "Jewish" or "Greco-Roman" categories. Acculturation, accommodation and assimilation to Greco-Roman culture were evident among Jews in the Mediterranean during the first century CE.[667] These processes of Hellenization ensured an intermingling of "Jewish" and "Greco-Roman" influences.[668] In a not dissimilar vein, to privilege a "Jewish" over a

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[667] John Barclay creates three heuristic categories by which more precisely to measure the degree to which Jews in the Mediterranean region adapted and adopted Hellenism: assimilation, acculturation, and accommodation (*Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora (323 BCE–117 CE)* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996], 88–124). Acculturation relates to the adoption of "non-material aspects of a cultural matrix, in particular its language, values, and intellectual traditions" (Ibid, 95). Accommodation "concerns the *use to which acculturation is put*, in particular the degree to which Jewish and Hellenistic cultural traditions are merged, or alternatively, polarized" (Ibid, 96 [author's emphasis]). Assimilation assesses "the degree to which Diaspora Jews were integrated into, or socially aloof from, their social environments" (Ibid, 93).

[668] Barclay attempts a definition of "Hellenism" and "Hellenization": "[it] is not easy to define what is meant by the cultural complex we call 'Hellenization.' Never static or fixed, the Hellenistic tradition developed over time. It was boosted as well as modified by the emergence of the Roman empire. It was an urban culture which rarely penetrated into the countryside and was neither missionary in intent nor intolerant of indigenous cultures. By 'Hellenism' then we mean the common urban culture in the eastern Mediterranean, founded on the Greek language typically expressed in certain political and educational institutions and largely maintained by the social elite" (*Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 88). He identifies seven principal components of Hellenization, the interplay of which point to the degree of assimilation, acculturation, and/or accommodation evident among diasporic Jews: (1) political engagement, (2) social interaction, (3) linguistic choices (language), (4) educational processes (e.g., *paideia*), (5) ideological appropriations (e.g., cultural norms and values), (6) religious syncretism, and (7) material imitation (e.g., dress) (Ibid, 89–90).

"Greek" source as Paul's inspiration for a collective *ekklēsia* identity is also problematic.
A more nuanced approach is preferable.

At the risk of privileging one socio-cultural background over against another, it is
important nonetheless to acknowledge Paul's inherent need for a group designation
which, at its irreducible minimum, was deeply rooted within the history of Jewish ethno-
religious identity construction. While the LXX provides a lexical association, the real-
world use of *ekklēsia* for public synagogue meetings in Judea (Josephus) and the
adoption of a permanent *ekklēsia* identity by a Jewish voluntary association (Philo) would
have given Paul a serendipitous ideological milieu for situating his multi-ethnic
communities into pluriform Second Temple Judaism. In a later section I discuss another
participant in that ideological milieu: the (pre)Covenanters at Qumran who self-designate
as *qhl* (4QMMT, CD), the sole Hebrew word which is translated by the LXX as
ekklēsia.[669]

2.1.4. Summary: First Christ-follower Ekklēsia*?*

If one grants the possibility that Paul's historiographical comments employ
provincial terminology for the purpose of clearer communication with his reading
audience, then it is not impossible that Paul was the first Christ-follower to adopt *ekklēsia*
as a permanent collective designation. When one compares Paul's usage of the word
ekklēsia with that found in Jewish and Greek sources, he makes at least one distinctive
contribution to its semantic domain. He conflates the Greco-Roman civic *ekklēsia* with a
Jewish ethno-religious *ekklēsia* to form a semi-public, non-civic, *multi-ethnic* voluntary

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[669] See n. 586 and my fuller discussion of 4QMMT and CD in Part III, §2.3.5 (*The* Ekklēsia *of Israel [LXX]*).

association with the potential of incorporating, and maintaining, the social and ethnic

identities of Greeks, Romans, 'barbarians' and Jews.[670]

2.2. Ekklēsia *as Political Identity: Counter-Imperial Ideology?*

Paul's ascription of a permanent *ekklēsia* identity to his communities would have

held socio-political implications for their engagements with Greco-Roman society. The

puzzle that is Paul's political ideology has been extensively explored by numerous

scholars. As already indicated, it is not my intent to explore Paul's general use of, and

allusion to, political terms and concepts. My concern, rather, is to understand more fully

how the permanent *ekklēsia* identity of Paul's communities would have been perceived in

the Greco-Roman world. The following thesis statement, which I have already

highlighted but not yet explicated, summarizes my answers.

I suggest that Paul's adoption of the word *ekklēsia* as a sub-group identity for his

Christ-followers reflects civic ideology (Gillihan)[671] for the creation of an alternative

society (Georgi),[672] that is not counter-imperial (*contra* Horsley),[673] nor a trans-local

parallel political organization (*contra* van Kooten),[674] but rather a trans-local Jewish

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[670] Davina Lopez highlights the fact that to Greeks all non-Greeks were considered 'barbarians' (p. 5), and that to the Romans all nations (*ethnē*), aside from Greeks and Romans, were 'barbarians', that is, "outside of civilization" (p. 101) (*Apostle to the Conquered: Re-imagining Paul's Mission* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008]).

[671] See Part III, §2.2.1. Yonder Moynihan Gillihan, *Civic Ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls: A Comparative Study of the Covenanters' Sect and Contemporary Voluntary Associations in Political Context* (STDJ 97; Leiden: Brill, 2012).

[672] Georgi, *Theocracy* (1991). See Part III, §2.2.1. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *Alternative Civic Ideology?*

[673] See Part III, §2.2.2 (*Paul's* Ekklēsia: *Counter-Imperial Ideology?*). For example, Richard A. Horsley, "Paul's Assembly in Corinth: An Alternative Society," in *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation: Essays in Honour of Krister Stendahl* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 371–95.

[674] Van Kooten, "Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 522–48. See Part III, §2.2.3. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *A Trans-local Parallel Political Organization?*

socio-religious voluntary association (Runesson)[675] that is socially accessible to Greco-

Romans (McCready),[676] and which could have been viewed as a pro-'democratic,'

counter-oligarchic participant in the ubiquitous "*ekklēsia* discourse" (Salmeri, Miller)[677]

of the newly developing political culture of 1st century CE Greco-Roman society,

particularly in Asia Minor (Wörrle, Mitchell, Sherk, van Nijf, Zuiderhoek).[678] In sum,

Paul's designation of his communities as *ekklēsiai* makes them perceivable as *intra*

muros Jewish synagogue communities as well as Greco-Roman voluntary associations,

whose civic ideology is pro-*dēmokratia* and counter-oligarchic.[679]

2.2.1. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *Alternative Civic Ideology?*

The first point in my thesis statement is that Paul's *ekklēsiai* "reflect civic

ideology for the creation of an alternative society." By "alternative society" I intend

Georgi's paradigm with its three definitional characteristics: "libertarian and democratic

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[675] Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 483. See Part III, §2.2.5. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *A Trans-local Jewish Voluntary Association?*

[676] Wayne O. McCready, "*Ekklēsia* and Voluntary Associations," in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* (ed. J. S. Kloppenborg and S. G. Wilson; London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 59–73. See Part III, §2.2.4. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *A Trans-local Greco-Roman Voluntary Association?*

[677] Giovanni Salmeri, "Dio, Rome, and the Civic Life of Asia Minor," in *Dio Chrysostom: Politics, Letters, and Philosophy* (ed. S. Swain; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 53–92; idem, "Reconstructing the Political Life and Culture of the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire," in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age* (ed. O. van Nijf and R. Alston, with the assistance of C. G. Williamson; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 197–214; Anna Criscinda Miller, "*Ekklesia*: 1 Corinthians in the Context of Ancient Democratic Discourse," (PhD diss., Harvard University, July 7, 2008). See Part III, §2.2.6. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *Socio-Ethnic* Dēmokratia *and Counter-Oligarchic Civic Ideology?*

[678] Onno van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* (DMAHA XVII; Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1997); Arjan Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (GCRW; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). See Part III, §2.2.6. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *Socio-Ethnic* Dēmokratia *and Counter-Oligarchic Civic Ideology?*

[679] Ralph Korner, "The *Ekklēsia* of Early Christ-Followers in Asia Minor as the Eschatological New Jerusalem: Counter-Imperial Rhetoric?" in *Urban Dreams and Realities* (ed. A. Kemezis and M. Haagsma; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). See Part III, §2.2.6. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *Socio-Ethnic* Dēmokratia *and Counter-Oligarchic Civic Ideology?*

universalism, socially egalitarian pluralism, and an urban basis."[680] By "civic ideology" I intend the definition offered by Yonder Moynihan Gillihan: "[civic ideology] designates a comprehensive system of claims about the nature of a state and its relationship to its subjects, as articulated by both the state and its subjects."[681] Gillihan defines "ideology" congruent with that of modern political philosophy: "a system of thought that legitimates the authority of one social group over others…[and] facilitates domination."[682]

Gillihan identifies six essential components of civic ideology. He takes these from the prologue of the *Institutes* of Justinian written in late antiquity (6th cent. CE), but claims that each of the six components is also extant in early antiquity: "(1) piety, or proper understanding of theology; (2) proper understanding of natural order; (3) the comparative superiority of one state over others; (4) the historical evolution of a state to mature status; (5) the promotion of justice, and (6) the promotion of human thriving."[683] Civic ideology is implicitly promulgated through literature,[684] visual imagery (public monuments, inscriptional decrees, coins),[685] and dramatic performances (festivals,

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[680] Georgi, *Theocracy*, 51.

[681] Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 75.

[682] Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 75.

[683] Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 77–78. Justinian's *Institutes*, a codification of Roman law, are based in large measure upon the Institutes of Gaius, a 2nd century CE work by a Roman jurist.

[684] Examples of literary approaches for promoting state civic ideology include imperially commissioned poetry recited at Greek agonistic festivals, that is, artistic and/or athletic competitions (e.g., Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*), Vergil's *Aeneid* (mythological aetiology for Rome's historical and theological legitimation), and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (extolling the virtues of Numa and Pythagoras, Italy's most celebrated philosopher [*Metam*. XIII–XV]).

[685] Paul Zanker has demonstrated that in the early Principate imperial ideology was disseminated amongst its populace in a plethora of visual images, whether static ones like monuments or mobile ones like coins (*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* [trans. A. Shapiro; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1988]). See more recently the study by Davina Lopez on how imperial visual imagery promoted a state ideology that promulgated the status inequity of conquered and vanquished peoples (*Apostle to the Conquered*, esp. 26–55).

theatres, amphitheatres).[686] While Gillihan focuses primarily upon how the Covenanters

of Qumran adopted and adapted civic ideology to their own ends, my focus here is upon

how Christ-follower *ekklēsiai*, particularly Paul's, adopted and adapted civic ideology.

2.2.1.1. Assimilative Civic Ideology

Gillihan helpfully distinguishes between two main types of civic ideology:

assimilative and alternative, both of which were prevalent among voluntary associations.

An assimilative response by an association is said to be evident if they accepted "the

state's authority and legitimating arguments, and defined their identity and role in terms

established by the state."[687] Some ways in which associations expressed assimilative civic

ideology was through acceptance of patronage (e.g., honorific inscriptions), regular

participation in festivals, collection of taxes from their members, internal policing of

participants' behavior, and incorporation of prayers during assemblies.[688]

John Kloppenborg notes that many non-civic associations, both Greek and

Roman, even went so far as to assimilate the organizational and regulatory elements of a

polis.[689] Bruno Blumenfeld claims this was particularly true of associations for whom the

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[686] See also van Nijf's discussion of hierarchically arranged seating within Imperial period theatres (*Civic World*, 209–40 and 257–60 [diagrams of theatre seating]).

[687] Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 79.

[688] Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 79.

[689] John S. Kloppenborg, "Edwin Hatch, Churches, and Collegia," in *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity* (ed. B. H. Maclean; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 212–38. Ramsay MacMullen observes that "at least the larger craft associations constituted in every detail miniature cities" (*Roman Social Relations 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974], 76). The membership of a *collegium*, like the *plebs* of a town, were subject to the rules and regulations of a codified *lex*. As such they were typically called the *plebs collegii*. State titles were appropriated for *collegium* offices (e.g., *quinquennalis*, *quaestor*, *magister*). A veritable moratorium on social stratification was not infrequently in place to the degree that, in some associations, women, freedmen, and slaves were able to join, and even take up leadership positions (Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 90).

oikos was the locus of association life.[690] Civic-style regulations are reflected in the

nomoi by which associations conducted their affairs.[691] Gillihan argues that expressions

of allegiance to a *polis* within associational *nomoi* took at least three forms:[692] use of

imperial chronology for dating the text,[693] prayer for a ruler's welfare,[694] and citation of

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[690] Blumenfeld contends that, "as public political life shrinks and sheds it relevance, the *oikos* expands its sphere and increases in significance; it itself becomes *a polis*" (*The Political Paul: Justice, Democracy and Kingship in a Hellenistic Framework* [JSNTSup 210; London and New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001/London: T. & T. Clark, 2003/2004], 113). Blumenfeld's assessment that political life was shrinking in the Greek East during the Imperial period unfortunately only takes into account the state of *dēmokratia* among formal civic institutions such as the *boulē* and the *ekklēsia*. Blumenfeld does not consider van Nijf's contention that informal political culture permeated the life of Imperial period *poleis* in the Greek East.

[691] In order to facilitate his seminal study of association ordinances in Roman Egypt, A. Boak heuristically delimits the meaning of *nomoi* to associational bylaws. See Boak's edition of P.Mich. 5.243, 244 in *Papyri from Tebtunis* (1944) and in his "Organization of Gilds in Greco-Roman Egypt," *TAPA* 68 (1937): 212–20. In ancient *praxis*, however, the term *nomoi* refers both to state and association laws, or even simply to laws in a general. Hugo Mantel provides a seven point summation of Boak's research on the functions of association *nomoi*. The *nomoi* regulated: (i) the election of the president; (ii) dues; (iii) dates of meetings; (iv) conduct at meetings; (v) mutual assistance; (vi) funerals; and (vii) fines ("The Men of the Great Synagogue," *HTR* 60/1 [1967]: 69–91, esp. 88 n. 124).

[692] Gillihan lists the best preserved *nomoi* in chronological order (*Civic Ideology*, 6–7): P.Dem. Lille 29 (cultic association of Sebek at Arsinoë; 223 BCE); P.Dem. Cairo 31178 (cultic association [Osiris, Isis and Serapis?] at Arsinoë; 179 BCE); P.Dem. Cairo 30606 (cultic association of Sebek at Arsinoë; 157 BCE); P.Dem. Hamburg I (cultic association of Sebek at Tebtynis; 151 BCE); P.Dem. Cairo 31179 (cultic association of Sebek at Arsinoë; 147 BCE); P.Dem. Cairo 30605 (cultic association of Sebek at Arsinoë; 145 BCE); P.Dem. Cairo 30619 (cultic association of Sebek at Arsinoë; 137 BCE); P.Dem. Prague (cultic association of Sebek at Arsinoë; 137 BCE); P.Dem. Berlin 3115 (cultic association of Amon-Ophet at Djeme; *c*. 110 BCE); P.Lond. 2710 (cultic association of Zeus Hypsistos at Philadelphia; *c*. 68–59 BCE); P.Mich. 5.244 (association of the *Apolysimoi* of Tebtynis; 43 CE); P.Mich. 5.243 (unnamed association at Tebtynis during the reign of Tiberius [14–37 CE]); *ILS* 7212 = *CIL* XIV 2112 (cultic association of Diana and Antinoüs at Lanuvium; *c*. 136 CE); *SIG*³ 1109 (cultic association of the Iobacchoi at Athens, 178 CE).

[693] Effusive praise of the reigning Ptolemaic king is evident in the Demotic *nomoi*. For example, "Year 24, month of *Mesore* of the king Ptolemy and Cleopatra…divine Epiphanies, the priest of Alexander of the divine savior…" (P.Dem. Cairo 30306 1-4; *c*. 157 BCE). In the Roman era sparser dating elements are found in *nomoi* texts. For example, in *ILS* 7212 1 (*c*. 136 BCE), the top reads: "In the consulships of L. Ceionius Commodus and of Sextus Vettulenus Civica Pompeianus, on the day before the 5ᵗʰ day of the Ides of June." Gillihan claims that the use of imperial chronology by *nomoi* texts "signifies associational acceptance of the imperial order" (*Civic Ideology*, 93). Obversely, Gillihan cite examples of social groups who express resistance to state ideology by using an alternative calendar. This is evident in the Damascus Rule wherein the establishment of its "new covenant" is dated in conjunction with the years of Israelite history (CD 1:5-10) (for other examples, see Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 93 n. 57). However, Gillihan does not consider the possibility that use of imperial chronology may simply reflect the use of formulaic literary terminology that is requisite for gaining the hearing of one's intended reading audience. This pragmatic concern need not necessarily imply "associational acceptance of the imperial order."

[694] Gillihan (*Civic Ideology*, 93) notes that "theological affirmation of state authority" is evident, for example, in the inscription of the association of Diana and Antinoüs at Lanuvium: "May this be

state laws to legitimate association activity.[695] Associations with trans-local connections

do not display assimilative civic ideology. In this respect, but not in this respect alone,

Paul's trans-local association of *ekklēsiai* diverges from assimilative civic ideology.

2.2.1.2. Alternative Civic Ideology

According to Gillihan, an alternative civic ideology consists of three elements.

First, the six major themes of state ideology are critically filtered through that

association's own paradigmatic ideological grid. For example, the filters of the

Covenanters include "the themes of adherence to Torah, participation in the covenant

with God, and human thriving as inheritance of covenantal blessings."[696]

Second, the status quo of civic ideology is challenged through the differentiated

organizational and regulatory choices an association makes. Thus, even though voluntary

associations in general adopted civic structures and leadership titles, it is their

modifications to, or specific rejections of, institutional norms that provided an implicit

critique of civic ideology. One way in which some associations rejected the state's right

of interference was to deny their members access to the public justice system and,

instead, internally to provide imperially sanctioned judicial services.[697]

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propitious, happy and salutary to the Emperor Caesar Tranajus Hadrian Augustus and to the entire imperial house…" (*ILS* 7212 1.14–15). See further, Arthur E. Gordon and Joyce S. Gordon, eds., *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions: vol. 2, part 1, Rome and the Neighborhood A.D. 100–199* (trans. A. Gordon; Berkeley; University of California, 1965), 63–65.

[695] The best example is from the Lanuvium inscription wherein associational statutes are prefaced with a direct quote from *senatus consultum*: "Clause from the *senatus consultum* of the Roman people: These are permitted to assemble, convene, and maintain a society: those who desire to make monthly contributions for funerals may assemble in such a society, but they may not assemble in the name of such society except once a month for the sake of making contributions to provide burial for the dead" (*ILS* 7212 1.11–13, trans. A. Gordon, with modification by Gillihan [*Civic Ideology*, 94]).

[696] Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 79.

[697] Gillihan cites the seminal work of Mariano San Nicolò which first argued that "from the Hellenistic times onward the imperial authorities granted associations limited but significant juridical

Third, Gillihan makes the blanket statement that all associations with an

alternative civic ideology assisted their members in developing strategies for negotiating

the boundaries between association and state. In so doing, they did not reject outright all

claims which *poleis*, provincial governors, or imperial authorities had upon their subjects.

Some associations even encouraged the direct engagement of their members with state

bureaucracy.[698] This impulse towards integrative association with, yet associational

differentiation from, the state is a key feature which distinguishes alternative civic

ideologues from revolutionary political movements, such as the Jewish *sicarii*.[699]

2.2.1.3. *Pauline* Ekklēsiai *as Alternative Societies*

In addition to the Covenanters, Gillihan names two other types of associations

which he claims promulgated an alternative civic ideology: Pauline *ekklēsiai*[700] and three

Greek philosophical schools: Stoics[701] Epicureans,[702] and Cynics.[703] These four are said

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authority over members" (*Civic Ideology*, 87–88; see Mariano San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen sur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer* [2 vols.; München: Beck, 1913–15]; idem, "Zur Vereinsgerichtsbarkeit im hellenistischen Ägypten," in *ΕΠΙΤΥΜΒΙΟΝ Heinrich Swoboda dargebracht* [Reichenberg: Gebrüder Stiepel, 1927], 255–300). Two rules in particular were common within the *nomoi*, or regulations, of voluntary associations: (1) fellow members were prohibited from suing one another in public courts. Lawsuits were arbitrated by a special juridical committee within the association; and (2) brawling among members was subject to internal sanctions. The president was most often the person given the authority to mete out fines or other penalties.

[698] For example, the *nomos* of the Athenian Iobacchoi mandated celebratory festivities whenever a member was elected to public office (Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 89).

[699] Gillihan notes that "of course revolutionary movements sometimes have alternative civic ideologies, but they may also have assimilative civic ideologies but disagree about who should hold power" (*Civic Ideology*, 80 n. 14).

[700] Although Gillihan does not paint John's seven *ekklēsiai* in Roman Asia with this same ideological brush, they too embraced an alternative civic ideology. Their alternative civic ideology, however, was directed more towards the counter-imperial end of the ideological spectrum. See my discussion of Revelation in Part III, §3.4. Ekklēsia *in Apocalyptic Literature: Revelation*. See also Korner, "The *Ekklēsia* of Early Christ-Followers in Asia Minor," forthcoming.

[701] Stoic civic ideology takes its cue from a preconception of the *kosmos* as the true commonwealth. It is incumbent, therefore, upon all human *poleis* to fall into conformity with this true commonwealth whose citizens are the gods and humans and whose underlying *nomos* is the *nous*, or rather the rationality presupposed in a mind that is in harmony with the law of "right reason" (ὄρθος λόγος)

to have "rejected the arguments of state civic ideology and the state's claims to ultimate legitimacy."[704] The Stoics, Epicureans, and Cynics each created a symbolic universe thought to represent a commonwealth superior to any in existence. The philosophical foundation of each commonwealth derived from the six major themes of civic ideology.

Like the Covenanters, Paul's ideology reflects a not dissimilar concern for faithful participation in a covenantal relationship with God. For him, though, humanity establishes that relationship through faith in the Jewish *Christos*. There are at least two more ways in which Paul modified, and even rejected, state civic ideology. While civic *ekklēsiai* only accorded political equality to male citizens, irrespective of their socio-economic status and ethno-religious background, Paul mirrored some Greco-Roman voluntary associations[705] and Jewish public synagogues[706] in choosing to grant

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through which all human life can be brought into conformity to nature (κατὰ φύσιν) (e.g., Arius Didymus, *ap*. Eusebius, *PE* 15.15.3-5). This law of right reason is neither a social nor a divine construct, but rather a transcendent principle to which both gods and humans are subject (Chrysippus, Marcian 1 [*SVF* 3.314]). This law of right reason should inform the actions of all humans, since all humans are citizens in the *kosmopolis*. Thus, Stoics prioritized direct political engagement in *poleis* which either rejected or neglected ὄρθος λόγος. See further in Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 114.

[702] Epicureans paid special attention to two of the six themes that together constitute civic ideology: nature and justice. Nature endows human nature with a distinct aversion to pain and a concomitant desire for pleasure. The ultimate goal, then, for Epicureans is "a life of tranquility, free from pain" (Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 96). In a societal context, this type of life is possible both individually and collectively only when what Epicurus calls "nature's justice" is enacted on behalf of all (Epicurus, *Key Doctrines*, 31–35).

[703] Cynic society is "one comprising humans who choose, through constant discipline (ἀσκήσις), what is in accordance with nature (κατὰ φύσιν)...[and] since they live in formity to divinely established natural laws, Cynics claim a uniquely intimate relationship with the founders of the *kosmopolis* itself, i.e., the gods" (D.L. 6.37, 72) (Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 108). Cynic civic ideology views every person as a "citizen of the *kosmos*," or as Diogenes defined himself, as a κοσμοπολίτης. As such, a trans-local identity is presumed for citizens of the *kosmopolis*, at least for those who live κατὰ φύσιν, that is, in accordance with natural law, an immutable law that transcends all geo-political boundaries.

[704] Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 79.

[705] Women and slaves were given entrance into some Greco-Roman household-based associations. Harland recounts a 1st cent. BCE example from Philadelphia (*ILydiaKP* III 18) (*Associations*, 30). Therein, Dionysios, the head of a household, established regulations for the membership of "men and women, free people and slaves" in his *oikos* ("household").

unrestricted social interaction also to women and to slaves (Gal 3:28; 1 Cor 7:17-24).[707]

Paul also paralleled association *nomoi* in his encouragement of his *ekklēsia* members in

Corinth to access juridical services internally, rather than airing internal disputes publicly

in the civic justice system (1 Cor 6:1–8).[708]

2.2.2. Paul's Ekklēsia: Counter-Imperial Ideology?

A question worth asking at this point is whether Paul's ideological differentiation

of his *ekklēsiai* from state political structures entails counter-imperial ideology. As

already discussed, some political interpreters of Paul believe so. Such a position, though,

must overcome at least four socio-historical challenges.

First, by way of analogy from the Tyrian Herakleistai of Delos and the wrestling

association of Samos, one could suggest that some of those early Christ-followers who

named their membership assemblies *ekklēsiai*, may have done so as a way of currying

political and economic favour with civic authorities and/or Greek notables (e.g.,

benefactors). This possibility becomes even more plausible for Christ-follower *ekklēsiai*

located in Asia Minor with its ubiquitous "*ekklēsia* discourse" and its burgeoning culture

of benefaction towards voluntary associations.[709]

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[706] One example of an inscription which recounts the participation of women in synagogues is *IJO* 1/*CIJ* 1.728 (Delos, 1st cent. BCE). Therein, Laodice offers a votive inside the edifice (*ASSB* no. 96). Josephus cites a decree of the people of Halicarnassos (*A.J.* 14.256-58), which also dates to the 1st cent. BCE, in which Jewish "men and women alike…may keep the Sabbaths…and sacred rituals…and may build *proseuchai* ("prayer halls")." If the author of Judith models his 8th century BCE Judean assembly after a public synagogue assembly contemporaneous with his day, then Hellenistic-era Judean public assemblies allowed women to participate. See further, Runesson, "Rethinking Early Jewish–Christian Relations," 108–110; idem, "Behind the Gospel of Matthew," 463.

[707] Gal 3:28 reads, "There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus."

[708] Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 87–88.

[709] See further in Part III, §2.2.6. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *Socio-Ethnic* Dēmokratia *and Counter-Oligarchic Civic Ideology?*

Second, Richard Horsley's identification of five social functions in Paul's

Corinthian *ekklēsia*, which purportedly communicate counter-imperial polemic, appears

open to question.[710] To begin, other "trans-local networks of missionally united"

associations were not perceived as a political threat by Roman authorities. Oligarchic

families, for one, developed formal and informal trans-local networks whose mission was

the retention of power and wealth through the solidification of educational, cultural, and

political commonalities.[711] Although that mission was intrinsically self-serving, these

trans-local networks were still pro-imperial in their socio-political functioning.[712]

Horsley's point is further weakened by the fact that pluralistic phrases like "the *ekklēsiai*

of Asia" (Rom 16:1; cf. Rev 1:4) may simply describe a multiplicity of loosely connected

ekklēsiai in a particular region, rather than a formal, regional association of *ekklēsiai*.

Horsley also leaves himself open to question in his claim that the autonomous

adjudication of communal affairs by Paul's *ekklēsiai* represents counter-imperial

ideology. As already noted, this juridical *praxis* was legally granted by Roman authorities

to voluntary associations since Hellenistic times. There is little possibility that Romans

perceived the enactment of a legal right as an expression of anti-Roman ideology.[713]

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[710] See Part I, §2.2 (Ekklēsia *as Political Identity: Counter-Imperial Ideology?*). Richard Horsley does suggest a sixth factor by which Paul presents a counter-imperial agenda, but it is a literary strategy, not a social function: the use of deliberative rhetoric in the Corinthian correspondence ("1 Corinthians: A Case Study of Paul's Assembly," in *Christianity at Corinth: The Quest for the Pauline Church* [ed. E. Adams and D. G. Horrell; Louisville and London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004], 227–240, esp. 237).

[711] See Part I, §2.2. *Political Players in Imperial Greek Cities.*

[712] Van Kooten also states that Paul organizes Christ-followers into trans-local communities "as an alternative political structure existing alongside the Greek civic assemblies and the Roman State" ("Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 535). He does not follow Horsley's later trajectory of viewing Paul's trans-local *ekklēsiai* as counter-imperial associations.

[713] See n. 697 on San Nicolò's claim that associations were granted "limited but significant juridical authority over members" (cited in Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 87–88).

Finally, Horsley's ostensible claim that Paul rejected benefaction in Corinth is problematic on three fronts. Paul accepted patronage from Phoebe in Cenchrae (Rom 16:2) and seems to have enjoyed the same from Gaius as well as Erastus while writing his Roman epistle in Corinth (Rom 16:23).[714] This "Erastus" may be the same *aedile* ("treasurer") whose name is found inscribed on a paving stone in Corinth. If so, then this confirms his elite status as a city notable with sufficient personal funds at his disposal to be a source of benefaction for Paul and the Corinthian Christ-follower community.[715]

A third key issue which limits any claim that *ekklēsia* was an inherently counter-imperial identity relates to the democratic authority of civic *ekklēsiai* in Imperial Greek cities. Imperial period inscriptional evidence demonstrates that the *dēmos*, when assembled *en ekklēsia*, did not possess sufficient *kratos* to have been perceived as a direct political threat to Roman hegemony.[716] In fact, the rise of euergetism and of a widespread "*ekklēsia* discourse" in Asia Minor suggests an opposite reality. A non-civic group self-designating as *ekklēsia* would have been perceived as an active and supportive participant in the political culture of that day, with the cross-hairs of its pro-*dēmokratia* rhetoric not aimed any higher than the level of municipal (*polis*) or regional (oligarchic trans-national associations) political institutions. One can assume, therefore, that any non-civic group self-identifying as an *ekklēsia* was in little danger of being perceived as a counter-

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[714] Rom 16:2 reads, in part, Phoebe "has been a benefactor [*prostatis*] of many and of myself as well." Rom 16:23 reads, "Gaius, who is host to me and to the whole church, greets you. Erastus, the city treasurer, and our brother Quartus, greet you."

[715] Anthony Thiselton reviews the scholarly debate with respect to connecting the Erastus who is honoured on an inscription for paving a street in Corinth with the Erastus who appears to be a member of the Corinthian *ekklēsia*, which met in the home of Gaius (Rom 16:23) (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* [NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2000], 8–9). He concludes that the evidence is sufficiently credible to suggest that one and the same person may very well be in view (Ibid, 9).

[716] See Part I, §2.3. *Political Authority of the Popular Assembly in the Imperial Period.*

imperial threat. The "John" who authored the polemical book of Revelation appears

implicitly to corroborate this fact. Even though he addresses his seven communities in

Roman Asia as *ekklēsiai*, he still sees a need for transforming them into an explicitly

counter-imperial image. John's depiction of his *ekklēsiai* as a heavenly, hegemonic,

eschatological, Jewish *polis*, which rules the earth for eternity (Rev 21:2, 9-10), implies

that he did not view *ekklēsia*, in and of itself, as a sufficiently anti-Roman identity.[717]

A fourth and perhaps most telling issue, not least from the standpoint of Egyptian

politics, is that some Jews in Alexandria may have used *ekklēsia* terminology for public

meetings (*Spec*. 1.324-325) and for voluntary associations (*Virt*. 108, *Deus* 111) during

an era of direct and pervasive Roman governance.[718] The distinct possibility of Jewish

ekklēsiai operating in Alexandria, coupled with the Roman governor's silence as to their

existence in his defense before Caesar (*Pro Flacco*) seems instructive. If an *ekklēsia*

identity was inherently counter-imperial, then the Roman governor could have pointed at

Jewish *ekklēsiai* in Alexandria as being one more just cause for his indifference to the

needs of the Jews during the Jewish pogrom in Alexandria (38 CE). Additionally, one

would expect Greeks in Alexandria to have viewed the existence of Jewish *ekklēsiai* with

some suspicion, if not even outright jealousy, since their *boulē* had been disbanded by the

Romans and their civic *ekklēsiai* not reinstated. Yet, in spite of the politically charged

atmosphere in Alexandria during the Julio-Claudian era (27 BCE–68 CE), no extant

evidence survives over Roman or Greek concern about Jews adopting *ekklēsia*

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[717] See Part III, §3.4.1. *Counter-Imperial Civic Ideology: John's* Ekklēsiai *as Hegemonic* Polis.
[718] See Eleanor G. Huzar, "Alexandria and Aegyptum in the Julio-Claudian Age," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, 2.10.1 (ed. H. Temporini; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 619–68, esp. 656–63.

terminology. This indicates either that Jewish *ekklēsiai* did not exist, or were known only

to Jewish insiders, or that Greco-Roman outsiders did not view Jewish *ekklēsiai* as an

example of polemical rhetoric. If this third option is so, then, in a similar vein, Roman

authorities elsewhere in the Diaspora also may not have perceived Pauline *ekklēsiai*,

which existed during the same time but in different *poleis*, as counter-imperial

ideologues.

Karl Donfried's counter-imperial assessment of Paul's address in the

Thessalonian correspondence ("to the *ekklēsia* of the Thessalonians") also bears

revisiting in light of literary, numismatic, and inscriptional witnesses. First, the

juxtaposition of the word *ekklēsia* with a "city-ethnic" in the New Testament is not

unique to the Thessalonian correspondence. It also occurs within Colossians. Therein,

(deutero-)Paul requests that his epistle to the Colossians be read "in the *ekklēsia* of the

Laodiceans" (Col 4:16).[719] Donfried does not discuss this passage. Since this use of the

nomen gentilicium in Colossians does not appear to reflect counter-imperial rhetoric, it

seems warranted to posit the same conclusion for Paul's *adscriptio* "to the *ekklēsia* of the

Thessalonians."

Donfried's interpretation of numismatic evidence is open to question too. He

seems to assume that conclusions reached on Thessalonian coinage which use the simple

"city-ethnic" *thessalonikeōn* are *ipso facto* valid in respect of Paul's complete collocation

tēi ekklēsiai thessalonikeōn. Validation of his assumption requires material evidence

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[719] Col 4:16 reads, ἐν τῇ Λαοδικέων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγνωσθῇ ("have it read in the *ekklēsia* of the Laodiceans").

wherein a "city-ethnic" is paired with the word *ekklēsia*, whether by itself (e.g., *ekklēsiai thessalonikeōn*) or within an enactment formula (e.g., *edoxe tēi ekklēsiai thessalonikeōn*).

Unfortunately, such evidence is lacking. There are no extant pre-Christ-follower, Macedonian inscriptional references to the civic *ekklēsia* of Thessalonica,[720] and, thus, to the pairing of *ekklēsia* with a "city-ethnic." Instead, the only example of a pre-Christ-follower, Macedonian inscription pairing *ekklēsia* with *polis* terminology does so using the actual name of the city ("of Amphipolis"),[721] rather than the *nomen gentilicium* ("Amphipolonians").[722] If Amphipolis is an exemplar of Macedonian-wide *praxis*, then one would expect the Thessalonicans to have followed suit. This anomaly makes the reverse of Donfried's argument true. Paul's use of the "city-ethnic" (*thessalonikeōn*) with the word *ekklēsia* is thus not typical, numismatic evidence notwithstanding, but rather atypical, of Macedonian inscriptional *praxis*. Paul's variance from formulaic Macedonian political terminology, then, would have served to lessen, not increase, perceptions that his *adscriptio* in 1 Thessalonians evinces political rhetoric.

Paul's atypical formulation may even have been confusing to his Thessalonican readership since his pairing of *ekklēsia* with a *nomen gentilicium* only occurs in inscriptions from non-Macedonian *poleis*. These *poleis* are at a fair geographical and chronological remove from Paul's Thessalonican *ekklēsia*. Two inscriptions are from the

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[720] Of the fourteen inscriptional mentions of the word *ekklēsia* which hail from Macedonia, only four can be dated with confidence before the 4th century CE: *Meletemata* 22, *Epig*. *App*. 36 (243 BCE); *Meletemata* 22, *Epig*. *App*. 41 (243 BCE); *Meletemata* 22, *Epig*. *App*. 37 (2x *ekklēsia*; 200–175 BCE).

[721] The inscription from Amphipolis is undatable. It contains only two words (ἐκλησ[ία] Ἀμφιπ[όλεω]ς). See *AE* (1932) Chr., 1,2 (Makedonia [Edonis—Amphipolis; n.d.).

[722] Regarding the political purpose of a *nomen gentilicium*, see Mogens Hermann Hansen, "City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity," in *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (HE 108; ed. M. H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996), 169–196.

Aegean island of Kos and date to the 4th century BCE.[723] The other six inscriptions are from the Hellenistic-era and come from Epeiros (Epirus).

Epeiros is located on the Adriatic Sea, across the Pindos mountain range from Thessaly.[724] All six inscriptions from Epeiros collocate *ekklēsia* with a *nomen gentilicium* within an enactment formula (e.g., *edoxe tai ekklēsiai*). One inscription is dated prior to Epeiros becoming a Roman province in 167 BCE.[725] The other five date from 163 BCE to 136 BCE.[726] One formalizes a treaty[727] and the other four enact proxeny decrees.[728]

It is conceivable that Paul mirrors Epirote inscriptional *praxis* given the preeminent position of southern Epeiros, generally, and of its foremost city, Nicopolis, specifically, within the Roman empire. Nicopolis was founded by Augustus himself (28 BCE) in honour of his naval victory (*nikē*) over Antony and Cleopatra in the Ambracian Gulf at Actium (31 BCE).[729] He made it into a free *polis* like Athens or Sparta. Nicopolis eventually became the capital of southern Epeiros and Akarnania thereby becoming the

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[723] *Tit. Calymnii* 1 (ἔδοξε τᾶι ἐκκλησίαι τᾶι Καλυμνίων); *Tit. Calymnii* 70 ([ἔ]δο[ξε τᾶι ἐκκλησίαι τᾶι Καλυμνίων]).

[724] See N. G. L. Hammond for an extensive analysis of the geography and archaeological remains associated with the region of ancient Epirus (*Epirus: The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and the Topography of Epirus and Adjacent Areas* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967]). See also James Wiseman and Konstantinos Zachos, *Landscape Archaeology in Southern Epirus, Greece. I* (Athens: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2003), 3.

[725] *Cabanes, l'Epire* 541.5 (Dodona, 342–330 BCE): ἔδ]οξε τ[ᾶ]ι ἐκλησίαι {²⁶ἐκκλησίαι}²⁶ τῶν [Μολοσσῶν].

[726] *SEG* 35.665 (Ambrakia, 160 BCE): ἔδοξε ταῖ τε βουλαῖ καὶ ταῖ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν Ἀμβρακιωτᾶ[ν]; *IBouthrotos* 8 (150 BCE[?]): ἔδοξε τᾶι βουλᾶι καὶ τᾶι ἐ[κ]κλησίαι τῶν Πρασαιβῶν; *IBouthrotos* 9 (*c*. 136 BCE[?]): ἔδοξε τᾶι βουλᾶι καὶ τᾶι ἐκκλησίαι τῶμ Πρασαιβῶν; *IBouthrotos* 10 (post-163 BCE): ἔδοξε τᾶι ἐκλησίαι τῶν Πρασαιβῶν; *IBouthrotos* 11 (post-163 BCE): ἔδοξε τᾶι ἐκκλησίαι τῶ]ν Πρα[σαιβῶν.

[727] *SEG* 35.665.

[728] *IBouthrotos* 8, 9, 10, 11.

[729] Hammond, *Epirus*, 46; Wiseman and Zachos, *Landscape Archaeology*, 2–3.

most important *polis* in Western Greece.[730] If the late Hellenistic-era Epirote practice of collocating *ekklēsia* with a "city-ethnic" was still current in the early Imperial period, then a general awareness of Epirote *praxis* could have spread beyond western Greece into the other Hellenic regions Paul visited during his earlier missionary journeys (e.g., Macedonia, Thessaly, Phokis, Achaia). If any of Paul's readership were familiar with this Epirote *praxis*, some confusion may have arisen in their minds as to why Paul addresses his Thessalonican *ekklēsia* members with an Epirote political formula.

By way of summary, then, one can say that, while literary considerations ambiguate the claims of Horsley and Donfried, it would appear that the added weight of Greek inscriptional evidence tips the scale away from a counter-imperial interpretation of Paul's choice to designate his communities as *ekklēsiai*.

2.2.3. Paul's Ekklēsia: A Trans-local Parallel Political Organization?

The third element in my thesis statement on the ideological self-presentation of Paul's *ekklēsiai* engages with van Kooten's claim that they formed "a trans-local parallel political association" which mirrored three levels of political organization—municipal/regional, provincial, and empire-wide. Van Kooten grounds his three-tiered political perspective in Paul's concept of two parallel "commonwealths"[731] or "states."[732]

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[730] The territory of southern Epiros includes Ambrakia, much of Akarnania, and western Aetolia. There was a forced relocation of many residents from within those regions to Nicopolis (Hammond, *Epirus*, 687; Wiseman and Zachos, *Landscape Archaeology*, 3). See n. 726 where one of the inscriptions that use the "city ethnic" is from Ambrakia (*SEG* 35.665).

[731] Van Kooten claims that "Paul's contrast between two types of ἐκκλησία is an expression of his view on two types of πολίτευμα [Phil 3:18-20], a distinction which finds its background in the Stoic doctrine of dual citizenship" ("Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 522).

[732] In line with other scholars, van Kooten assumes that *politeuma* means "the commonwealth" or "state" ("Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 522). *Politeuma* is not infrequently used of a colony of foreigners or relocated veterans (*CIG* 5361, III add. 5866c; *PTebtynis* 32, 9; 17 [2nd cent. BCE]; *Ep. Arist.* 310).

My assessment of van Kooten's position will suggest that while his political understanding of Paul's *ekklēsiai* is possible, it seems to read the evidence too politically.

Van Kooten depicts the three-tiered trans-local association of Christ-followers as holding two allegiances concurrently: first and foremost to the heavenly *kyrios* and *sōtēr*, Jesus the *Christos*, and secondarily to the earthly *kyrios* and *sōtēr*, the Roman emperor. Van Kooten is not original in this line of reasoning,[733] but he is in his claim that Paul saw his trans-local association of *ekklēsiai* as an empire-wide "commonwealth" or "state."

As previously discussed, van Kooten makes three exegetical moves to support that contention. First, he claims that Paul hints at a provincial level of organization when he adds geo-political descriptors to the plural form of the word *ekklēsia* (e.g., "the *ekklēsiai* of *Galatia*"; 1 Cor 16:1; Gal 1:2). Second, he envisions a "universal, even global notion of ἐκκλησίαι" by translating Paul's phrase *pasai hai ekklēsiai tōn ethnōn* as "all the *ekklēsiai* from the nations" (Rom 16:4).[734] Third, he then adduces a global meaning for two other pluralized *ekklēsia* references: "all the *ekklēsiai* of Christ" (Rom 16:16) and "all the *ekklēsiai* of the saints" (1 Cor 14:33b).[735] These three interpretations are built upon the foundation of van Kooten's translation of *politeuma* as "commonwealth" (Phil 3:20). Other translations of the word *politeuma* are possible, however. These place into question van Kooten's three-tiered view of Paul's *ekklēsiai*.

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[733] See, for example, Stegemann and Stegemann (*The Jesus Movement*, 263–64, 273–76, 286–87), and McCready ("*Ekklēsia* and Voluntary Associations," 59–73).

[734] Van Kooten, "Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 537.

[735] Van Kooten argues that "this universal network of the ἐκκλησίαι of the nations…are then further defined as 'all the ἐκκλησίαι of Christ'" ("Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 537).

2.2.3.1. Dual Politeuma*?*

Van Kooten's view that Paul is contrasting the "commonwealth" (*politeuma*) of

Christ-followers with the *politeuma* of Rome (Phil 3:20) is dependant on his assumption

that Paul reflects "the Stoic notion of two kinds of citizenship, and the existence of two

commonwealths [*politeumata*]."[736] Three factors question such a presupposition. First,

Richard Ascough, Philip Harland, and John Kloppenborg[737] claim that the work of

Lüderitz[738] dispels previous scholarly notions that *politeuma* necessarily connotes a body

formally recognized by political institutions, such as the citizenry of a *polis*, or a colony

of immigrants who are given semiautonomous political status therein.[739] Instead of the

translation "citizenship," Gennadi Sergienko claims that Greek and Jewish literary

sources use *politeuma* in the generic sense of "governing authority."[740]

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[736] Van Kooten, "Ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ," 528. For detailed discussion by van Kooten of Paul's appropriation of the Platonic-Stoic conception of dual citizenship in his depiction of a heavenly *politeuma*, see, idem, "Philosophical Criticism of Genealogical Claims and Stoic Depoliticization of Politics: Graeco-Roman Strategies in Paul's Allegorical Interpretation of Hagar and Sarah (Gal 4.21-31)," in *Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham* (TBN 13; ed. M. Goodman, G. van Kooten, and J. van Ruiten; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010), 361–85, esp. 372–85.

[737] Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, 190–91.

[738] Gerd Lüderitz, "What Is Politeuma?" in *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy* (TSAJ 21; ed. J. W. van Henten and P. W. van der Horst; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 183–225.

[739] Mary E. Smallwood championed the view that *politeuma* was used of "a recognized, formally constituted corporation of aliens enjoying the right of domicile in a foreign city and forming a separate, semiautonomous civic body, a city within the city" (*The Jews under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian* [Leiden: Brill, 1976], 225). For a survey of subsequent scholarly perspectives on the meaning of *politeuma* as it relates to the Jews of Alexandria during the 1st cent CE, see Barclay's excursus on the legal status of Jews in Alexandria (*Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 62–70).

[740] Gordon D. Fee translates *politeuma* as "citizenship" even while acknowledging that "the concept of 'citizenship' itself is poorly attested" (*Paul's Letter to the Phlippians* [NICNT 50; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995], 378 n. 17). Gennadi A. Sergienko studied about 150 occurrences of *politeuma* in Greco-Roman and Jewish literary sources and came to the same conclusion as Fee: the term "citizenship" is "indeed poorly attested—if attested at all—as the meaning of πολίτευμα" (*"Our Politeuma is in Heaven!": Paul's Polemical Engagement with the "Enemies of the Cross of Christ" in Philippians 3:18–20* [Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 2011], 161; see also 231–36). He claims that within Greco-Roman and Jewish literary sources "governing authority" is the more consistent definition employed (Ibid, 167–69).

Second, with respect to epigraphic sources, recent scholarship contends that
politeuma is best translated as "community"[741] or "corporate body."[742] This being the
case, *politeuma* is not a political term ("commonwealth") so much as it is a sociological
term ("social network"). Inscriptional examples of non-civic groups adopting a *politeuma*
identity include: associations of soldiers,[743] an association of women constituted bi-

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[741] In their sourcebook on ancient synagogue terms, Anders Runesson, Donald Binder, and Birger Olsson translate *politeuma* as "community" in two early 1st century CE Egyptian inscriptions (*CJZ* 70 and *CJZ* 71) (*The Ancient Synagogue from its Origins to 200 C.E.: A Source Book* [AJEC 72; Leiden: Brill, 2008], nos. 131, 132).

[742] Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg also translate *politeuma* in *CJZ* 70 and *CJZ* 71 with a term denoting a non-civic "community": "the term *politeuma* (translated 'corporate body' in this volume), which can also be used in reference to a body of citizens (as at Chios), is attested for associations of various types" (*Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, 190). Philip Harland notes that *politeuma* "was used of regular associations including [two Imperial period] 'corporate bodies' of Phrygians at Alexandria [3 BCE; *IAlexandriaK* 74 = *IG* XIV 701 = *IGRR* I 458] and of devotees of the goddess Sachypsis in the Fayum in Egypt [3 BCE; *SIG*³1107]" (*Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians: Associations, Judeans, and Cultural Minorities* [New York/London: T&T Clark, 2009], 41). Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg translate *IAlexandriaK* 74 as "Gaius Julius Hephaistion, son of Hephaistion, having served as priest of the *politeuma* ('corporate body') of Phrygians, dedicated this to Phrygian Zeus" (*AGRW*, no. 316). For Greek text and translation of *SIG*³1107, see Lüderitz, "What Is Politeuma?" 191. Lüderitz comments that "the *politeuma* may have been founded by Harthotes (perhaps through a testamentary act of donation), and it was presided by a προστάτης—in Egypt the most common expression for the chairmen of all kinds of associations and clubs. The *politeuma* had a τόπος in the temple of Sachypsis and was also named after the goddess. All these details would lead to the conclusion that this '*politeuma*' was a club of the type otherwise often called ςύνοδος or κοινόν, commonly termed 'cult association.' This is also the opinion of all scholars commenting on this inscription" (Ibid, 192).

[743] A dedicatory inscription (*SEG* 20.499; 112/111 or 76/75 BCE) mentions a *politeuma* of soldiers stationed in Alexandria. *SEG* 20.499 reads, "To Zeus Soter and Hera Teleia, the *politeuma* of the soldiers brought to Alexandria, their chairman Dionysios of Callon and secretary Philippos of Philippos, the founders, ex voto, year 6" (Lüderitz, "What Is Politeuma?" 192). Lüderitz observes that "the *politeuma* of soldiers had a chairman and a secretary—both common posts in antique corporations. Attached to these is the designation κτίσται. A κτίσται in such a context is a founder either of a building (e.g., a temple) or of an association" (Ibid, 192). Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg mention three painted graves for soldiers in Sidon (Syria/Phoenicia; early 2nd cent BCE) which designate the association of their living comrades as a *politeuma* ("corporate body") (*AGRW*, nos. 271, 273, 274, respectively): (1) *OGIS* 592 (see also, TH. Macridy, *RevBib* 13 [1904]: 549–50 [A]): "The *politeuma* of Kaunians set this up for Hippolytos(?) and Apollonides, sons of Hermagoras"; (2) TH. Macridy, *RevBib* 13 (1904): 551 (no. 2): "The *politeuma* of the Pisidians of the Termessians near Oenoanda set this up for their own citizen"; (3) TH. Macridy, *RevBib* 13 (1904): 551–552 (no. 3): "The *politeuma* of Pinarians set this up for Kartadis son of Hermaktibilos, Lycian. Farewell courageous and painless one!"

annually,[744] and some Judeans in Egypt.[745] In each of these sources, a political agenda

does not come to the fore in the voluntary associations' self-description as a *politeuma*.

Third, if one consolidates the witness of literary ("governing authority") and

epigraphic ("community/corporate body") sources, then Paul's phrase "our *politeuma* is

in heaven" (Phil 3:20) also is not in its essence a political statement. Rather, Sergienko

claims that Paul presents his *ekklēsia* in Philippi as a socio-religious association (*thiasos*)

in concert with other Greco-Roman voluntary associations which use *politeuma*

terminology.[746] The key difference for Paul, though, is that his *politeuma* in Philippi,

which he calls an *ekklēsia*, answers exclusively to a heavenly and not to any competing

earthly "governing authority," not least the local Imperial cult. He is thus contrasting "our

politeuma" (a heavenly *politeuma*) with that of "his opponents [i.e., other Christ-

followers] who pride themselves on belonging to a local πολίτευμα (voluntary

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[744] Lüderitz notes that "in the temple complex of Zeus Panamaros [Stratonicaea, Caria, Asia Minor]…every second year the 'Heraia' was celebrated (the Hera festival), which was a festival of the women. Free and slave women were 'called' by the priests into the temple, the 'Heraion,' and received wine and money…Instead of expressions like 'all the women' three texts mention that 'the politeuma of the women' had been called or received" ("What Is Politeuma?" 189). See further in Gaston Deschamps and Georges Cousin, "Inscriptions du temple de Zeus Panamaros," *BCH* 15 (1891): 169–209, esp. 181 (no. 123), 204–206 (no. 145), and Georges Cousin, "Inscriptions du sanctuaire de Zeus Panamaros," *BCH* 28 (1904): 20–53, esp. 40 (no. 23). Inscription no. 23 reads, "The generous organizers of the Hera festival having invited the *politeuma* of women, gave to the rest of the women each one denarius, as well to those who came to the city with their husbands." Inscription no. 123 reads, "The priest in the [year] of the Hera festival Menippos Leontos for the adoption of Heirokleus Korazeus [and] the priestess Papiaina Menestheos […] invited also the *politeuma* of women." Inscription no. 145 reads, "Having invited also the *politeuma* of women [to take part] in the Hera festival."

[745] *CJZC* 70, 71 (Berenice, Cyrenaica). See text in n. 354.

[746] The strength of Sergienko's interpretive move is lessened, however, in view of the fact that there is no extant literary or inscriptional evidence by which to claim that some Philippian associations self-identified as a *politeuma*. Sergienko can only extrapolate such a scenario from the precedent of epigraphic evidence from Egypt and Asia Minor. He presumes, firstly, that since *politeuma* is used as a group designation by some associations of soldiers (e.g., *CJZC* 70, 71; Egypt) "the word undoubtedly had currency among former servicemen" (*"Our Politeuma is in Heaven!"* 158). This fact leads him then to assume not least that Roman veterans in Philippi may also have formed a *politeuma* association.

association)"[747] and who "compromised their ultimate allegiance to the heavenly

πολίτευμα…in their [continued] allegiance to a different κύριος and σωτήρ, i.e., to the

Roman emperor."[748] If Sergienko is correct, then Paul is not aiming his oppositional

rhetoric directly at Rome, nor, is he claiming to oversee a trans-local "commonwealth" of

ekklēsiai which parallels the religio-political entity that is Rome.

2.2.3.2. Three Levels of a Trans-local Parallel Political Organization?
Not only does van Kooten's foundational assumption seem open to question—his

translation of *politeuma* as "commonwealth"—but so do the three exegetical moves he

makes within that interpretive paradigm. First, the burden of proof would seem to be on

van Kooten to demonstrate that the phrase "the *ekklēsiai* of Galatia" (1 Cor 16:1; Gal 1:2)

is not simply referring to multiple *ekklēsiai* within a given region (Galatia). It seems a

logical leap to assume that "the *ekklēsiai* of Galatia" refers to a formal association of

communities in Galatia which together comprise a regional *koinon*.

Second, van Kooten's politically-oriented translation of *pasai hai ekklēsiai tōn*

ethnōn (Rom 16:4) as "all the *ekklēsiai* from the nations,"[749] rather than as "all the

ekklēsiai of the gentiles," while syntactically possible, seems exegetically secondary. The

focus of Rom 16:4 is upon Paul's gratefulness for two of his most faithful co-workers,

Priscilla and Aquila (16:3), who "risked their necks for my life."[750] Given his status as

the apostle to the gentiles (Rom 11:13), one imagines that gentile Christ-followers also

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[747] Sergienko, *"Our Politeuma is in Heaven!"* 160.
[748] Sergienko, *"Our Politeuma is in Heaven!"* 18.
[749] Van Kooten translates the genitive *tōn ethnōn*, first, as a geo-political reference ("nations") rather than as a socio-ethnic referent ("gentiles"), and, second, as a genitive of separation ("from the nations"), rather than as a partitive genitive ("of the gentiles").
[750] Rom 16:4 reads, in part, οἷς οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος εὐχαριστῶ ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν ἐθνῶν ("to whom not only I but also all the *ekklēsiai* of the gentiles give thanks").

would have been grateful for the support of Priscilla and Aquila in Paul's missional work. The translation "all the *ekklēsiai* of the gentiles" makes this fact more explicit.[751]

Third, the demographics of Paul's diasporic *ekklēsiai* obviate van Kooten's claim that Rom 16:16 and 1 Cor 14:33b-35 each allude to a universal political organization of *ekklēsiai*. Paul's modifiers ("of Christ," "of the saints") can be accounted for simply in the fact that his *ekklēsiai* in Rome and Corinth consisted of a *corpus mixtum* of Jews and gentiles. As such, the phrases "*ekklēsiai* of Christ" (Rom 16:16) and "*ekklēsiai* of the saints" (1 Cor 14:33b-35) become descriptors sufficiently generic and theologically inclusive enough to incorporate Christ-followers of all socio-ethnic backgrounds.

2.2.3.3. Hoi Hagioi *as a Sub-Group Designation? (1 Cor 14:33b-35)*
If consideration is given to three hypotheses, then there may be another way to interpret the phrase *en pasais tais ekklēsiais tōn hagiōn* in 1 Cor 14:33b-35.[752] First, the word *ekklēsiai* may simply refer to the semi-public meetings of a group of Christ-followers ("meetings"), not necessarily to Christ-follower "communities" or "congregations." Second, the term *hoi hagioi* may reflect a socio-religious group designation ("the holy ones"), not only a theological descriptor ("the saints"). Third, the injunction of the *hoi hagioi* against women speaking *en tais ekklēsiais* (14:35a) may reflect the *praxis* of a different group of Corinthian Christ-followers than those aligned with Paul's apostolic authority.

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[751] The fact that *ekklēsiai* existed which consisted predominantly, if not even exclusively, of gentile participants is demonstrated in Paul's Philippian *ekklēsia*. For an interpretive approach that views Paul's use of the word *ethnē* as a reference to "conquered nations" rather than as an ethnic marker (i.e., "gentiles"), see Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*, 17–25.

[752] The Greek reads, Ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν (1 Cor 14:33b-34a).

When translating the term *ekklēsiai* in 1 Cor 14:33b, Greco-Roman usage allows that the plural form may simply refer to "meetings/assemblies." This possibility is enhanced given the fact that Paul pairs *ekklēsiai* with the preposition *en* ("*in* all the *ekklēsiai*"), a fact not mentioned by van Kooten. This type of syntactical construction occurs another four times within chapter fourteen of 1 Corinthians (*en tais ekklēsiais* [14:34]; *en ekklēsia* [14:19, 28, 35b]).[753] The anarthrous phrase *en ekklēsia* could simply be translated as "in assembly" rather than as "in community." If so, then a similar meaning may be intended by Paul for the articular, plural phrase *en (pasais) tais ekklēsiais* (1 Cor 14:33b, 34a)—"in (all) the assemblies/meetings."

The Christ-followers who convene these *ekklēsiai* are described by Paul as being *hoi hagioi* (14:33b). Some scholars suggest that the term *hoi hagioi* is occasionally used in reference to the group identity of a sub-group of Christ-followers. Trebilco forwards a number of instances in Paul's Corinthian correspondence wherein *hoi hagioi* appears to be a sub-group designation. He particularly notes the "formulaic way" in which Paul speaks of the Jerusalem collection as being *eis tous hagious* (1 Cor 16:1; 2 Cor 8:4; 9:1, 12), which, he says, "has suggested to many scholars that οἱ ἅγιοι was originally a self-designation that was used by the Jerusalem church."[754] A number of commentators suggest a similar meaning for the term *hoi hagioi* in the book of Acts. Pervo, Barrett, Fitzmyer and Trebilco each favour viewing *hoi hagioi* as a sub-group identity for the original community of Christ-followers in Jerusalem ("the holy ones"). A related phrase

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[753] In 1 Cor 14:28 Paul enjoins a person wishing to speak publicly in tongues to be silent *en ekklēsia* ("in the meeting"), if no one is available to translate.
[754] Trebilco, *Self-Designations*, 119. Trebilco makes reference to "*TDNT* I: 106; Evans 1975: 30, 54; Woodward 1975: 89–92; Betz 1985:118 n230; Blenkinsopp 2006: 208" (Ibid, 119).

in the book of Romans (*klētois hagiois*; Rom 1:7)[755] is interpreted by Robert Jewett as

potentially being group identity terminology. He hypothesizes that Paul is addressing

"another circle" of Christ-followers in Rome, that is, "Jewish Christians, loyal to or

associated with Jerusalem."[756] Despite these assertions, no scholar yet appears to have

applied that precedent to 1 Cor 14:33b and interpreted the phrase *hoi hagioi* as being the

self-designation of a sub-group of Jerusalem-loyal Christ-followers.

If one does just that, then the ostensible statements of Paul in 1 Cor 14:33b-35

with regard to women not being allowed to participate publicly in semi-public worship

assemblies (*ekklēsiai*) can be read in a different light. This possibility increases if one

also incorporates the view of some scholars that Paul is not speaking about the worship

praxeis of his *ekklēsia* communities, but rather that he is citing the dictum of a sub-group

of Christ-followers, such as male traditionalists, who sought to ban women from speaking

during communal gatherings (*ekklēsiai*).[757] Although such an interpretation is hotly

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[755] The collocation *klētois hagiois* can be translated as "to the saints/holy ones," "to those who are holy," or "to those who are called to be holy." Irrespective of which translational option is chosen, commentators (and bible translators) assume that Paul is making either a theological, ethical, or eschatological statement about his Corinthian and Roman addressees: they are *hagios* ("holy") and thus should live holy lives that reflect their future status in heaven as "the holy ones" (see, for example, Trebilco, *Self-designations*, 105–109, 112–13; Tucker, *Remain in Your Calling*, 128).

[756] Jewett, *Romans*, 114. Jewett notes that the appositional phrase *agapētois theou* could also be a technical collective designation for Jerusalemite Christ-followers.

[757] See, for example, Neil M. Flanagan and Edwina Hunter Snyder, "Did Paul Put Down Women in 1 Cor 14:34-36?" *BibThBul* 11 (1981): 10–12; D. W. Odell-Scott, "Let the Women Speak in Church: An Egalitarian Interpretation of 1 Cor 14:33b-35," *BibThBul* 13 (1983): 90–93; idem, "In Defense of an Egalitarian Interpretation of 1 Cor 14:34-36: A Reply to Murphy-O'Connor's Critique," *BibThBul* 17 (1987): 100–103; idem, "Editorial Dilemnas: The Interpolation of 1 Cor 14:34-36 in the Western Manuscripts of D, G, and 88," *BibThBul* 30 (2000): 68–74; C. H. Talbert, *Reading Corinthians: A Literary and Theological Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 92–93; Daniel C. Arichea, "The Silence of Women in The Church: Theology and Translation in 1 Corinthians 14.33b-36," *BibTrans* 46 (1995), 108–111; and Paul J. Achetemeier, Joel B. Green, and Marianne Meye Thompson, *Introducing the New Testament: Its Literature and Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 345–46. Achtemeier, Green, and Thompson contend that, grammatically, "Paul has addressed this condemnation not to women, but to men!...The Greek makes it clear that it is *men* who act as though they alone should be

contested,[758] if one assumes that 1 Cor 14:33b-35 cites a rule enacted by Jerusalem-loyal

hoi hagioi in Corinth when they gathered for worship in their assemblies (*ekklēsiai*), then

Paul is not stating doctrine for his communities (*ekklēsiai*). Rather, Paul is then simply

restating, or even quoting, the doctrine of *hoi hagioi* in Corinth (e.g., those who say, "I

belong to Cephas"[?]; 1 Cor 1:12). If one was to re-read 1 Cor 14:33b-35 as Paul's

quotation of a dictum of *hoi hagioi*, the following paraphrase could result:

> "As in all the meetings of the [other] sub-groups of Judean Christ-followers known as *hoi hagioi*, [our rule here in Corinth is], 'Let the *gynai* (women/wives[759]/prophetesses[760])

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allowed to speak, and it is to them that this rebuke is addressed…[thus] he quotes what some Corinthian Christians have been saying, and then refutes it (see 6:12-13; 8:4-6; 10:23; 15:35-36; cf. 4:8)" [the word "only ones" in v. 36 is masculine not feminine] [In v. 36] Paul is then said to be telling these traditionalists that "since they, the men, did not originate God's word…they are therefore not the only ones to whom God's word has come. Hence, they have no right to try to bar women from full participation in public worship" (*New Testament*, 346).

[758] Dissenters include Gordon D. Fee (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians* [NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987]), Richard B. Hays (*First Corinthians* [Interpretation; Louisville, KY: John Knox, 1997]), and David E. Garland (*First Corinthians* [BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003]), 667. Fee disputes the possibility that in 1 Cor 14: 33b-35 Paul is quoting the rule of a different sub-group of Christ-followers: "There is no hint in v. 34 that Paul has suddenly taken to quoting them; there is no precedent for such a long quotation that is also full of argumentation (two explanatory 'for's'); it presupposes the unlikely scenario that some in the church were forbidding women to speak—and especially that the quotation would come from the same Corinthian letter that is otherwise quite pro-women (see on 7:1-7; 11:2-16). On the whole, therefore, the case against these verses is so strong, and finding a viable solution to their meaning so difficult, that it seems best to view them as an interpolation" (*Corinthians*, 704–705). Hays prefers viewing this pericope as a gloss and considers any reading of these verses as a quotation as being "farfetched in the extreme" (*First Corinthians*, 248). Garland states that "no evidence exists elsewhere in this letter that the Corinthians held this view or that a significant Jewish element was imposing conservative synagogue traditions on the church's gatherings. In fact, the letter suggests the opposite. Paul seeks to curb the Corinthians' unruly and wayward expressions of freedom rather than to encourage them" (*First Corinthians*, 667).

[759] J. D. G. Dunn notes that the Greek word *gynē* could be translated as "wife" rather than as "woman" ("Reconstructions of Corinthian Christianity and the Interpretation of 1 Corinthians," in *Christianity at Corinth: the Quest for the Pauline Church* [ed. E. Adams and D. G. Horrell; Louisville and London: Westminster John Knox, 2004], 295–310, esp. 306). If so, then Paul is saying that it is "improper for a wife to sit in judgment on the prophecy offered by her husband (14:29)" (Ibid, 306). Stephen Barton sharpens Dunn's point. He notes a 'sense of place' is here also involved. Since a semi-public association (*ekklēsia*) is meeting in a private space (*oikos*), the question then becomes which space's rules are to be given priority—"the prophetess's (wife's) liberty to prophesy, or the wife's (prophetess's) subordination to the paterfamilias, the head of the family/house?" ("Paul's Sense of Place: An Anthropological Approach to Community Formation in Corinth," *NTS* 32 [1986]: 225–46, esp. 225). See also, Robert Allison, "Let Women be Silent in the Churches (1 Cor 14:33b-36): What Did Paul Really Say, and What Did It Mean?" *JSNT* 32 (1988): 27–60.

remain silent in the meetings. For they are not allowed to speak but let them be subservient, just as also the *nomos* (law/Torah/association constitution) says.[761] But if they wish to learn, let them ask their own husbands at home. For it is shameful for a *gynē* (woman/wife/prophetess) to speak in a meeting'."

Three contextual considerations accord with such a re-reading. First, it fits the immediate context of ch. 14 where Paul moves from describing acts of public speaking *en ekklēsia* (14:1-25) to prescribing specific ways in which public speaking should be enacted during an *ekklēsia* (14:26-33a; e.g., tongues, prophecy). After ostensibly quoting the *praxis* of the *hoi hagioi* sub-group in Corinth in relation to their *gynai* (14:33b-35), Paul asks two rhetorical questions which together imply that he does not accord primacy of place to the *hoi hagioi* with respect to their interpretation of scripture.[762] In the immediately succeeding verses (14:37-38), Paul makes explicit what he only implies in 14:36; he too has the necessary apostolic authority to write "a command of the Lord" (14:37). In this respect, then, Paul implies that the restrictive worship *praxis* of the *hoi hagioi* is not necessarily divinely sanctioned; Paul has apodeictic authority as well (14:37-38). Paul's command, though, is a more egalitarian one: "[men and women] be eager to prophesy" as long as "all things" are "done decently and in order" (14:39, 40).

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[760] Adam D. Hensley further nuances the translation of *gynē* ("women/wives"). He argues that in both 14:27-32 and 14:33b-35 Paul's rhetorical target is prophetesses, not simply women in general, and specifically, prophetesses who "*prophetically evaluate the prophecies of others*" ("σιγαω, λαλεω, and ὑποτασσω in 1 Corinthians 14:34 in Their Literary and Rhetorical Context," *JETS* 55/2 [2012]: 343–64, esp. 350 [author's emphasis]). If so, then translating *ekklēsia* as "meeting" is even more appropriate given that Paul's critique of prophetesses who overstep their boundaries *en tais ekklēsias* presumes a context in which Christ-followers are gathered for corporate worship, teaching and admonition (14:26-33).

[761] There are at least three possible translations of the word *nomos* (14:34): social law (civic), religious law (Torah), or sociological law (voluntary association constitution). For use of the word *nomos* among Greco-Roman voluntary associations for association rules/guidelines/ constitution, see Part III, §2.2.1. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *Alternative Civic Ideology?*.

[762] 1 Cor 14:36 reads, "Or did the word of God originate with you? Or are you the only ones it has reached?"

Second, if 1 Cor 14:33b-35 is the dictum of *hoi hagioi* and not of Paul, then, within the larger context of 1 Cor 11–14, two apparent contradictions are removed: Paul's affirmation that each *ekklēsia* member has the right to prophesy (14:31) and his statement that *gynai* are already prophesying in the Corinthian community (11:5).

Third, identifying *hoi hagioi*, and not simply male traditionalists, as the group being cited in 1 Cor 14:33b-35 is consistent with the claim of C. K. Barrett that in 1 Corinthians 5–16 Paul focuses primarily upon challenging the "nomistic" attitudes of the Cephas faction.[763]

If one allows the conclusion that, in 1 Cor 14:33b-35, Paul does not explicate his own rule, then at least two approaches scholars use to avoid painting Paul with a misogynist brush become moot: 1 Cor 14:33b-35 need not be a non-Pauline interpolation[764] nor a marginal gloss.[765]

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[763] C. K. Barrett associates each leader mentioned in 1 Cor 1:12 (Paul, Apollos, Cephas, Christ) with a distinctive theological position that is addressed elsewhere in the letter ("Christianity at Corinth," in *Essays on Paul* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982], 1–27; idem, "Cephas and Corinth," in *Essays on Paul* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982], 28–39). Thus, for example, he sees the Apollos group as placing a premium upon issues such as *gnōsis*, *logos*, and *sophia*, the topics primarily addressed in 1 Cor 1–4, and the Cephas group as adopting "nomistic" attitudes which came to expression in the rejection of eating meat sacrificed to idols, of litigation in secular courts, and of non-*kasrut* based observances during the Lord's supper, topics found in 1 Cor 5–16 ("Christianity at Corinth," 4).

[764] Those who reject Pauline authorship of 1 Cor 14:33b-35 include Wolfgang Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (4 vols.; EKKNT 7; Zurich: Benziger, 1994–2001), 3:458, 481–501; Andreas Lindemann, *Der Erste Korintherbrief* (HNT; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 312–23; H.-J. Klauck, *1.Korintherbrief* (Würzberg: Echter, 1984), 104–5; Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 699–708; idem, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994), 272–81; Gottfried Fitzer, *Das Weib schweige in der Gemeinde: Über den unpaulinischen Charakter de mulier-taceat-Verse in 1.Korinther 14* (TEH 10; München: Chr. Kaiser, 1963).

[765] Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 272–81; Philip B. Payne, "Fuldensis, Sigla for Variants in Vaticanus, and 1 Cor 14:34-5," *NTS* 41 (1995): 240–62; idem, "The Text-Critical Function of the Umlauts in Vaticanus, with Special Attention to 1 Corinthians 14:34-35: A Response to J. Edward Miller," *JSNT* 27 (2004): 105–112; idem, *Man and Woman, One in Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Paul's Letters* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009), 229–53; Philip B. Payne and Paul Canart, "The Originality of Text-Critical Symbols in Codex Vaticanus," *NovT* 42 (2000): 105–113; idem, "Distigmai Matching the Original Ink of *Codex Vaticanus*: Do They Mark the Location of Textual Variants?" in *Le manuscrit B de*

By way of summary, then, van Kooten rightly attempts to bring a needed corrective to interpretive models which understand Paul's use of the word *ekklēsia* as being, at the same time, both political and counter-imperial. He attempts to stake out the middle ground by claiming, *contra* Horsley, that the very fact of being politically organized does not necessitate the corollary conclusion that Paul's trans-local association of *ekklēsiai* reflect counter-imperial ideology. While I concur with van Kooten's assessment, I do not accord with his corollary conclusion that Paul's trans-locally connected *ekklēsiai* formed a three-tiered organization.

2.2.4. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *A Trans-local Jewish Voluntary Association?*

The fourth element of my thesis statement on Pauline communities suggests that, by designating collectively as *ekklēsiai*, they self-present as a trans-local network of Jewish voluntary associations, that is, semi-public synagogue communities.[766] The fact that literary and epigraphic evidence is generally silent as to the existence of Jewish *ekklēsia* associations in the Greek East may indicate that, as a group designation in the Diaspora, *ekklēsia* largely was 'free.'

How might diasporic Jews have viewed such a messianic Jewish association? If they were familiar with the public *ekklēsiai* in Judea mentioned by Josephus, then Paul's multi-ethnic *ekklēsiai* could have been perceived as claiming to extend public Jewish society to the Diaspora. This would present his communities as 'satellites' in relation to

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la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209): Introduction au fac-similé, Acts du Colloque de Genève (11 juin 2001), contributions supplémentaires (ed. P. Andrist; Lausanne, Switzerland: Éditions du Zèbre, 2009), 199–226.

[766] In my section on *ekklēsia* and supersessionism I expand further upon how a Jewish heritage is intrinsic to Paul's portrayal of his *ekklēsia* communities (Part III, §2.3. Ekklēsia *as Ethno-Religious Identity: Supersessionist Ideology?*).

Jewish civic institutions, and thus as *loci* for the full expression of all facets of Jewish life, including its ethno-religious, social, political, economic, and judicial dimensions.

If, on the other hand, the Egyptian and Judean evidence is indicative of a wider use of the word *ekklēsia* for Jewish associations, then *ekklēsia* was not 'free' in the Diaspora as a group designation. Nonetheless, even in this scenario, Paul's *ekklēsiai* could have been perceived as extensions of Jewish institutions, but in this case of semi-public synagogue associations named *ekklēsia*.

Either way, the use of *ekklēsia* terminology socially identifies Paul's communities with Jews, Jewishness, and "Judaism," and provides them with a terminological foothold for developing social interaction with diasporic association synagogues.[767] Whether social interaction actually took place, however, remains an open question. Mark Nanos suggests such a scenario in the Roman West.[768] He does not, however, address the possibility that some non-messianic Jews and Pauline Christ-followers held a permanent *ekklēsia* identity in common.

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[767] Mark Nanos appears to argue that social interaction between Christ-followers and Jews in Rome is indicated in the social identification of the Christ-followers' "righteous gentiles" with Jewish *praxeis*, such as textual interpretive techniques and worship practices. He identifies examples of social identification as being "archeological evidence, shared literature such as hymnals and prayer books, the maintenance and even appropriation of nonrabbinic and apocryphal texts in Christian literature, shared language and idioms, Sabbath observance and food regulations, even the same form of meeting and administrative responsibilities" (*The Mystery of Romans: The Jewish Context of Paul's Letter* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996], 69–71).

[768] Stephen Spence problematizes such a claim by noting that social identification with Jewish practices, at most, speaks only to some of the *internal* dynamics operating within the Roman Christ-following community. In other words, one can say that Roman Christ-followers inculcated a Jewish *ethos* but not necessarily that *external* social interaction with the Jewish synagogal community also took place (*The Parting of the Ways: The Roman Church as a Case Study* [ISACR 5; Leuven/Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004], 8–11, 61–63).

2.2.5. Paul's Ekklēsia: A Trans-local Greco-Roman Voluntary Association?

The fifth element of my thesis statement on Paul's *ekklēsiai* is that even though in

their essence they were a trans-local Jewish socio-religious association, his *ekklēsiai* were

still "socially accessible to Greco-Romans." Scholars have assessed the organization of

Paul's *ekklēsiai* along the lines of four ancient non-civic models: the household,[769]

philosophical schools,[770] the synagogue,[771] and the voluntary association.[772] Kloppenborg

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[769] See Ok-pil Kim, "Paul and Politics: *Ekklesia*, Household, and Empire in 1 Corinthians 1–7," (PhD diss., Drew University, April, 2010).

[770] Paul does demonstrate ideological affinity with Platonic and Stoic thought (see George H. van Kooten, n. 736 and Michelle Lee, n. 833). Edward Adams provides a concise survey of those scholars who suggest that Greek philosophical schools are a good paradigm for understanding how Paul organized his *ekklēsiai* ("First-Century Models for Paul's Churches: Selected Scholarly Developments since Meeks," in *After the First Urban Christians: The Social-Scientific Study of Pauline Christianity Twenty-five Years Later* [ed. T. D. Still and D. G. Horrell; London/New York: T&T Clark International, 2009], 60–78, esp. 73–74). Stanley Stowers highlights "seven closely connected areas in which the Hellenistic philosophies and Pauline Christianity possessed similar features" ("Does Pauline Christianity Resemble a Hellenistic Philosophy?" in *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide* [ed. T. Engberg-Pedersen; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001], 81–102, esp. 89). Some common features include: conversion, "a technology of the self" (Ibid, 92), and an emphasis on intellect (Ibid, 93). Stowers does not, however, claim that "Pauline Christianity" was a philosophy (Ibid, 89), only that it shared "the structural features that made it philosophy-like" (Ibid, 100–101).

[771] Some of the ways in which Christ-follower *ekklēsiai* are said to demonstrate affinity with synagogal gatherings includes functions within worship gatherings such as reading and interpretation of scripture, communal prayer, and commensality (1 Cor 11:17-34; 14:26), the settling of legal affairs within the community (1 Cor 6:1-7), and the collection sent by gentile *ekklēsiai* to the Jewish Christ-followers in Jerusalem, which somewhat resembles the *praxis* of diasporic synagogues in sending envoys to Jerusalem for the purpose of delivering the Temple tax (Meeks, *First Urban Christians*, 80–81; James Tunstead Burtchaell, *From Synagogue to Church* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992], 284–88). Burtchaell contends that Jewish synagogal officers formed the inspiration for the official leadership of *ekklēsiai*. Examples are said to include *episkopos* (Phil 1:1) as an analogous *archisynagōgos* and the common usage of *presbyteroi* (1 Pet 5:1; Jas 5:14; Acts 20:17). Some of these *praxeis* within Jewish synagogues, however, are also mirrored in Greek and Egyptian voluntary associations. This suggests that socio-religious practices within Pauline *ekklēsiai* were also influenced by Greek, not simply by Jewish, associations. For a list of twelve similarities between diasporic Jewish synagogue communities and Greek and Egyptian voluntary associations, see Mantel, "Men of the Great Synagogue," 82–91. Examples include correlations in titles for association officials (e.g., *achisynagōgēs*, *presbyteros*, *grammateus*), judicial independence, regulatory *nomoi*, and penalties for disregarding *nomoi*.

[772] Meeks, *First Urban Christians* (1983). McCready acknowledges that Christ-follower *ekklēsiai* demonstrate congruency with other 1st century CE models for group life such as synagogues, the "household" (*oikoi*), and philosophical schools ("*Ekklēsia* and Voluntary Associations," 62). For updated perspectives on Meek's proposals, see both Edward Adams ("First-Century Models," 60–78), and John S. Kloppenborg ("Greco-Roman *Thiasoi*, the *Ekklesia* at Corinth, and Conflict Management," in *Redescribing Paul and the Corinthians* [ECIL 5; ed. R. Cameron and M. P. Miller; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011], 191–205). For a judicious critique of four of Meek's apparent operating assumptions, see

provides a helpful nuance for any strict categorization of Christ-follower communities as

Greco-Roman voluntary associations. He argues that "Graeco-Roman associations are

'good to think with,' not necessarily because Christ groups were typical associations,[773]

but because we have rich data from ancient associations that can generate heuristic

questions for interrogating the data from Christ groups."[774] With this caveat in mind,

Wayne McCready specifically explores how Paul's organization of his communities as

trans-locally connected voluntary associations,[775] and of his designation of those

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Stanley Kent Stowers, "The Social Sciences and the Study of Early Christianity," in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*, vol. 5 (ed. W. Green; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 149–181, esp. 172. Meeks' application of modern sociological models (i.e., Bryan Wilson's "small groups" sect theory) to ancient groups appears to assume, though, that commensurability is valid across vast reaches of time (1st vs. 20th centuries), geography (Mediterranean vs. North America) and culture (dyadic/collectivistic vs, individualistic cultures). Additionally, his functionalist approach seems reductionist in that he prioritizes Émile Durkheim's focus on ritual to explain social cohesion, while minimally incorporating a Strict Intentionalist perspective which focuses on the cohesive value of a moral community with shared beliefs and values.

[773] One variance between early Christ-follower communities and Greco-Roman voluntary associations includes weekly instead of monthly banquets. Pilhofer suggests other variances. He does so, though, only by resorting to an argument from silence which brings him to claim that early Christ-followers, unlike many other voluntary associations, did not charge membership dues, initiation fees, monthly dues, or a contribution to a *taphikon* (Peter Pilhofer, "Ökonomische Attraktivität christlicher Gemeinden der Frühzeit," in *Die frühen Christen und ihre Welt: Greifswalder Aufsätze 1996–2001* [WUNT 145; ed. P. Pilhofer, with assistance from J. Börstinghaus and E. Ebel; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2002], 194–216, esp. 208).

[774] John S. Kloppenborg, "Membership Practices in Pauline Christ Groups," *EC* 4, no. 2 (2013), 183–215, esp. 187.

[775] John Kloppenborg graciously provided an advance copy of his extensive list of scholarly resources relative to understanding the *ekklēsiai* of early Christ-followers as a Greco-Roman voluntary association ("Membership Practices" 187 n. 13). Since his bibliography is specifically focused on studies which discuss Christ-followers as a voluntary association, he does not also cite Onno van Nijf's seminal work, which focuses on understanding the world of Greco-Roman associations more generally (*Civic World* [1997]). Kloppenborg's list includes: Richard S. Ascough, *What Are They Saying About the Formation of Pauline Churches?* (New York and Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1998); idem, "The Thessalonian Christian Community as a Professional Voluntary Association," *JBL* 119, no. 2 (2000): 311–28; idem, "Greco-Roman Philosophic, Religious, and Voluntary Associations," in *Community Formation in the Early Church and the Church Today* (ed. R. N. Longenecker; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 3–24; idem, "Voluntary Associations and the Formation of Pauline Christian Communities: Overcoming the Objections," in *Vereine, Synagogen und Gemeinden im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (ed. A. Gutsfeld and D. Koch; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2006), 149–181; idem, "Of Memories and Meals: Greco-Roman Associations and the Early Jesus-Group at Thessalonikē," in *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē: Studies in Religion and Archaeology* (ed. L. Nasrallah, C. Bakirtzis and S. Friesen; HTS; Cambridge, MS: Harvard University Press, 2010), 49–72; Eva Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden: Die Gemeinde von Korinth im Spiegel griechischrömischer Vereine* (WUNT 2.178; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr

associations as *ekklēsiai*, relevantly connects his Christ-followers socio-politically to

Greco-Roman culture. He sees their group identity as having facilitated their missional

success by providing an air of familiarity for Greco-Roman outsiders,[776] especially those

with prior experience of associational life:[777]

[Paul Siebeck], 2004); Philip Harland, "Honouring the Emperor or Assailing the Beast: Participation in Civic Life Among Associations (Jewish, Christian and Other) in Asia Minor and the Apocalypse of John," *JSNT* 77 (2000): 99–121; idem, "Connections with Elites in the World of the Early Christians," in *Handbook of Early Christianity: Social Science Approaches* (ed. A. J. Blasi, J. Duhaime, and P. Turcott; Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 2002), 385–408; idem, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003); idem, *Dynamics of Identity* (2009); James R. Harrison, "Paul's House Churches and the Cultic Associations," *RTR* 58, no. 1 (1999): 31–47; Matthias Klinghardt, "The Manual of Discipline in the Light of Statues of Hellenistic Associations," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ANYAS 722; ed. J. J. Collins, et al.; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 251–70; idem, *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft: Soziologie und Liturgie frühchristlicher Mahlfeiern* (TANZ 13; Tübingen: Francke Verlag, 1996); Kloppenborg, "Edwin Hatch," 212–38; idem, "Egalitarianism in the Myth and Rhetoric of Pauline Churches," in *Reimagining Christian Origins: A Colloquium Honoring Burton L. Mack* (ed. Elizabeth Castelli and Hal Taussig; Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996), 247–63; idem, "Graeco-Roman *Thiasoi*," 187–218; Markus Öhler, "Römische Vereinsrecht und christliche Gemeinde," in *Zwischen den Reichen: Neues Testament und Römische Herrschaft: Vorträge auf der ersten Konferenz der European Association for Biblical Studies* (TANZ 36; ed. M. Labahn and J. Zangenberg; Tübingen/Basel: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2002), 51–71; idem, *Aposteldekret und antikes Vereinswesen: Gemeinschaft und ihre Ordnung* (WUNT 195; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011); Pilhofer, "Ökonomische Attraktivität"; idem, "Die Jerusalemer Urgemeinde im Spiegel des antiken Vereinswesens," *NTS* 51, no. 3 (2005): 393–415; Thomas Schmeller, *Hierarchie und Egalität: Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung paulinischer Gemeinden und griechisch-römischer Vereine* (SBS 162; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1995); idem, "Zum exegetischen Interesse an antiken Vereinen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Vereine, Synagogen und Gemeinden im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasiens* (STAC 25; ed. A. Gutsfeld and D. Koch; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2006), 1–19; idem, "Gegenwelten: Zum Vergleich zwischen paulinischen Gemeinden und nichtchristlichen Gruppen," *BZ* 47, no. 2 (2003): 167–85; Paul R. Trebilco, "Jews, Christians and The Associations in Ephesos: A Comparative Study of Group Structures," in *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos: Akten des Symposions Wien 1995. Textband* (DOAWPHK 260; ed. H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger; Archäologische Forschung, vol. 1; Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), 325–34. Kloppenborg also acknowledges the ground-breaking contributions of two 19th century scholars: P. Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs—thiases, éranes, orgéons, avec le texte des inscriptions relative à ces associations* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1873); and Edwin Hatch, *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches: Eight Lectures* (Bampton lectures for 1880; London: Rivingtons, 1881) (cf. "Edwin Hatch," 212–38).

[776] McCready states that "the point to be emphasized is that the concept of *ekklēsia* as a vehicle for claiming universal salvation was matched with a social institution capable of transcending a local village, town, or city to unite the church into a collective whole" ("*Ekklēsia* and Voluntary Associations," 69). Runesson, Binder and Olson concur: "such a social-institutional setting as the *collegia* [*thiasoi*] may well shed new light on certain theological texts: the fact that men and women, slaves and free, Jews and non-Jews, could interact more freely in many *collegia* than most elsewhere in Greco-Roman society suggests a

It makes eminent sense that voluntary associations offered an initial reference point that placed churches comfortably within the parameters of Graeco-Roman society—especially when the Jesus movement consciously and deliberately wished to appeal to gentiles. Indeed, the diversity of voluntary associations was an attractive feature, for it allowed experimentation and development by the *ekklēsiai* while at the same time providing a special type of belonging that created a form of community definition that was distinct from the larger society.[778]

While McCready's point relative to the missional relevance of Paul's *ekklēsiai* in the Greek East stands, he fails to assess how their identification as Jewish voluntary associations factored into that missional relevance. This lacuna is not accidental, however. McCready claims, incorrectly, that little evidence exists for synagogues, and thus, for Jewish voluntary associations, in the 1st century CE.[779] A more accurate presentation of the evidence would be to state that the missional relevance of Paul's diasporic *ekklēsiai* derived from their self-presentation as Jewish voluntary associations whose social functioning also reflects Greco-Roman cultural dynamics.

2.2.6. Paul's Ekklēsia: *Socio-Ethnic* Dēmokratia *and Counter-Oligarchic Civic Ideology?*

The sixth and final element in my thesis statement on Pauline *ekklēsiai* relates to the degree of *dēmokratia* and political authority still extant among civic *ekklēsia* in the 1st century CE. I argue that Paul's trans-local network of non-civic voluntary associations,

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social institutional interpretive frame for understanding Paul's salvation inclusive theological message to his Diaspora community (Galatians 3:28)" (*Ancient Synagogue*, 13).

[777] Inscriptional evidence for voluntary associations paints a picture of them as "groups of people gathering and organizing themselves into an extended family" for the fulfillment of a number of functions such as "athletics, sacrificing to a god, eating a common meal, and regular socializing...[even] for decent burial of members" (McCready, "*Ekklēsia* and Voluntary Associations," 62). See Harland for extensive descriptions of fictive kinship relationships employed within voluntary associations (*Dynamics of Identity*, 63–81 ["brothers"], 82–96 ["mothers," "fathers"]).

[778] McCready, "*Ekklēsia* and Voluntary Associations," 69–70.

[779] McCready, "*Ekklēsia* and Voluntary Associations," 62–63.

each of which reflect alternative civic ideology, could very well have been perceived as pro-'democratic,' and perhaps also as counter-oligarchic, participants, rather than as counter-imperial ideologues, within the ubiquitous "*ekklēsia* discourse" of the newly developing political culture of the Greek East during the 1st century CE.

2.2.6.1. Pro-Dēmokratia *Political Culture in the 1st Century CE*

By designating his communities as *ekklēsiai* Paul socio-linguistically places them into the centre of a vibrant "*ekklēsia* discourse" taking place within the Greek East.[780] The literary works of Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, and Theon are replete with references to the contemporary relevance of civic *ekklēsiai* in the ongoing socio-political culture of their day.[781] The provenance of these authors makes Asia Minor, where many of Paul's *ekklēsiai* were located, the geographical hotbed for this politically dynamic concept.[782]

As previously discussed, this "*ekklēsia* discourse" is but one aspect of what Onno van Nijf calls the political culture of Asia Minor. Van Nijf argues that political culture is

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[780] For a description of socio-linguistic theory, especially as it relates to the book of Daniel, see Anatheia Portier-Young, "Languages of Identity and Obligation: Daniel as Bilingual Book," *VT* 60 (2010): 98–115. She applies the work of socio-linguists R. B. Le Page and Andrée Tabouret-Keller who "maintain that every linguistic act is at the same time an act of identity. Recognizing that language serves not only communicative purposes but also social ones, they emphasize the creativity of speakers—and writers—who project a universe through language and 'invite others to share it'" (Ibid, 104). In this regard, Paul's adoption of an *ekklēsia* identity for his Christ-followers would invitingly have projected a democratic universe for those Greco-Roman outsiders who were considering joining his non-civic groups.

[781] See John Ma, "Public Speech and Community in the *Euboicus*," in *Dio Chrysostom: Politics, Letters, and Philosophy* (ed. S. Swain; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 108–24; Ruth Webb, "The *Progymnasmata* as Practice," in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (ed. Yun Lee Too; Boston: Brill, 2001), 289–316, esp. 289–92; Miller, "*Ekklesia*," 4–5; and Salmeri, "Dio, Rome, and the Civic Life," 53–92; idem, "Reconstructing," 197–214. With respect to "*ekklēsia* discourse" in Aelius Aristides (2nd cent. CE), see Christina Kokkinia, "The Governor's Boot and the City's Politicians. Greek Communities and Rome's Representatives under the Empire," in *Herrschaftsstrukturen und Herrschaftspraxis: Konzepte, Prinzipien und Strategien der Administration im römischen Kaiserreich: Akten der Tagung an der Universität Zürich, 18.-20.10.2004* (ed. A. Kolb; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006), 181–90.

[782] Plutarch (*c*. 46–120 CE) was born in Chaeronea (Boeotia) in central Greece. Dio Chrysostom (*c*. 40–*c*. 115) is also known as Dion of Prusa or Dio Cocceianus. He was born in Prusa, a town in Bithynia. Theon's *progymnasmata* was written *c*. 95 CE.

evident in three non-institutional aspects of cultural life in Asia Minor: monuments of leadership, emotive communities, and festive communities.[783] A political culture facilitated the ongoing need for the negotiation of power between the elite dominated *boulē* and the *dēmos*. Euergetism by the elite, and honorific reciprocation by non-elites through monumentalism, were two sides of the same political coin, so to speak, in Asia Minor. Their interplay served to maintain *pax* in the *polis* by facilitating the bi-lateral flow of political influence back and forth between the oligarchic elite and the non-elite *dēmos*, thereby averting direct Roman intervention.[784] Both of these political strategies form a backdrop for understanding what could be called "Paul's politics of redistribution" among his diasporic *ekklēsia*, particularly those in Asia Minor.

2.2.6.2. *Pauline* Ekklēsiai *and Political Culture in Asia Minor*

It is within the burgeoning political culture of the Greek East, and not in the Roman West, that Paul experienced the greatest success in his gentile mission. There are at least three ways in which Paul's appropriation of an *ekklēsia* identity for his Christ-followers seems to have tapped into that political dynamic in ideologically positive ways.

First, in a very real sense, Paul was a 'political' figure,[785] particularly since politics and religion were integral parts of the same cultural whole.[786] Paul's politics,

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[783] See bibliographic references in n. 183.

[784] Van Nijf argues that the public use of honorific language implicitly pressures the honorand to live up to the public impression created of him or her. In this way, the *dēmos*, whether individuals or voluntary associations, plays an active role in the process of political identity construction even without having been formally granted any official political office or even role (*Civic World*, 73–130; idem, "Public Space," 217–23).

[785] I use the term "politics" as defined by Max Weber: "politics for us means striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state" ("Politics as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* [2d ed.; ed. B. S. Turner; New York: Oxford University Press, 1958], 77–128, esp. 78). His definition is founded on his presupposition that "a state is a human community that (successfully) claims the *monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force* within a given territory" (Ibid, 78; author's emphasis).

however, derive from the other-worldly *politeuma* ("governing authority"; Phil 3:20) of a

heavenly *polis* ("the Jerusalem above"; Gal 4:26).[787] Udo Schnelle aptly summarizes

Paul's political status: "Pauline theology is political to the extent that the new symbolic

universe it mediates directly concerns peoples' lives as citizens, their way of life."[788] This

new symbolic universe is described with terminology which a Greco-Roman readership

would have found familiar from the political realm of imperial ideology (e.g., salvation,

peace, grace, righteousness/justice, and the titles *kyrios* and *sōtēr*).

A second way in which Paul's *ekklēsia* communities self-presented in politically

positive ways involves their internal organization. As the *apostolos* of a new symbolic

universe, Paul organized his non-civic *ekklēsiai* as socio-religious 'sites' for enacting that

symbolic universe within their various *poleis*. Paul's communities demonstrate a "politics

of equality," or what I call "socio-ethnic *dēmokratia*." The *dēmokratia* evident within

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[786] Bruce Malina states that "the social institutions known as religion and economics did not exist as discrete, self-standing, independent institutions in antiquity. In antiquity, there were only two focal, freestanding social institutions: kinship and politics, yielding domestic economy, domestic religion, political economy, and political religion" ("Social-Scientific Approaches and the Gospel of Matthew," in *Methods for Matthew* [MBI; ed. M. A. Powell; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009], 154–93, esp. 170). Steve Mason identifies six culturally intrinsic aspects of 'religion' which were integrated into the warp and woof of everyday life in early antiquity: *ethnos*, cult, philosophy, kinship traditions/domestic worship, astrology/magic and voluntary association (*collegia/thiasoi*) ("Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History," *JSJ 38* [2007]: 457–512, esp. 482–88). See also Alan Storkey's analysis of Jesus' 'politics' (*Jesus and Politics: Confronting the Powers* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005], 38) and Richard A. Horsley's exploration more generally of religion and politics in the Second Temple period (*Scribes, Visionaries and the Politics of Second Temple Judea* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007]). See also Brent Nongbri who claims that in antiquity there was no conceptual category that could be designated as "religious" as opposed to "secular" (*Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013]). Paula Fredriksen argues not only that "religion" was integrated into everyday life but that "religion" was in fact integrally tied to ethnicity: "in Mediterranean antiquity, cult defined ethnicity and ethnicity defined cult" ("Judaizing the Nations: The Ritual Demands of Paul's Gospel," *NTS* 56 [2010]: 232–52, esp. 234).

[787] See Sergienko's definition of *politeuma* as "governing authority" (*"Our Politeuma is in Heaven!"* 167–69).

[788] Udo Schnelle, *The History and Theology of the New Testament Writings* (trans. M. Eugene Boring; Grand Rapids: Baker Publishing Group, 2009), 225 (originally published as *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* [Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 2007]).

Paul's fictive *dēmos*, known as *ekklēsia*, derives from a heavenly *polis*, "the Jerusalem above" (Gal 4:26). In general, Paul's socio-ethnic *dēmokratia* involves the equitable sharing of *kratos* among each *ekklēsia* member, or fictive *ekklēsiastēs* (Gal 3:28).[789] Overall, opportunities for participation within a Pauline *ekklēsia* are presented as transcending barriers of gender, social standing, and ethnic background. Gender does not stand in the way of females being allowed to prophesy and pray when the *ekklēsia* gathers (1 Cor 11:5, 13).[790] Paul also enjoins his *ekklēsia* members to remain in the social (slave/free; 1 Cor 7:21-24) and ethnic (circumcised Jew/ uncircumcised Greco-Roman; 1 Cor 7:18-19) station in which they were found at the time of their call (1 Cor 7:17, 20).[791] Given the foregoing, one can say that the range of participants within a Pauline *ekklēsia*

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[789] Each member of the Athenian *ekklēsia* was called an *ekklēsiastēs* (ἐκκλησιαστής) (Plato *Gorg*. 452e, *AP*.25a; Aristotle *Pol*.1275a26, *Rh*.1354b7). To be considered an *ekklēsiastēs*, one, firstly, had to be a citizen of the Athenian *polis*, and not less than eighteen years of age (Xen. *Mem*. 3.6.1). Since new citizens (*epheboi*) usually had to do two years of military service before being enrolled on the register of a deme, one normally did not participate in an *ekklēsia* until the age of 20 (Gustave Glotz, *The Greek City and Its Institutions* [New York: Barnes and Noble, 1929/1969], 152; see also Hansen's definition of *ephebos* in *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes: Structure, Principles, and Ideology* [trans. J. A. Crook; Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999], 354). One also, secondly, had to be free of any legal suspicion (e.g., *atimia*). *Atimia* was imposed on Athenians who were negligent in their civic duties or indebted to the state. A person under *atimia* was deprived of the right to legal protection, the right to enter the market-place and the sanctuaries, and all political rights (Hansen, *Athenian Democracy*, 350). Each *ekklēsiastēs* had the right to attend, speak and vote (Hansen, *Athenian Assembly*, 212; see also, idem, *Athenian Democracy*, 353).

[790] In 1 Cor 11:2-16, Paul does not place into question the right of women to prophesy. He focuses instead upon clarifying an appropriate process for them to do so; they are to wear a headcovering. Paul also affirms the partnership of women in his diasporic mission (Phil 4:2-3, Euodia and Syntyche; Rom 16, Phoebe, Prisca, Mary, Junia[?], the mother of Rufus, Julia, and the sister of Nereus). Scholars who affirm the role of prophetesses within Pauline *ekklēsiai* include David E. Aune (*Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983], 195–98), Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (*In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* [New York: Crossroad, 1983], 230–33, 294–309), Antoinette Clark Wire (*The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction Through Paul's Rhetoric* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990], 116–34, 229–32), and Ute E. Eisen (*Women Officeholders in Early Christianity: Epigraphical and Literary Studies* [trans. Linda M. Maloney; Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2000], 63–87). Pliny implies that female prophets continued to function within Christ-follower communities in Asia Minor into at least the early 2nd cent. CE (*Letter* 10.96.8). He mentions 2 "slave women" (*ancillae*) whom the Christ-followers referred to as *ministrae*, which is Latin for the Greek word *diakonoi* (Eisen, *Women Officeholders*, 173).

[791] See n. 21 (Boyarin) and n. 648 (Tomson, Nanos, Runesson, and Tucker) for bibliographic details on scholars who claim that Paul promotes the continuation of social and ethnic identities in Christ.

stretches beyond that generally found in Greek *ekklēsiai*, particularly with respect to participation of women and slaves.[792] The demographics of Pauline *ekklēsiai* are consistent, though, both with Greco-Roman voluntary associations[793] and Jewish public synagogues (e.g., Judith, Josephus),[794] not least with respect to the inclusion of women and slaves among their members. As such, Georgi describes Paul's ideological stance as being one of "libertarian and democratic universalism [and]…socially egalitarian pluralism," irrespective of his community members' social or ethnic standing.[795] Thus, one could say that, within the non-civic "city writ small," which Paul calls the *ekklēsia* of Christ-followers, socio-ethnic *dēmokratia* is depicted as going beyond the *praxeis* enacted within classical Athenian-style *dēmokratia*.

If some Greco-Roman outsiders, especially Roman authorities, also perceived Pauline communities as communal 'sites' of socio-ethnic *dēmokratia*, then, by identifying his Christ-followers as *ekklēsiai*, Paul creates a type of political 'defense mechanism.' It would be difficult for Roman suspicions to be aroused over a voluntary association in the Greek East, the socio-religious *praxeis* of which portrays it as a paragon of civic order and *dēmokratia*, and the very name of which situates it in the centre of the "*ekklēsia* discourse" in Asia Minor.

Paul's "politics of equality," while benefiting his *ekklēsia* members socio-religiously and politically, also would have benefited the society within which they lived.

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[792] By the 2nd cent. CE, though, "femaleness" in the Greek East had moved in from the political margins. Harland provides numerous examples of inscriptional uses of the terms "mother" and "daughter" in relation to civic and official organizations (e.g., *polis*, *dēmos*) (*Dynamics of Identity*, 88).

[793] See n. 705.

[794] See n. 706.

[795] Georgi, *Theocracy*, 51.

It may even be that it was Stoic alternative civic ideology which provided Paul with an

example of how to bring "other-worldly" concerns to bear within "this-worldly"

societies. Stoics viewed the *kosmos* as the true commonwealth. Stoics sought to bring all

earthly *poleis* into conformity with this true commonwealth, the guiding principle, or

nomos, of which was the *nous*. They defined *nous* as the rationality presupposed in a

mind that is in harmony with the law of "right reason" (*orthos logos*).[796] This *orthos*

logos is neither a social nor a divine construct, but rather a transcendent principle to

which both gods and humans are subject.[797] When a *polis* rejected or neglected this

transcendent law, Stoics saw it as their responsibility to intervene in civic politics.[798]

In not dissimilar fashion, Paul takes his socio-political cue from what could be

called a '*kosmos-polis*.' In his case it is the "Jerusalem above" (Gal 4:26). His guiding

nomos was not "right reason," as important as that was, but rather the "*nomos* of Christ"

(1 Cor 9:21) which guides ethical choices in Paul's proclamation of the gospel of Christ

(1 Cor 9:16). Paul's ethics are founded on the mandate of love (1 Cor 13:4-8a; Gal 6:2;

cf. Gal 5:14: "love your neighbour").[799] Given Paul's priority of inculcating God's love

within human affairs, he seems to have focused his socio-political efforts on infusing

"agapic communalism," as Jewett calls it, within his fictive cleruchies (*ekklēsiai*) of the

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[796] For example, Arius Didymus, *ap*. Eusebius, *PE* 15.15.3-5.
[797] Chrysippus, Marcian 1 (*SVF* 3.314).
[798] Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 114.
[799] 1 Cor 9:21 reads, "I am not free from God's law but am under Christ's law." Gal 6:2 reads, "bear one another's burdens, and in this way you will fulfill the law of Christ." Identifying "love" as the essential characteristic of the "law of Christ" is consistent with Paul's previous claim: "the whole [Mosaic] law is summed up in a single commandment, 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself'" (Gal 5:14).

"Jerusalem above."[800] Their internal *praxis* of "agapic communalism" would inevitably

have affected the external realities of local oligarchic rule and of *polis* life, particularly

when Paul's *ekklēsia* members would try to bring redress to the inequity found in the

interplay of social and ethnic identities at municipal levels of Greco-Roman society.[801]

Paul does not appear to be directly involved, though, in bringing redress to the

political power imbalances between the *dēmos* and *boulē*, or between the *polis* and

imperium (e.g., Rom 13:1-7).[802] Paul's politics purportedly leave direct political

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[800] Jewett makes clear that the guiding principle behind Paul's honor system was not "love patriarchalism," that is, benefaction based upon hierarchical social stratification (65–66), but rather "agapic communalism" (Rom 13:8a) (*Romans*, 69). This agapic communalism makes Paul's "honor system" one of unrestricted social interaction. Its democratic and egalitarian principles level the socio-economic playing field, so to speak, between the "administrative slaves" and aristocratic patrons within Paul's *ekklēsiai* (Ibid, 60–61, 64–66; on Rom 16:10-11, see 952–53, 965–68). Affecting a breakdown of hierarchical separation among Christ-followers within the public sphere inevitably affects other socio-economic relationships which those self-same Christ-followers have with Greco-Roman outsiders in their social and work worlds.

[801] Regarding Paul's concern for the poor and socio-economically disadvantaged see the seminal study by Bruce Longenecker, *Remember the Poor: Paul, Poverty, and the Greco-Roman World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010).

[802] Schnelle states that "Paul adopts no intentional political stance in the modern sense…There is no direct anti-Roman or even Roman-critical statement in Paul. On the contrary, Rom 13:1-7, the only direct statement from Paul with regard to the Roman Empire, specifically calls for its authority to be acknowledged" (*Theology of the New Testament*, 225). John Barclay concurs. He writes that "there is no evidence that Paul had the Roman empire or the imperial cult particularly in view, and that, better understood, Paul's theology is deeply political but in a way that makes Rome not a central player in the history of the world, but a bit part, a member of a largely undifferentiated crowd, in a drama governed by much greater and more pervasive [cosmic] powers…we see Roman propaganda subverted precisely by not being challenged, but by being subsumed and relativised within a larger framework of explanation" ("Why the Roman Empire Was Insignificant to Paul" [paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Diego, CA., Nov. 16–20, 2007], 3, 19). Both Robert Jewett and Neil Elliott read Rom 13:1-7 counter-intuitively through anti-imperial lenses. Jewett sees Rom 13:1 as "thoroughly subversive" of Roman imperial ideology in that Paul depicts Rome's rise to power as due to God's sovereign choice rather to politico-military might. This sovereign God is the same one who raised Jesus from the dead after he was martyred by the same Roman state that God himself had placed into power. Paul's implied message then is that not just Christ-followers, but even "Christ-killers" must submit to the God of the crucified Christ (Jewett, *Romans*, 789–90; idem, "Response: Exegetical Support from Romans and Other Letters," in *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation: Essays in Honour of Krister Stendahl* [ed. R. Horsley; Harrisburg, PA: TPI, 2000], 58–71, esp. 66–67). Neil Elliott uses James C. Scott's distinction between public and private "transcripts" of the powerful and subordinate (*Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcript* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990]) and Fredric Jameson's insights into the social functions of narrative (*The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981]). Elliott concludes that Rom 13:1-7 gives witness to the pragmatic Paul who in recognition of the dominance of imperial ideology is

intervention in the hands of a sovereign God (Rom 12:19) who establishes governing authorities with the right to "bear the sword" (Rom 13:4), or in Weberian terms, with the right to "the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force."[803]

Euergetism, or benefaction, is a third way in which Paul tapped into the political culture for socio-religious purposes. Benefaction finds expression both internally within Paul's trans-local network of *ekklēsiai* and externally towards other sub-groups of Christ-followers (e.g., the *hoi hagioi* in Jerusalem; Rom 15:25-31; 1 Cor 16:1-4). As the primary apostolic authority of his *ekklēsiai*, Paul accepted benefaction (Rom 16:2, 23) and encouraged the socio-religious *praxis* of the "politics of equality" within each *ekklēsia*.[804] Paul sought to redress inequities in wealth (rich/poor), social status (slave/free; 1 Cor 7:17-24), ethnic pre-eminence (Jew, gentile; Gal 3:28),[805] and gender roles (Gal 3:28; Rom 16:1-2; 1 Cor 11:1-16), to name a few.[806]

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constrained in his letters so as to protect his reading audience from retaliation by the *imperium* (*The Arrogance of Nations: Reading Romans in the Shadow of Empire* [PCC; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2008], 152–59; idem, "Romans 13:1-7 in the Context of Imperial Propaganda," in *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* [ed. R. Horsley; Harrisburg, PA: TPI, 1997], 184–204). Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza critiques Elliott. She claims that since he "makes palatable the rhetoric of [submission in] Romans 13, Elliott re-inscribes Paul's rhetorics of subordination" for situations within which modern interpreters find themselves ("Paul and the Politics of Interpretation," in *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation: Essays in Honour of Krister Stendahl* [ed. R. Horsley; Harrisburg, PA: TPI, 2000], 40–57, esp. 52–53).

[803] Weber, "Politics as a Vocation," 78.

[804] Paul appears to have accepted patronage from Phoebe in Cenchrae (see n. 714). This problematizes Horsley's claim that Paul sought to "embody radically different economic relations (avoid patronage)" ("1 Corinthians," 251) (see my interaction with Horsley in Part III, §2.2.2. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *Counter-Imperial Ideology?*).

[805] The inclusive and egalitarian impulse in Gal 3:28 is sometimes understood as supporting a universalism that transcends categories of race/ethnicity/peoplehood. Barclay remarks that for Paul's Christ-followers social identity is no longer central "in the context of their new community" since "the ethnic identity of Paul's converts was simply irrelevant" (*Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 385). Bruce Hansen demurs but locates disparate ethnic identities into only one ethnicity: Israel. He argues that the baptismal unity formula in Gal 3:28 (and in 1 Cor 12:13; Col 3:11) is Paul's vision of a social unity "of the believers as a new ethnic group patterned on the identity of Israel as re-envisioned through Christ" (*All of You Are One* [London: T&T Clark, 2010], 31; see also 116, 192, 195, 196). Denise Buell argues to the contrary: By "saying that Christianity is open to all was not mutually exclusive with defining Christians as

Externally, Paul promoted euergetism through one unprecedented economic act.[807] Paul orchestrated a sizeable collection among his trans-local *ekklēsiai* for *hoi hagioi* in Jerusalem.[808] Paul's collection was political insofar as it demonstrated that the civic ideology of an alternative society could cross socio-ethnic boundaries for the socio-economic betterment of an affiliated association, in this case Christ-followers loyal to the apostles in Jerusalem.[809] This act of financial munificence undoubtedly served to vitiate any socio-religious conflict which may have developed between differentiated sub-groups of Christ-followers (*ekklēsiai* and *hoi hagioi*). These sub-groups apparently were centred in different geographical locales (Syrian Antioch or Jerusalem), gave their loyalties to different apostolic authorities (Paul or Peter, James and John), and generally focused their missional activities upon different target groups (gentiles and/or Jews).

As the organizer of this magnanimous gift, Paul implicitly placed himself in the role of benefactor for the apostles in Jerusalem. Reciprocity from the Jerusalem apostles by means of honour through monumentalism would have been his natural due. There is no indication that Paul either expected or received such reciprocity from the Jerusalem apostles. It may be, however, that in his letter to Jerusalem-loyal Christ-followers in Rome (*klētoi hagioi*; 1:7), Paul is attempting to cash in on the socio-religious currency

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members of an ethnic or racial group. In many early Christian texts, defining Christians as members of a people reinforces rather than conflicts with assertions of Christian universalism" (*Why This New Race? Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* [New York: Columbia University Press, 2005], 138). See also Tucker, *Remain in Your Calling*, 57 n. 116, 144–145.

[806] Regarding wealth redistribution, see Longenecker, *Remember the Poor* (2010). He argues that care for the impoverished was integral to Paul's gospel and common practice in the *ekklēsiai* he oversaw. Regarding the redistribution of social and ethnic status, see Tucker, *Remain in Your Calling* (2011).

[807] Horsley, "1 Corinthians," 251.

[808] See Rom 15:25-31; 1 Cor 16:3; cf. 1 Cor 16:1; 2 Cor 8–9.

[809] See the discussion of the Jerusalem collection by Julien M. Ogereau, "The Jerusalem Collection as Κοινωνία: Paul's Global Politics of Socio-Economic Equality and Solidarity," *NTS* 58 (2012): 360–378.

'owed' him by their 'mother' community in Jerusalem. Paul mentions that he will stop in

Rome after delivering to Jerusalem the collection that was gathered by his *ekklēsiai* in

Macedonia and Achaia (Rom 15:22-31). The hospitality of the Jerusalem-loyal Roman

community is then requested (Rom 15:32) before Paul continues on to Spain. By

explicitly mentioning the leading role he is playing in organizing the collection for

Jerusalem, Paul implicitly reminds the Roman Christ-followers of their own failure to

fulfill their obligations to their mother community. In this, Paul rhetorically underscores

his right to request reciprocity from the Roman Christ-followers in the form of hospitality

and, thereby, to gain their support of his mission of establishing *ekklēsiai* in Spain.

There is a fourth correlation with the political culture of the Greek East. Paul's

ekklēsiai mirror at least two of its non-institutional aspects: emotive communities and

festive communities. Although Asia Minor is the hotbed of political culture, Paul's

Corinthian correspondence provides an illuminating example of how a fictive political

culture was inscribed among his Hellenic Christ-followers.

The phrase "emotive community" describes Paul's Corinthian *ekklēsia* in every

sense of the word. His Corinthian correspondence attests to a lively debate among

upwards of four factions ("I belong to Paul/Apollos/Cephas/ Christ"; 1 Cor 1:12; 3:4).[810]

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[810] Scholars interpret the factionalism in Corinth along theological, ideological, or personal 'fault lines'. C. K. Barrett aligns each leader mentioned in 1 Cor 1:12 with a distinctive theological position (see n. 763: "Christianity at Corinth," 1–27; idem, "Cephas and Corinth," 28–39). Ideological interpretations, on the other hand, relate the divisions to social alignments. Floyd V. Filson champions the view that factionalism developed between rival house congregations in Corinth ("The Significance of the Early House Churches," *JBL* 58 [1939]: 109–12). Gerd Thiessen refines Filson's view by suggesting that wealthy householders aligned themselves as benefactors for the different persons named in 1 Corinthians, thus, resulting in partisan-based groupings among the Christ-following community (*The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth* [ed. and trans. J. H. Schütz; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982], 54–57). For a critique of Thiessen, see Bengt Holmberg, *Sociology and the New Testament: An Appraisal* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 36–37, 40. Personal attachments, instead, become the evaluative grid for

They are in debate over *nomoi* that order their associational life,[811] some of which touch upon the *nomoi* of Greco-Roman voluntary associations.[812] Emotive factors associated with these types of issues undoubtedly were exacerbated simply by virtue of the fact that the semi-public worship assemblies were each called an *ekklēsia*.[813] Within the civic *ekklēsia*, each *ekklēsiastēs* was allowed free expression of their opinion. The Corinthian Christ-followers may also, then, have felt entitled to similar displays of emotion when they gathered *en ekklēsia*, much to the detriment of harmonious *ekklēsia* life.

Not all emotion would have been negative, though. Positive, or festive, emotion would also have been engendered during the time that "members only" *ekklēsiai* were convened. Paul's commitment to socio-ethnic *dēmokratia* allowed for the development of festive community among all members (male or female, slave or free, rich or poor) by means of regular reciprocity in honouring one another through prophesying (1 Cor 11:1-17; 14:1-33), teaching (1 Cor 14:26), praying (1 Cor 14:14-17), singing (1 Cor 14:14-17;

John K. Chow and Andrew D. Clarke. They downplay ideological concerns and examine the role which patron-client relationships may have played in the formation of factional groupings in Corinth (Chow, *Patronage and Power: A Study of Social Networks in Corinth* [JSNTSup 75; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992], 106; Clarke, *Secular and Christian Leadership in Corinth: A Socio-Historical and Exegetical Study of 1 Corinthians 1–6* [AGJU 18; Leiden: Brill, 1993], 89–95). Along these lines, see also, L. L. Wellborn, "On the Discord in Corinth: 1 Corinthians 1–4 and Ancient Politics," *JBL* 106 (1987): 85–111. Kloppenborg develops the insights of Chow and Clarke into a scenario wherein different sub-groups of *collegia domestica* (patron-based households) or *thiasoi* (cult-based private associations) mix in public meetings, such as common meals ("Greco-Roman *Thiasoi*," 209–212).

[811] Conflict surfaces in numerous contexts within Paul's Corinthian correspondence. In-fighting among the Corinthian Christ-followers is evident in Paul's use of terms such as *erides* ("rivalries") and *schismata* ("divisions") (1 Cor 1:10-17). Communal meals become venues for *schismata* and *haireseis* ("factions") (1Cor 11:17-19). Community members are in litigation against one another (1 Cor 6:1-8). Some Corinthian Christ-followers participate in meals in pagan temples, or perhaps even during the meetings of private cultic associations (1 Cor 8–10). Paul's authority is being challenged by those whom he calls false apostles (2 Cor 11:13) and "super-apostles" (2 Cor 11:5).

[812] See the discussion of voluntary association *nomoi* (Part III, §2.2.1. *Paul's* Ekklēsia: *Alternative Civic Ideology?*).

[813] Only in Corinth does Paul both designate his community as an *ekklēsia* (e.g., 1:2) and then speak separately of them as regularly convening *ekklēsiai* ("meetings"; 11:18; 14:19, 28).

26), eating together (1 Cor 11: 17-34)[814] and the sharing of spiritual gifts with one another (*charismata*; 1 Cor 12:4-11; 14:1-40).

If one does a rhetorical-critical reading of the issues dealt with by, and in, Paul's Corinthian *ekklēsia*, then those issues can be reframed metaphorically using the following civic terminology. As the fictive president ('*epistatēs*') of his Corinthian *ekklēsia*,[815] Paul oversees a socio-economically diverse *dēmos* (1 Cor 1:26; 6:9-11).[816] Paul mentions that the following 'agenda' (*programma* or *prographē*) items arose formally *en ekklēsia* and informally outside of assembly times: fictive *eisangelia* over sexual mores (1 Cor 5:1-13);[817] unwarranted resolution of judicial issues outside of the *ekklēsia* (1 Cor 6:1-11);[818]

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[814] The practice of Corinthian Christ-followers to eat "the Lord's supper" (1 Cor 11:20) whenever they gathered *en ekklēsia* (1 Cor 11:18) is significantly more frequent than the usual once a month banqueting schedule among Greco-Roman associations (*collegia*/*thiasoi*) (John S. Kloppenborg, "Collegia and *Thiasoi*: Issues in Function, Taxonomy and Membership," in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* [ed. J. S. Kloppenborg and S. G. Wilson; London and New York: Routledge, 1996], 16–30, esp. 22). See Harland for correlations between the Corinthians' love feast and the socio-religious functions of feasts in voluntary associations (*Associations*, 56–61) and the possibility of "wildly trangressive" behaviour during them (*Dynamics of Identity*, 163–69).

[815] See n. 697. Gillihan cites San Nicolò's work on Hellenistic Egypt which claims that one common rule within the *nomoi*, or regulations, of voluntary associations was that internal brawling among members was subject to internal sanctions. The president was most often the person given the necessary authority to mete out fines or other penalties (*Civic Ideology*, 87–88).

[816] Citizens of many socio-economic ranges participated in the Athenian *ekklēsia*. Xenophon somewhat derogatorily, comments on the makeup of the *ekklēsia* of his day: "The fullers or the cobblers or the builders or the smiths or the farmers or the merchants, or the traffickers in the market-place who think of nothing but buying cheap and selling dear? For these are the people who make up the Assembly" (*Memorabilia*, 3.7.6). Translation from *Xenophon. Xenophontis opera omnia*, vol. 2 (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921/repr. 1971).

[817] Paul pronounces a judgment of 'exile' upon the sexual offender (1 Cor 5:11-13). Charges of *eisangelia* were brought against adulterers before the *ekklēsia* in classical Athens (see n. 429). There are two types of *eisangelia*: *eis tēn boulēn* and *eis ton dēmon*. The *eis tēn boulēn* is a public action against magistrates for misconduct while in public office. These cases were heard in the Council of 500 (*boulē*), with serious cases being referred to the *dikastērion* (Hansen, *Athenian Assembly*, 212). A judicial determination could be made by the *ekklēsia* or delegated by the *boulē* to a different judicial sub-committee than the *dikastēria*. The judicial sub-committee which presided over charges of *eisangelia* was comprised of a tribunal of heliasts under the presidency of the *thesmothetai*. By the beginning of the 4th century, even cases of public morality, such as adultery, apparently were brought forward for consideration as *eisangelia* (Glotz, *Greek City*, 167).

[818] See n. 697. San Nicolò notes that one common rule within the *nomoi*, or regulations, of Hellenistic Egyptian voluntary associations was that fellow members were prohibited from suing one

concern over mixed marriages (2 Cor 6:14-18);[819] the status of slaves and masters (1 Cor

7:17-24);[820] the need to receive and honour benefactors (1 Cor 9:1-18); the role of women

en ekklēsia (1 Cor 11:1-16; 14:33b-35); assembly protocol for prophetic 'rhetors' and

other *ekklēsia* members when gathered *en ekklēsia* (1 Cor 14:1-40); and 'foreign policy'

initiatives, such as the collection of financial support for Jerusalem-based Christ-

followers (e.g., 1 Cor 16:1-4; Rom 15:25-31) by Paul's trans-local association of

Macedonian and Achaian *ekklēsiai* (Rom15:26).[821] Such a metaphorical re-reading

underlines the integrated nature of politics and religion; the concomitant conclusion that

Paul pursued a real-world political agenda, whether of a neutral (van Kooten) or of a

counter-imperial (Horsley) nature, is not required. Paul's civic ideology formed a

political 'defense mechanism' for, not a political movement of, Christ-followers.

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another in public courts. Lawsuits were arbitrated by a special juridical committee within the association
(*Civic Ideology*, 87–88).

[819] Paul exhorts the 'citizens' of his Corinthian *ekklēsia* not to enter into partnership with 'non-citizens', that is, those whom he calls "unbelievers" (*apistoi*; 2 Cor 6:14, 15). This injunction presumably also includes marriage partnerships. This concern, that only a marriage of two Christ-follower 'citizens' be allowed within the Corinthian *ekklēsia*, fictively mirrors citizenship policy in classical Athens established by Pericles in 451/450 BCE. Aristotle affirms the continuance of this policy in his day (mid-4th cent. BCE) (Arist. *Pol*. 3.1275b). Aristotle notes that qualifications for being considered a natural born citizen had changed from needing only an Athenian father to requiring two Athenian parents who are lawfully wedded (ἐξ ἀστῆς καὶ ἐγγυητῆς).

[820] See Appendix #5 for the fifteen Greek inscriptions in which the manumission of slaves is legitimated by a civic *ekklēsia*.

[821] The word *koinon* can denote a trans-local alliance between two or more *poleis* (e.g., "τῶν Βοιωτῶν"; *SIG* 457.10 [Thespiae, 3rd cent. BCE]), or between non-civic groups such as guilds or associations ("τὸ κ. τῶν τεκτόνων"; *POxy* 53.2 [4th cent. CE]) (see also *LSJ*, κοινός , ή, όν, and ός, όν). Oligarchs across the Greek East during the Imperial period developed both formal and informal trans-local alliances. See n. 147 for discussion of "the *koinon* of Asia" which Macro anachronistically describes as an exclusively religious institution which oversaw the provincial imperial cult that was situated in Pergamon. Informal alliances between *polis* oligarchs were based upon educational, cultural, and political commonalities (Judith Perkins, *Roman Imperial Identities in the Early Christian Era* [RMCS; New York: Routledge, 2009], 23–24).

2.2.7. Summary: Pauline Ekklēsiai *and Greco-Roman Politics*

When it comes to usages of the word *ekklēsia* within Paul's undisputed writings, I have suggested that, in its function as a permanent collective identity, *ekklēsia* reflects civic ideology for the creation of an alternative society that is not counter-imperial, nor a trans-local parallel political organization, but rather a trans-local Jewish voluntary association that was socially accessible to Greco-Roman participants, which, through its use of fictive political terminology, self-presented as a pro-'democratic,' counter-oligarchic participant in the ubiquitous "*ekklēsia* discourse" of the newly developing political culture of 1st century CE Greco-Roman society, particularly in Asia Minor.

The positive 'political' nature of these new pro-'democratic' communities particularly comes to the fore in the Corinthian correspondence. Paul's two (or three) letters are replete with examples of how comprehensively his new symbolic universe re-orders earthly politics. By prioritizing "agapic communalism" as the social expression of the "*nomos* of Christ" (1 Cor 9:21; 13:4-8a; Gal 6:2; cf. 5:14), love becomes the rationality (*nous*) to which all other human *nomoi* must conform. Paul's love-based, socio-ethnic *dēmokratia*, thus, undermines socio-economic stratification among the members of his Corinthian *ekklēsia*. Paul's *ekklēsia* politics also can be said to lead to societal change as the members of his *ekklēsiai* interact with their social and political worlds. This religio-political agenda diverges from the counter-imperial pictures painted of Paul by scholars such as Horsley and Donfried. Perhaps, in respect of *ekklēsia* related arguments, the time has now come to lay down the counter-imperial brush and re-paint Paul's *ekklēsiai* with more positive socio-political brushstrokes.

2.3. Ekklēsia *as Ethno-Religious Identity: Supersessionist Ideology?*

Not only do Paul's multi-ethnic *ekklēsiai* express pro-'democratic' ideology, their group designation also evokes pro-Jewish rhetoric. It accomplishes this in at least six respects. Three relate to Paul's portrayal of his communities as Jewish sacred space (1 Corinthians, Romans). He depicts his *ekklēsiai*: (1) as the body of the Jewish *Christos* (Messiah)[822]; (2) as the living temple of God; and (3) as a sacred synagogue community within which Christ-followers are metaphorically manumitted from enslavement to sin. The other three ways evoke uses of the word *ekklēsia* in Jewish sources. Two I have already explored. The word *ekklēsia* refers to two types of Jewish synagogue communities: diasporic semi-public associations, such as Philo's Alexandrian *ekklēsia* in *Virt*. 108, or public synagogue assemblies located in Judea. The other way still to be explored is the Septuagint's use of the word *ekklēsia* for the historical nation of Israel.

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[822] John J. Collins notes that one of the earliest usages of the term *Christos* for a coming Davidic king is found in the *Psalms of Solomon*, which can be dated to at least the mid-1st century BCE given historical allusions to the Hasmonean dynasty and the death of Pompey (48 BCE) (*The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* [New York: Doubleday, 1995], 49). Not all Jews in the 1st century CE, whether in Judea or the Diaspora, held messianic expectations. But some did. With respect to Judea, Josephus describes three kingly messianic pretenders (Judas, Simon, Athrongeus) who arrived in the wake of the death of Herod the Great (4 BCE; *B.J.* 2.55f). The sectarians at Qumran expected either one messiah ("the <messiah> of Aaron and Israel"; CD 12.23-13.1; 14:18, 19) or two ("the messiahs of Aaron and Israel"; 1QS 9.11; the priestly messiah and the messiah of Israel; 1QSa 2.11, 20). In *4QFlorilegium* (4Q174 10-11) the sectarian messiah is identified as "the branch of David" (see also 4Q285 5.iii). This identification of a messiah with the Davidic lineage is also evident in *Ps. Sol.* 17:21 ("son of David") and 17:32 (*christos kyrios*). According to Kenneth Atkinson these two titles are only used of messianic kings in post-HB literature ("On the Use of Scripture in the Development of Militant Davidic Messianism at Qumran: New Light from *Psalm of Solomon* 17," in *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity: Studies in Language and Tradition* [ed. C. A. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000], 106–23, esp. 107).

2.3.1. Ekklēsia *as the Body of the Jewish Messiah*

Paul metaphorically identifies his Corinthian *ekklēsia* and, later, the Roman

Christ-followers, with the body of the Jewish *Christos* (1 Cor 12:27; Rom 12:5).[823]

Scholars have proposed numerous sources from which Paul may have developed his idea

of bodily unity between Christ and his multi-ethnic *ekklēsia*.[824] Some scholars look for

Paul's source(s) in pre-existing literary and cultural constructs that include the Jewish

concept of corporate personality,[825] the Gnostic Redeemer myth,[826] the body of Adam

from rabbinic Judaism,[827] and the temple of Asclepius in Corinth.[828] Other scholars have

sought for the source of Paul's "body of (the) Christ" imagery in his experiences. These

include the Damascus Road theory[829] and the celebration of the Eucharist.[830]

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[823] Paul writes to the Corinthians, "Now you are the body of Christ and individually members of it. And God has appointed in the *ekklēsia* first apostles, second prophets, third teachers; then deeds of power, then gifts of healing, forms of assistance, forms of leadership, various kinds of tongues" (1 Cor 12:27, 28). Therein, Paul appears to parallel "the body of Christ" with "the *ekklēsia*," and "individual…members" with "apostles…prophets…teachers [etc.]." See also (deutero-)Pauline Col 1:18b, 24.

[824] See Robert Jewett's detailed discussion of possible sources for Paul's "body" metaphor in *Paul's Anthropological Terms: a Study of Their Use in Conflict Settings* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 200–304. See also Michelle V. Lee, *Paul*, *the Stoics, and the Body of Christ* (SNTS 137; Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 8.

[825] In this theory, Christ incorporates the church within himself analogous to the way in which a Hebrew Bible figure incorporated ancient Israel within himself as their inclusive representative. See the studies by Albert Schweitzer (*The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* [New York: Holt, 1931]) and Ernest Best (*Interpreting Christ* [New York/London: Continuum, 2000]).

[826] Ernst Käsemann, *Leib und Leib Christi* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1933); Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (2 vols.; New York: Scribner, 1951), 1:175–83; Walter Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth: an Investigation of the Letters to the Corinthians* (trans. John E. Steely; Nashville: Abingdon, 1971). The Gnostic *Urmensch* consisted of a gigantic body which came to earth. This body was imprisoned in the physical world. Although the *Urmensch* escaped, pieces of his body remained incarcerated on earth.

[827] W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1980), 55–57; Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 239–50. Paul is said to have derived the "body" metaphor from the rabbinic doctrine of the unity of humanity in Adam. In this perspective, Adam's body was symbolic of humanity's oneness. Paul's idea of new humanity "in Christ" enlivened by the Spirit is an analogous concept.

[828] Andrew Hill, "The Temple of Asclepius: An Alternative Source for Paul's Body Theology?" *JBL* 99 (1980): 437–39; Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Corinth* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1990), 165–67.

[829] Seyoon Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1984), 252–56. He argues that Paul's conception of the unity of Christ and his people came from his conversion experience

Michelle Lee argues for another source—Stoic conceptions of the universal body of humanity, otherwise known as cosmopolitanism.[831] Lee argues for conceptual intersections between Paul, and universalism, especially Stoic cosmopolitanism, since "Paul's method of linking community identity as a body and corporate ethical exhortation is similar to what is found in Stoic paraenesis."[832] This conjunction of body metaphor with ethical injunction is unheralded outside of Pauline and Stoic conceptions.[833]

Paul adds a Jewish twist to that Stoic body imagery, though, with the prepositional phrase "of *Christos*." Thus, Paul's exemplar of moral lifestyle is not simply a human sage. His exemplar is the resurrected Jewish *Christos*, Jesus. Paul's use of "the body of (the) *Christos*" metaphor (Rom 12:5) would have been particularly relevant in Nero's Rome given Seneca's promotion of Stoic thought. The predominantly gentile

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when the risen Christ encountered him ("Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?...I am Jesus who you persecute"). This is problematic in that, so far as Paul was concerned, he was directly persecuting the followers of Christ, not Christ himself.

[830] Lucien Cerfaux, *The Church in the Theology of St. Paul* (New York: Herder and Herder/London: Nelson, 1959), 262–82. Bodily union between Christ and the believer is said to occur through the Eucharist when the saint is in communion with the Lord's Body and Blood and participates in Christ's sacrifice.

[831] Lee, *Paul, the Stoics, and the Body of Christ* (2006). Daniel Richter's study on the reception history of *cosmopolis* conceptions suggests a definition of cosmopolitanism: "a set of ideas clustered around the principle that the human community is, biologically speaking, an undifferentiated whole" (*Cosmopolis: Imagining Community in Late Classical Athens and the Early Roman Empire* [Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011], 18). Richter (2011) does not include in his bibliography the important studies by Lee (*Paul, the Stoics, and the Body of Christ* [2006]) and Buell (*Why This New Race?* [2005]). Buell's study is broader than Lee's, both in the Christian sources she considers (1st and 2nd centuries CE) and in the ideological concerns she explores. Buell examines competing claims for universalism and ethnic identity in early Christianity.

[832] Lee, *Paul, the Stoics, and the Body of Christ*, 7. Robert Gundry notes that the "body of Christ" image only appears in paraenetic passages which deal with exhortation related to the relationships between Christ-followers. These passages comprise Romans 12–15 and 1 Corinthians 12–14 (*SOMA in Biblical Theology: With Emphasis on Pauline Anthropology* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976], 228).

[833] Michelle Lee cites the unpublished dissertation of Leigh Clasby Viner who "argues that exemplars, as especially seen in the Stoic sage, are used in conjunction with principles in Stoic ethics. In particular, 'such exemplars help to bridge the gap between the individual moral choices and actions'" ("Moral Paradigms and the Stoic Sage" [Ph.D. diss., Duquesne University, 2002], 3; cited in Lee, *Paul, the Stoics, and the Body of Christ*, 199).

population in the Roman community of Christ-followers[834] would have gained increased

missional relevance with their Greco-Roman neighbours when using what, on the

surface, appears to be a recognizably Stoic conception—"the (universal) body (politic)."

Jewish Christ-followers would also have benefited. The predominantly gentile

Roman community still had longstanding ties with the apostles in Jerusalem.[835] Through

Paul's portrayal of all Roman Christ-followers as one unified (Stoic) body of (the Jewish)

Christos, he implicitly legitimates the right of the recently returned Jewish Christ-

followers, including his *ekklēsia* leaders Aquila and Priscilla, to equal participation as

members and leaders of that "body" of Christ-followers in Rome.

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[834] I intentioally avoid attaching the name *ekklēsia* to the original community of Roman Christ-followers. William Campbell, among others, points out that the only group of Christ-followers in Rome whom Paul specifically addresses as *ekklēsia* was a small group who met in the house of Aquila and Priscilla (Rom 16:3-5a) ("The Addressees of Paul's Letter to the Romans: Assemblies of God in House Churches and Synagogues?" in *Between Gospel and Election: Explorations in the Interpretation of Romans 9–11* [ed. F. Wilk and J. R. Wagner, with the assistance of F. Schleritt; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010], 171–95, esp. 181). Along with Jewett (*Romans*, 61), a number of scholars contend that at least five "house churches" are represented in Paul's greetings section, four of which are headed by gentile leaders. See Wolfgang Wiefel ("The Jewish Community in Ancient Rome and the Origins of Roman Christianity," in *The Romans Debate* [rev. and exp. ed.; ed. K. P. Donfried; Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 1991], 85–101, esp. 95–101); Paul S. Minear (*The Obedience of Faith: The Purposes of Paul in the Epistle to the Romans* [Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2003], 7); J. D. G. Dunn (*Romans* [2 vols.; WBC 38A, B; Dallas: Word Books, 1988], 2:891); and Peter Lampe ("The Roman Christians of Romans 16," in *The Romans Debate* [rev. and exp. ed.; ed. K. P. Donfried; Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 1991], 216–30, esp. 229–30). The five house congregations are said to be: the *ekklēsia* in the *oikos* of Prisca and Aquila (16:5a), those among the slaves of Aristoboulus (16:10b), those among the slaves of Narkissos (16:11b), *hoi adelphoi* ("the brothers") who are with Asynkritos et al. (16:14b), *hoi hagioi* ("the holy ones") who are with Philologos et al. (16:15b). Jewett cites prosopographic evidence to the effect that gentile leaders were in charge of the four non-*ekklēsia* groups (*Romans*, 953). Bernard Green challenges the concept of multiple Roman congregations altogether with his claim that there was only one *ekklēsia* in first-century Rome (*Christianity in Ancient Rome: The First Three Centuries* [London/New York: T&T Clark, 2010]). This is, of course, problematic if the only Christ-followers in Rome who were part of an *ekklēsia* were those who met in the house of Aquila and Priscilla (Rom 16:3-5a).

[835] In Acts 2, Jews from a number of regions throughout the Roman empire are said to have heard Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost, some of whom came to faith in Jesus as the *Christos* (2:36-41). This group could be said to include Jews who came from Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia (Acts 2:9; cf. 1 Peter 1:1) and Jews and gentile proselytes from Rome (Acts 2:10; Rom 1:7, *klētoi hagioi*).

2.3.2. Ekklēsia *as a Living Temple of the Jewish God*

Another way in which Paul depicts his multi-ethnic *ekklēsiai* as Jewish sacred

space is as fictive architecture, specifically as the temple of God (*naos theou*).[836] Paul is

not alone among Jewish Second Temple or New Testament writers in his conception of a

people as a temple.[837] He is alone, though, in conceiving of a people-group named

ekklēsia as a fictive *naos*.

The Covenanters at Qumran are one Jewish community which fictively self-

identified as the Temple. In CD, they refer to themselves as "a holy house."[838] A more

explicit identification of the community with the Temple is found in 1QS 8.5-6. Therein

the "council of the Community" is called "a holy house for Israel [i.e., Temple] and the

foundation of the holy of holies of Aaron."[839] The Covenanters' self-portrayal as Jewish

sacred space was exclusivist, even supersessionist, in nature. David Aune claims that

their self-identification as a temple of God was "an intermediate situation in which they

rejected the existing temple cult and lived in expectation of the rebuilding of the true and

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[836] Individual Christ-followers are depicted as being the temple of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 6:19, 20). The corporate body of Christ-followers is also portrayed as a temple of God (local *ekklēsia*: 1 Cor 3:16, 17; 2 Cor 6: 16; universal *ekklēsia*: Eph 2:19-22).

[837] Bertil Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 57. See also R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament* (OTM; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969); Robert A. Briggs, *Jewish Temple Imagery in the Book of Revelation* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1999); Beate Ego, Armin Lange, and Peter Pilhofer, eds., *Gemeinde ohne Tempel: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999); and David Mathewson, "A Note on the Foundation Stones in Revelation 21:14, 19-20," *JSNT* 25/4 (2003): 487–98.

[838] "Holy house": 1QS 5.6; 8.5, 9; 9.6; 22.8; CD 3.19; 20.10, 13. "City of iniquity": 1QpHab 10.10. See Devorah Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (CRINT II; ed. M. E. Stone; Assen, NL: Van Gorcum, 1984), 483–550, esp. 514.

[839] The Hebrew translated "the holy of holies of Aaron" reads קודש קודשים לאהרון.

unpolluted eschatological temple."[840] The Covenanters apparently saw themselves as the living replacement for the corrupt Temple and its establishment.

By contrast, Paul's temple metaphors are ideologically ambiguous. Bertil Gärtner makes four observations from 2 Cor 6:14-18: (1) the community is identified as the "the temple of God"; (2) this 'living temple' is indwelt by the Spirit of God; (3) the indwelling Holy Spirit makes the 'living temple' holy; (4) this holy state demands holy living from each member of the 'living temple.'[841] The key question, however, is whether Paul's metaphorical conflation of Jewish temple and Christ-follower community reflects supersessionist theology. Bertil Gärtner thinks so. He argues that the implication of the Spirit of God 'dwelling' in the Christ-follower *ekklēsia* is that "God's *Shekinah* no longer rests on the Jerusalem temple, but has been removed to the Church."[842] In this he implicitly aligns Pauline 'living temple' imagery with the replacement ideology of the Covenanters at Qumran who also saw themselves as the 'living temple.'

Gärtner's supersessionist conclusion is not a necessary one, though. Paul's metaphorical transformation of his Corinthian *ekklēsia* into the temple of God could just as readily have been a way for Paul to merge his Christ-followers with their Jewish ethno-religious roots, rather than as a way to differentiate them from a Jewish heritage. John Lanci, Albert Hogeterp, Nijay Gupta and Paula Fredriksen each argue that Paul does not replace the Temple in Jerusalem with his *ekklēsia* of Christ-followers in Corinth. They contend, rather, that his depiction of his multi-ethnic *ekklēsia* as fictive Jewish

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[840] Aune, "Qumran and the Book of Revelation," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (ed. P. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2.622–48, esp. 2.641.
[841] Gärtner, *The Temple*, 57–60.
[842] Gärtner, *The Temple*, 58.

architecture presents Christ-followers as an indelible part of pluriform Second Temple

Judaism.[843]

Paul is not the sole New Testament writer to depict Christ-followers as a 'living

temple.' Other works such as the Gospel of John and 1 Peter follow suit either explicitly

(1 Pet 2:4-5; 4:17) [844] or implicitly (John 14:2, cf. 2:19-22).[845] John uses temple

terminology metaphorically of all Christ-followers (John 14:2; "my Father's house"). His

phrase "Father's house" is not terminology that is symbolic of "heaven."[846] Although

these two writings depict their Christ-followers as a temple of God, neither employs

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[843] John R. Lanci points out some significant problems with the interpretation that Paul sought to replace the Jerusalem Temple with the Corinthian community (*A New Temple for Corinth: Rhetorical and Archaeological Approaches to Pauline Imagery* [SBL 1; New York: Peter Lang, 1997], 11–18). In a similar vein, see also Albert Hogeterp (*Paul and God's Temple: A Historical Interpretation of Cultic Imagery in the Corinthian Correspondence* [BTS 2; Leuven: Peeters, 2006], 358), Nijay K. Gupta (*Worship That Makes Sense to Paul: A New Approach to the Theology and Ethics of Paul's Cultic Metaphors* [Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010], 205–11), and Paula Fredriksen, "Judaizing the Nations," 232–52. Fredriksen counters supersessionist interpretations of 1 Cor 3:16, 6:19, and 2 Cor 6:16: "I argue the opposite: Paul praises the new community by likening it to something that he values supremely. If he valued the temple less, he would not use it as his touchstone. This is not an either/or situation: for Paul, God's spirit dwells *both* in Jerusalem's temple *and* in the 'new temple' of the believer and of the community (Rom 9.4; cf. Matt 23.21)" ("Judaizing the Nations," 248 [author's emphasis]).

[844] 1 Pet 2:5 reads, in part, "like living stones, let yourselves be built into a spiritual house."

[845] For a fuller discussion of the Gospel of John's implicit portrayal of Christ-followers as a living Temple, see Robert Gundry, "In my Father's House are many μοναί (John 14:2)," *ZNW* 57 (1967): 68–72; Mary Coloe, *Dwelling in the Household of God: Johannine Ecclesiology and Spirituality* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2007); and Ralph J. Korner, "The Gospel of John's Jesus: the Way into a Place, into a People, or into a Person?" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New Orleans, LA, 22 November, 2009), 1–12.

[846] See Korner, "The Gospel of John's Jesus?" 1–12. I argue that the New Testament understanding of people as sacred space challenges an exclusivist soteriology that finds its basis in John 14:6 ("I am the way, the truth and the life"). Specifically, by recasting "the father's house" (John 14:2) as the "Temple/New Jerusalem/people of God," rather than as "heaven," the focus of interpretation moves away from Jesus as "the way" for one to enter a *place* ("heaven") towards Jesus as "the way" for one to enter a *people* ("the living Temple"). Additionally, then, the emphasis of Jesus' statement in John 14:6b ("no one comes to the Father except through me") shifts away from claiming a mediatory role for his disciples' access to the place where the Father resides ("heaven") towards an assertion of Jesus' unique role in mediating the disciples' direct access to the Father during their earthly lifetime for the purposes of ministry effectiveness (John 14:7-13) and personal intimacy (John 14:20-23).

ekklēsia terminology, nor correlates *ekklēsia* with that temple of God.[847] This reinforces

the need to avoid translating *ekklēsia* as "church" if, by the word "church," one means a

collective designation that was used universally by all Christ-followers in the early Jesus

movement. Only some Christ-followers are identified in the New Testament as belonging

to, or self-designating as, an *ekklēsia*.

2.3.3. Ekklēsia *as a Sacred Jewish Synagogue*

A third way in which an *ekklēsia* identity expresses a Jewish heritage extends out

from Paul's presentation of the Corinthian *ekklēsia* as a living temple (*naos*). Paul's

depiction of the Corinthians as Jewish sacred space places his *ekklēsia* into metaphorical

continuity with Greek and Jewish manumission *praxis*. Contemporaneous Greek

manumission protocol in Delphi involved the manumission of slaves within a sacred

structure (e.g., the temple of the Pythian Apollo),[848] with the occasional ratification by

decree of a civic *ekklēsia*.[849] Paul analogously depicts his Corinthian "*ekklēsia* cum *naos*"

as a legitimating 'site' for the fictive manumission of Christ-followers from their old

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[847] 1 Peter uses a pluralistic identity (*Christianoi*) not a collective one (e.g., *ekklēsia*), for its addressees in Asia Minor (1 Pet 4: 16).

[848] Elizabeth Leigh Gibson notes that over 1300 manumission inscriptions from central Greece have been recovered. These span four centuries and recount release ceremonies at the temple of the Pythian Apollo (*The Jewish Manumission Inscriptions of the Bosporus Kingdom: Release in the Prayer House* [TSAJ 75; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1999], 37). Of these, there are at least 15 inscriptions which include a reference to the civic *ekklēsia* as the legitimating authority (See Appendix #5).

[849] Greek manumission ceremonies, especially those practiced in central Greece (e.g., Delphi; 4th cent. BCE to 1st cent. CE), routinely recount that the official redemption payment (*timas*) (whether figurative or literal) is made in a temple to a god, most often in the temple at Delphi to the Pythian Apollo. Occasionally, this transaction, which involved the change of a slave's status (e.g., *aphēkē eleutheron*, "set free") into a "freedperson" (*apeleutheros*), is formally enacted through a public decree that is authorized within a civic *ekklēsia*. An inscription is then commissioned to officially commemorate the manumission (e.g., *FD* III 2:120; Delphi, uncertain date), upon which official witnesses (*martyres*) are also noted. Sometimes these guarantors are the temple priests themselves (e.g., *FD* III 6:31, Delphi, 1–20 CE). The primary purpose of these *martyres* or "human guarantors…[is to] act as the god's agent, insuring that potential claimants not harass the former slave" (Runesson, Binder and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 154).

master called "sin" to a new master, Jesus the Jewish *Christos* (1 Cor 7:17-24).[850] Paul's

fictive manumission ideology reflects the manumission ceremonies of Bosporan Jews (1st

to 4th cents. CE),[851] which, in turn, mirror Delphic manumission *praxis*.

Jews of the Bosporus Kingdom, however, do not set a slave's formal release

(*aphiēmi*) into freedom (*eleutheria*) within the context of a pagan temple.[852] Rather, the

manumission of slaves by Jewish owners is set within a sacred synagogal structure

(*proseuchē*)[853] and adjudicated under the auspices of the previous owner's heirs and "the

synagogue of the Jews" (*tēs synagōgēs tōn Ioudaiōn*).[854]

Given that *ekklēsia* also is a Jewish synagogue term, and since Paul considers his

Corinthian *ekklēsia* as Jewish sacred space ("temple of God," 1 Cor 3:16, 17), Pauline

Christ-followers and the Bosporan Jewish synagogue community share a common

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[850] See also Rom 6:17-19. If one assumes that the Roman Christ-followers, in general, do not self-designate as an *ekklēsia*, then Paul is consistent in not using *ekklēsia* terminology in his pericope on fictive manumission in Romans 6.

[851] The Bosporus Kingdom (1st to 4th cents. CE) was located along the north shore of the Black Sea, above the Asia Minor region of Bithynia and Pontus, both of which formed the south shore of the Black Sea.

[852] The manumission of Jewish slaves by Greek owners, however, was enacted within pagan temples. One example is the only manumission inscription found among the many epigraphic remains of Oropus (3rd cent. BCE), a *polis* that is situated along the Boeotian-Attic border. The Greek text and translation is by David M. Lewis: "…Phrynidas (will release) Moschos to be free [τὸν εἶναι ἐλεύθερον] dependent on no one man. But if anything happens to Phrynidas (i.e., if he dies) before the time elapses [πρότου τὸγ χρόνον διεξελθεῖν], let Moschos go free [ἐλεύθερος ἀπίτω μόσχος] wherever he wishes. To Good Fortune [Τύχηι ἀγαθῆι]. Witnesses [μάρτυρες]…(Set up) by Moschos son of Moschion the Jew at the command of the god Amphiaraos and the goddess Health [τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τῆς Γιειὰς]…commanded [συνέταξε] to write it [ἀναθεῖναι] on stone and set it up on the altar [πρὸς τῶι Βωμῶι]" ("The First Greek Jew," *JSS* 2.3 [1957]: 264–66, esp. 264).

[853] For example, *CIRB* 70/*CIJ* 1.683 (81 CE): ἀφείημι ἐπὶ τῆς π[ρο]σευχῆς θρεπτόν μου Ἡρακλᾶν ἐλεύθερον.

[854] *CIRB* 70/*CIJ* 1.683 reads, in part, συνεπινευσάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν κληρ<ο>νόμων μου Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Ἑλικωνιάδος, συνε[πιτ]ροπευούσης δὲ καὶ τῆ[ς] συναγωγῆ[ς] τῶν Ἰουδαίων ("both with the consent of my heirs Heraclides and Heliconias and with the joint guardianship of the congregation of the Jews"; translation by Runesson, Binder, and Olsson [*ASSB*, no. 124]). Gibson demonstrates convincingly that Jews of the 1st century CE did own slaves and that they followed, and adapted, Greco-Roman protocol regarding the management of slaves (*Jewish Manumission Inscriptions*, 66–70).

function: as sacred communities, they play host to, and legitimate thereby, the

manumission of slaves, whether metaphorical (Corinth) or real (Bosporus Kingdom).

Paul's missionary travels may have apprised him of Bosporan Jewish

manumission *praxis*. During his second missionary journey (49–52 CE), according to

Acts 15:36–18:22, while en route to Troas, Paul journeyed through the province of

Mysia, south of the Black Sea (Acts 16:7, 8). His inspiration to sacralize his non-civic

ekklēsiai may also have come from his time in Mysia, or perhaps simply while in

Ephesos.[855] Only a few years after his Mysian visit, Paul wrote his Corinthian and Roman

correspondence, the only two of his undisputed epistles wherein he depicts Christ-

followers as Jewish sacred space.[856]

One factor which distinguishes Paul's manumission ideology from Roman-style

manumission procedures is Paul's allusion to the ongoing *paramonē* obligations

mandated of manumitted slaves (1 Cor 7:24b; *menetō para theou*). *Paramonē* clauses are

found in one-fourth of Delphic Greek inscriptions and are replicated in Bosporan Jewish

manumission ceremonies.[857] A *paramonē* clause is a legal requirement for the new

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[855] See n. 209 for the Greek text of the seven inscriptions which attribute a sacral dimension to their civic *ekklēsia* through their use of the phrase "*hiera ekklēsia*." Five of the inscriptions are from Asia Minor, with two hailing from Mysia and three from Ephesos.

[856] Paul's Corinthian correspondence was completed *c*. 55 CE and his Roman epistle *c*. 57 CE (at the earliest).

[857] Of the 1300+ manumission inscriptions from central Greece, 302 of them include a *paramonē* style clause (παραμονῇ; παραμενέτω; παραμεινάτω; παραμ<ε>ίνασαν). Of these 302 inscriptions from central Greece, 5 include pair the word *ekklēsia* with a *paramonē* style clause. They hail from the region of Phokis, in which Delphi is situated. The five inscriptions are *FD* III 6:31 (Delphi, 1–20 CE), *FD* III 6:27 (Delphi, 1–20 CE), *IG* IX,1 193 (Tithora, beginning of the 2nd cent. BCE), *IG* IX,1 126 (Elateia, 2nd cent. BCE), and *FD* III 2:120 (Delphi, n.d.). See Appendix #5 for full text of the Greek inscriptions.

"freedperson" (*apeleutheros*) to "remain with" (e.g., *parameinatō*)[858] his previous owner

until that owner dies.[859] In this regard, Greek manumission is not emancipation.

In analogous fashion to the Greek *paramonē* clause, the manumitted slave of a

Jewish owner is also placed under ongoing obligations. Unlike Greek *praxis*, however,

those obligations are not to the previous owner. Rather, the Bosporan *apeleutheros* is

obligated to a new owner—the *proseuchē* ("prayer hall").[860] Anders Runesson, Donald

Binder, and Birger Olsson claim that the sacredness of the *proseuchē*[861] is demonstrated

in the manumitted slave being enjoined to show both "deference and devotion" (*thōpeias*

and *proskarterēseōs*) to the *proseuchē* under the auspices of the synagogue

community.[862] Elizabeth Leigh Gibson contends that this implicit *paramonē* duty

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[858] *FD* III 6:31 (*c.* 20 CE) reads, in part, παραμενέτω δὲ Τρυ[φ]έρα Νίκωνι πάντα τὸν τᾶς ζωᾶς αὐτ<οῦ> χρόνον ποιοῦσα τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἀνενκ[λ]ήτως.

[859] Gibson clarifies that in Greek manumission procedures "service for the life of the former owner was the most common *paramonē* obligation, but a variety of other arrangements were possible. These include providing service for a limited number of years (*SGDI* 1742), maintaining a grave site (*SGDI* 1775, 1796, 1801, 1807), providing replacement slaves (*SGDI* 1717), learning a trade (*SGDI* 1899 and 1904), serving a designated party after the original owner's death (*SGDI* 1742, 1747, and 1884), and agreeing to live in a specific town (*SGDI* 1774 and 1801)" (*Jewish Manumission Inscriptions*, 40, 26).

[860] *CIRB* 70/*CIJ* 1.683 (81 CE) reads, in part, ἀφείημι ἐπὶ τῆς π[ρο]σευχῆς θρεπτόν μου Ἡρακλᾶν ἐλεύθερον.

[861] Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 154. The ascription of a sacred status to a *proseuchē* is not unknown in early Judaism(s). Philo's description of the pogrom in Alexandria (38 CE) includes a comment that the Jews feared that *proseuchai* elsewhere in the Roman empire would be desecrated with the Emperor's images (*Flacco* 45, 47). Commenting on this, Jutta Leonhardt states that "these places must have had a sacred status" (*Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria* [TSAJ 84; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001], 76). Epigraphic evidence adds additional evidence of a sacred status: Egyptian kings granted Jewish *proseuchai* the same inviolate status as temples (*asylon*) (e.g., *JIGRE*, no. 125).

[862] *CIRB* 70/*CIJ* 1.683 reads, χωρὶς ἰς τ[ὴ]ν προσευχὴν θωπείας τε καὶ προσκα[ρτε][ρ]ήσεω[ς] συνεπινευσάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν κληρ<ο>νόμων μου Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Ἑλικωνιάδος, συνε[πιτ]ροπευούσης δὲ καὶ τῆ[ς] συναγωγῆ[ς] τῶν Ἰουδαίων ("except that he show devotion and diligence toward the prayer hall; both with the consent of my heirs Heraclides and Heliconias and with the joint guardianship of the congregation of the Jews"; translation by Runesson, Binder, and Olsson [*ASSB*, no. 124]). Examples of inscriptions which suggest that synagogues were considered sacred include *JIGRE* 9 (*CIJ* 2.1433; 2nd cent. BCE[?]; "the sacred [precinct] [*hieros peribolos*] and the prayer hall [*proseuchē*]"; *ASSB*, no. 143) and *JIGRE* 24 (*CIJ* 2.1441; [140–116 BCE]; *ASSB*, no. 159). Examples of Jewish literary sources which view synagogues as sacred space include Philo (*Flacc.* 41–53; Alexandrian *proseuchai* are said to possess "sacred precincts" [*hieros peribolos*] [40–41 CE]; *ASSB*, no. 138), Josephus (*A. J.* 16:162–65; a decree of

involves the provision of labour services,[863] rather than requiring conversion into a god-fearer.[864] If the main purpose of Bosporan Jewish *proseuchai* was the same as that claimed by Jutta Leonhardt for Alexandrian *proseuchai* during Philo's time, then a sacred *proseuchē* provides the opportunity "to show reverence to benefactors" for their euergetism through the reciprocity of "praise and thanksgiving."[865] The provision of labour services is a very practical way of extending ongoing "praise and thanksgiving" to the newly manumitted slave's 'benefactors,' that is, to the entire synagogue community.

It is only in 1 Cor 7:21-24 that we find the juxtaposition of manumission ideology with *ekklēsia* terminology. Paul teaches the Corinthian slaves and masters that, upon becoming members of the *ekklēsia*, their social status, but not necessarily their social stratum, reverses.[866] A slave (*doulos*) whom Christ has redeemed is now called a "freedperson in the Lord" (1 Cor 7:22, *apeleutheros kyriou*), while a "freeperson" (*ho*

Caesar Augustus which presumes synagogues as being sacred and inviolable; *ASSB*, no. 120), and mishnaic texts (*m. Meg.* 3:1-3, esp. 1 [200 CE]; the sale of a community's synagogue building to an individual is said to "degrade its sanctity"; *ASSB*, no. 82)

[863] The word θωπεία is variously translated as "deference" (Runesson, Binder and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 156, 158) or "diligence" (Binder, http://www.pohick.org/sts/bosporus.html; accessed March 21, 2011). Gibson contends that θωπεία, which is frequently required from the ex-slaves in the inscriptions, is "the attitude with which the servant should perform his service" (*Jewish Manumission Inscriptions*, 148). David Noy (RBL review 03/25/2000) applauds her translation over against Liddell and Scott's "flattery, adulation" (p. 373).

[864] Gibson contends that the slaves' own religious position was irrelevant, contra Levinskaya who sees manumitted slaves as being an important source of godfearers (Irina Levinskaya, *The Book of Acts in its Diaspora Setting* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996]). With respect to the singular phrase *theon sebōn* in *CIRB* 71, Runesson, Binder, and Olsson note that even though the emendation suggested by Bellen and Lifshitz (*theo{n}sebōn*) is problematic, it does accord with the fact that "the release requirements prescribed…would be necessary only if the freed slaves were Gentiles" (*Ancient Synagogue*, 160).

[865] Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria*, 67–69, 71–73.

[866] Stegemann and Stegemann differentiate between social stratum and social status (*The Jesus Movement*, 61). Any stratification analysis essentially presupposes social inequality. Social stratum is a measure of one's political and economic assets. Social status is a less concrete measure. Status relates primarily to the esteem in which a person is held by those within his circle of influence. Status also tends to vary depending on one's social circle. Thus, a person's status will fluctuate when talking about his/her family status, or status within a religious group or a guild, and so forth. A stratification system cannot express this multidimensional social situation and it does not have to. Strictly speaking it considers only the social system called *society*.

eleutheros) is now considered "a slave of Christ" (1 Cor 7:22, *doulos Christou*).[867] This leveling of the social playing field, so to speak, releases each Christ-follower from enslavement to socio-economic stratification so that they can practice unrestricted social interaction whenever they gather for displays of "socio-ethnic *dēmokratia*" *en ekklēsia* (e.g., Gal 3:28; "no longer slave nor free").

Paul follows up his comments about status equalization among *ekklēsia* members with a concluding statement. Its ambiguity has long puzzled scholars (1 Cor 7:24b): "In whatever condition you were called, brothers and sisters, there remain with God."[868] If one translates *menetō para theō* (7:24b) with an eye to the *paramonē* formula (e.g., *paramenetō*, *FD* III 6:27), then Paul invites the Corinthians to subject their obligation to human masters (7:23) under a higher obligation to God (7:24b). This *paramonē*-style obligation lasts for as long as God, their master and 'benefactor,' lives.[869] Since God lives forever, each *doulos* of Christ has a *lifelong* obligation to God the Father, and, by familial extension, to their Father's sacred synagogue institution, the "*naos* of God" (1 Cor 3:16, 17), also called the "*ekklēsia* of God" (Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:1). Thus, in 1 Cor 7:24b, Paul's

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[867] Dale Martin states that Paul "does not simply redefine the status of Christian slaves; he also redefines the status of free Christians" (*Slavery As Salvation: The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990], 65).

[868] 1 Cor 7:24 reads, ἕκαστος ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθη, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τούτῳ μενέτω παρὰ θεῷ.

[869] Paul's apparent analogy to a Greek *paramonē* clause is not precise. In Greek *praxis* a manumitted slave is obligated to serve their *old* master for the duration of that master's life. In Paul's fictive schema, the manumitted slave of "sin" is no longer obligated to serve their old master, not because the old master "sin" has died, but, rather, because the *slave* has died to their old master (Rom 6:2, 6, 7). The flip side of that same coin is that each Christ-follower becomes the slave of a new master, "righteousness" (Rom 6:18) and, thus, to God himself (Rom 6:22), through their participation in the resurrected life of Jesus the *Christos* (Rom 6:4, 5, 11). Now that each *doulos* of God is alive in Christ, their *paramonē* obligation is to be directed to him as their new master (and to their new master's community of *Christos*-followers). In this regard, they are to "present [their] members to God as instruments of righteousness" (Rom 6:13).

implicit message could be that within the Father's surrogate sacred *proseuchē*—the *ekklēsia*—each *doulos* manumitted from sin is to praise and thank God (1 Cor 14:15-17).

The letter to the Philippians contains explicit evidence that the apostle Paul was acquainted with Greek manumission practices, and in particular with the *paramonē* clause. In Phil 1:1 Paul affirms his status as a *doulos* of Christ Jesus. In Phil 1:25 he indicates his familiarity with Greek *paramonē* obligations in that he employs the literal meaning of the simple form of *menō* and the metaphorical meaning of the compound form (*paramenō*), and both within the space of a single sentence.[870] In 1:25a Paul says that he will physically remain with the Philippians (*menō*). In 1:25b he states why he chooses physically to remain with them: as a *doulos* of Christ Jesus (1:1), he has a lifelong apostolic obligation (*paramenō*) to Christ's *ekklēsia* in Philippi to help them find fullness of life in Christ ("for your progress and joy in the faith"; 1:25c).[871]

One could summarize Paul's fictive manumission ideology as follows: Paul portrays the *ekklēsia* of Christ-followers as a sacred Jewish synagogal 'place' *within which* individual Christ-followers are metaphorically manumitted from their previous master "sin," *towards which* individual Christ-followers are to remain obligated for life

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[870] Phil 1:25 reads, in part, οἶδα ὅτι μενῶ καὶ παραμενῶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν προκοπὴν καὶ χαρὰν τῆς πίστεως.

[871] Friedrich Hauck notes that "in Phil. 1:25 Paul characteristically changes the expected avoidance of martyrdom (μένειν, "to remain alive") into the ethical παραμενῶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν προκοπὴν καὶ χαρὰν τῆς πίστεως...Selfish desires are subordinated to the service and furtherance of the congregation" ("παραμένω," *TDNT* 4:578). The verb παραμένω only occurs twice in Paul's writings (1 Cor 16:6; Phil 1:25), and only two additional times in the rest of the New Testament (Heb 7:23; James 1:25). James' injunction that "a hearer [of the word]" must be a "doer of the work" would have held greater ethical import for his hearing/reading audience if the command (παραμείνας) would have been understood as placing a *paramonē* obligation upon each hearer, both towards their synagogal community (2:2) and to their *ekklēsia* association (5:14). It is understandable that Hauck neglects to observe such allusional connections since he only cites Greek literary sources; he does not investigate epigraphic sources, and, thus, any Greek manumission inscriptions, in his consideration of παραμένω occurrences.

through displays of righteous *praxeis* to *ekklēsia* members, *for whom* their primary allegiance is to a new master, "God," and *to whom* is due their undying praise and thanksgiving for His eternal benefaction of grace.

2.3.4. Ekklēsia *as Jewish Sacred Space and Paul's Gentile Mission*

Paul's portrayals of his *ekklēsiai* as Jewish sacred space (body, temple, synagogue) positions his communities as being the fulfillment of prophetic texts which speak of the eschatological return of Jews and the pilgrimage of gentiles.[872] It is in the *eschaton* that all ethnicities are envisioned as streaming to the cosmic mountain upon which sit both Jerusalem, also known as the "centre of the earth" (Isa 24:13; Ezek 38:12),[873] and the temple of God (Isa 2:1-4; 45:14; 66:20). Ezekiel adds a messianic connection. He pictures God making "the region around [his cosmic] hill a blessing" (Ezek 34:26) by sending his messianic shepherd David to tend the sheep of Israel (Ezek 34:20-31).

Paul could be conflating eschatological pilgrimage imagery in the identification of his multi-ethnic *ekklēsiai* as Jewish sacred space. His *ekklēsiai* of "the Jerusalem above" (Gal 1:1; 4:26) are symbolically depicted as eschatological communities, each of which is a temple of God (1 Cor 1:2; 3:16, 17), a sacred site for freeing gentile and Jewish slaves (1 Cor 7:17-24), and the body of the Jewish *Christos* (1 Cor 12:27, 28). It should be noted, though, that Paul does not personally subscribe to the eschatological pilgrimage

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[872] Some Second Temple Jews expected that "Israel's full restoration…[would] set the stage for an eschatological pilgrimage of the nations" (Terrance L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997], 193).

[873] Isa 24:13 reads, "in the midst/belly of the earth" (בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ). Ezek 38:12 reads, "the center of the earth" (טַבּוּר הָאָרֶץ).

theology of some Second Temple Jews.[874] As Terrence Donaldson points out, the "fullness" of the gentiles occurs during the time before Israel is saved (Rom 11), not in the *eschaton* after Israel is saved. Thus, the most one can say is that the "Gentile mission is linked more to the 'not yet' of Paul's eschatological duality than to its 'already.'"[875]

Paul's multi-ethnic *ekklēsiai*, then, become fitting spatial 'locations,' or 'geographical' centrepoints, if you will, for the influx of gentiles (and Jews) into communities whose risen Messiah has already inaugurated the *eschaton*, but not yet completed it. Thus, if a Corinthian interlocutor had asked Paul, "Where do the Jews and gentiles assemble in the *eschaton*?" Paul may very well have responded with, "it is already happening (1 Cor 10:11) in the *ekklēsia* (meeting; 14:28) of the multi-ethnic *ekklēsia tou theou* (community of God; 1 Cor 1:2)[876] in Corinth among whom the *eschaton* has already been inaugurated by the resurrection of the Messiah" (1 Cor 15:1-58).[877]

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[874] Regarding Romans 11, Donaldson notes that: "It is the 'fullness of the Gentiles'—the completion of the Gentile mission—that brings the period of Israel's rejection to an end, and triggers the final salvation of 'all Israel' (vv. 25-26), the resurrection of the dead (v. 15), and so on. Israel's full restoration, far from setting the stage for an eschatological pilgrimage of the nations, actually brings the period of Gentile salvation to an end" (*Paul*, 193).

[875] Donaldson, *Paul*, 193.

[876] B. J. Oropeza suggests the possibility that Paul's term *ekklēsia tou theou* (e.g., 1 Cor 1:2) may "have been derived from the apocalyptic idea of a holy assembly that would arise in the last days" (LXX Joel 2:16; *hagiasate ekklēsian*) (review of Paul Trebilco, *Self-designations and Group Identity in the New Testament*, *RBL* 10/2013, 1–5, esp. 4; see also Oropeza's forthcoming commentary on 2 Corinthians for the Rhetoric of Religious Antiquity series [ed. Vernon Robbins and Duane Watson; Blandford Forum, UK: Deo Press]). Oropeza surmises further that since Paul, and Luke, reference Joel 2:28-32 "in relation to Christian conversion by calling on the name of the Lord, and [that] the passage is associated with the last days…the text of Joel, then, would seem to be influential for early Christian self-identity, and perhaps it influenced the movement's self-perception as an end-time *ekklēsia* anticipated in the prophetic discourse" (*RBL* 10/2013, 4).

[877] Paul has been said to evince "inaugurated eschatology," otherwise known as an "already/not yet" theological schema. G. E. Ladd succinctly summarizes this theological position: "For the believer the 'ends of the ages' have arrived (*ta tele ton aionon*, 1 Cor 10:11). It is possible that this unique expression is used precisely to designate the fact that the two ages—this age and the Age to Come—overlap, that the first

2.3.5. The Ekklēsia *of Israel (LXX)*

Paul not only evokes pro-Jewish rhetoric through his three-fold depiction of

Christ-follower *ekklēsiai* as Jewish sacred space. He also does so by collectively

designating his communities with the same Greek term (*ekklēsia*) that is used in the LXX

for the ethno-religious nation of Israel (e.g., LXX Josh 8:35).[878] He is not alone among

Second-Temple Jews in lexically correlating a sub-group with the *qhl* of Israel. First, the

LXX uses *ekklēsia* only in translation of the Hebrew word *qhl*.[879] Second, the

Covenanters use *qhl* as a sub-group identity within the Damascus Document (CD),[880]

4Q396 and 1QSa,[881] but not in 1QS where *yahad* is their self-designation of choice.[882]

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part of the Age to Come reaches back into the last part of the old age, so that the period between the resurrection and the parousia is a period 'between the times,' or better, a period that belongs to two times" (*A Theology of the New Testament*, 371). For Ladd's full discussion of Paul's "already/not yet" eschatology see pp. 360–73. For a discussion of the related concept "inaugurated eschatology," see Stanley Grenz, *Theology for the Community of God* (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1994), 793–796. Paul's *ekklēsia* can be said to be an eschatological community in the sense that Jesus, the risen and enthroned *Christos*, is already present invisibly in the midst of his Christ-followers, who now await his visible revelation at the future *parousia*.

[878] In LXX Josh 8:35, God's covenantal people are still called ἐκκλησία (HB: *qāhāl*) after having entered the land: οὐκ ἦν ῥῆμα ἀπὸ πάντων, ὧν ἐνετείλατο Μωυσῆς τῷ Ἰησοῖ, ὃ οὐκ ἀνέγνω Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὰ ὦτα πάσης ἐκκλησίας υἱῶν Ισραηλ, τοῖς ἀνδράσιν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις καὶ τοῖς προσηλύτοις τοῖς προσπορευομένοις τῷ Ισραηλ (8:35 [HB]: "There was not a word of all that Moses commanded which Joshua did not read before all the assembly of Israel, and the women, and the little ones, and the sojourners who lived among them").

[879] Heinz-Josef Fabry notes that "the earlier texts apparently still understood *qāhāl* as a fully valid self-designation for the community itself." As an example, he cites 4QMMT where, early in the community's formation, this letter from the "teacher of righteousness" listed "various factors excluding a person from the 'community' (*qāhāl*), apparently a Qumran-Essene interpretation of Dt. 23 (cf. 4Q*Flor* 1:4). It thus seems that the community in Qumran did not reject the term *qāhāl* as a self-reference until a later period" ("קָהָל," *TDOT* 12.546–61, esp. 559).

[880] Within CD, *qĕhal* occurs at 7:17 ("the King is the assembly"), 11:22 ("trumpets of the assembly"), and 12:6 ("he may enter the assembly").

[881] The Deuteronomic tradition of associating *qhl* (LXX *ekklēsia*) with a continuing group identity for the community of Israel, as opposed simply with a temporary assembly for the community, is evident in 1QSa 2.4 and 4Q396 1–2i line 40. Fabry sees *qhl* as a fully functional self-designation of the authorial community at Qumran (*TDOT* 12:559). Du Toit also sees the *qhl* in 1QSa 2.4 as "most probably refer[ing] to the *congregation* of Israel" ("*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 135 [author's emphasis]). See my discussion of Philo's use of Deuteronomy 23 (Part II, §4.1 *Egyptian Jewish Voluntary Associations Name* Ekklēsia*? Philo*).

The way in which *qhl* is used at Qumran is significant for my purposes in at least

one respect. We have evidence here of a socio-religious sub-set of ethno-religious Israel

(the [pre-] Covenanters) choosing symbolically to self-identify in a permanent fashion

with (or as) the Israel of the desert tradition (*qhl*). If Paul's use of terminology that is

extant elsewhere only in 4QMMT ("some of the works of the Law") reflects an

awareness of the (pre-)Covenanters distinctive theology, then might he also have been

aware of another theological concept of the Covenanters: their adoption of *qhl* as a

distinctive sub-group identity?[883] Paul appears to mirror the etymological trajectory of

4QMMT and CD by delimiting the meaning of *ekklēsia* (*qhl*) away from designating the

ethno-religious nation of Israel towards designating a socio-religious sub-group of Israel.

Paul goes one socio-ethnic step further than do the Covenanters. He applies this

'Israelite' identity to communities comprised both of Jews and gentiles (Rom 9–11). This

type of *corpus mixtum* would have been unthinkable for the Covenanters. The

Covenanters' polemic against other Jewish circles, possibly even against the Temple

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[882] Fabry notes that the root קהל occurs *c*. 50 times, but "strikingly, it does not occur at all in 1QS…" (*TDOT* 12:559).

[883] See n. 586 for a survey of scholarly opinions as to the identity of the community behind the writing of 4QMMT. Martin Abegg notes three terminological convergences between Paul and 4QMMT, all the while taking heed to avoid the interpretive pitfall identified by Samuel Sandmel as "parallelomania." Parallelomania, in essence, assumes that correlation entails causation (Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 [1962], 1–13). The most significant parallel with 4QMMT is Paul's phrase ἔργα νόμου ("works of the law"; Rom 3:20; Ga. 2:16 [3x]; 3:2, 5, 10) which Abegg claims "is likely a translation of מעשי התורה, found in all of ancient Hebrew literature only at 4QMMT C 27 (4Q398 14-17 ii 3)" ("4QMMT C 27, 31 and 'Works Righteousness,'" *DSD* 6.2 [1999]: 139–47, esp. 139). See also Martin Abegg, "Paul, Works of the Law, and the MMT," *BARev* 20/6 (1994): 52–55; J. D.G. Dunn, "4QMMT and Galatians," *NTS* 43 (1997): 147–53; M. Bachmann, "4QMMT und Galaterbrief, מעשי התורה und ΕΡΓΑ ΝΟΜΟΥ," *ZNW* 89 (1998): 91–113.

establishment in Jerusalem (e.g., 4QMMT),[884] demonstrates that only an exclusive

number of Jews were granted membership in the Covenanters' self-designation as the

qhl.

In Rom 9–11, Paul reinforces the union of gentiles with historical Israel.[885] Paul

contends that gentile Christ-followers are grafted into the 'sacred tree,' so to speak,

known as ethno-religious Israel (Rom 11:17-27). If gentile Christ-followers become one

with Israel in God's salvation history, then so do the Christ-follower communities of

which those gentiles are a part—Paul's *ekklēsiai*. Thus, Paul's trans-local association of

ekklēsiai can be considered as being a part of Israel, rather than as being a replacement

for Israel. Even Gal 6:16, wherein Paul appears to present his Galatian *ekklēsia* as the

"new Israel,"[886] need not contradict a non-supersessionist reading of Rom 11:17-27.[887]

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[884] There are at least three general theories as to the literary intent of the sectarian document known as 4QMMT: historic extramural polemic, contemporary extramural polemic, or contemporary intramural paraenesis. Maxine Grossman reads 4QMMT as an ideological tradition of extramural polemic within the community at Qumran ("Reading 4QMMT: Genre and History," *RevQ* 20 [2001]: 3–22). Hogeterp suggests that 4QMMT is historic extramural polemic. He sees 4QMMT as having "ideological significance within the Qumran community precisely because it goes back to a historical document rather than being a historicising text after the fact" (*Paul and God's Temple*, 82). S. D. Fraade reads 4QMMT as intramural paraenesis intended for communal candidates and neophytes ("To Whom It May Concern: 4QMMT and Its Addressees," *RevQ* 19 [2000]: 507–26). Hogeterp notes at least one problem with Fraade's perspective (*Paul and God's Temple*, 78). He cites the observation of S. Morag that linguistic and stylistic differences from the Community Rule, among other noted sectarian documents, are sufficiently significant to preclude its consideration as intramural paraenesis ("Language and Style in Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah – Did Moreh Ha-Sedeq Write This Document?" *Tarbiz* 65 [1995–1996]: 210–33). For examples of specific correlations between the authorial community of 4QMMT and the Temple establishment, see Hogeterp, *Paul and God's Temple*, 79–81.

[885] William Campbell comments that "the place of chs. 9–11 as an integral part of the letter has been firmly established" ("The Addressees of Paul's Letter to the Romans," 171). See also, Nanos, *The Mystery of Romans* (1996); idem, "The Jewish Context of the Gentile Audience Addressed in Paul's Letter to the Romans," *CBQ* 61 (1999): 283–304. Nils Dahl claims that even the epistolary features of Romans affirm the literary centrality of chapters 9–11 ("The Future of Israel," in *Studies in Paul: Theology for the Early Christian Mission* [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977], 137–58, esp. 141).

[886] Hansen, for example, views Gal 6:16 as being a supersessionist statement: Paul "identifies the church with ancient Israel (Gal 6:16; 1 Cor 10:1, 2; 12:2; Col 1.12-14; 2.11)" (*All of You are One*, 41).

[887] Du Toit explicates a non-supersessionist interpretation of Gal 6:16: "how did Paul envisage the relation between this new ἐκκλησία and Israel? In a bold statement (Gal 6.16), he called the church 'the

Paul may only intend what the author of 1 Peter does in his letter to Christ-followers in Asia Minor (1 Pet 1:1). Reidar Hvalvik argues that 1 Peter presents Christ-followers as being "equal with Israel,"[888] not as a replacement for Israel. Both 1 Peter and Paul's letters to the Romans and Corinthians metaphorically identify Christ-followers with sacred Israelite institutions such as the Temple and its cult (1 Pet 2:5; Rom 12:5; 1 Cor 3:16, 17; 12:27; 2 Cor 6:16). If Hvalvik's conclusion for 1 Peter is also applied to Paul's Christ-followers, then Paul's *ekklēsiai* also constitute multi-ethnic, messianic sub-groups of pluriform Second Temple Judaism.

2.3.6. Summary: Pauline Ekklēsiai *and Jewish Ethno-Religious Identity*

I have identified six ways in which Paul can be said to link his multi-ethnic, diasporic *ekklēsiai* with a Jewish heritage, three are correspondences with Jewish sacred space, and three relate to lexical correlations in the LXX, Philo, and Josephus. Their combined witness questions claims that Paul sees the *ekklēsia* as having superseded

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Israel of God.' This re-definition of Israel may either imply that the church replaced the historical Israel or that 'Israel' now includes Israelite as well as non-Israelite believers. Πᾶς Ἰσραήλ in Rom 11.26 vindicates the latter option. The future coming together of πᾶς Ἰσραήλ will signal the final stage of a long trajectory originating in the desert traditions of Israel. This emphasizes salvation-historical continuity, not discontinuity" ("*Paulus Oecumenicus*," 141–42). Christopher Zoccali mirrors du Toit's interpretation of Gal 6:16: "Therefore, based on Rom 2:29 and Gal 6:16 one could conclude that Paul would indeed make the polemical claim that Christ-following Gentiles are more truly 'Israel' than Jews who fail to believe (cf. Phil 3:13). Yet, *Paul explicitly warns in Romans 11 against any such triumphalism and supersessionism among his gentile converts* (cf. 1 Cor 4)…*they have become part of Israel's story* (cf. 1 Cor 10:1ff; Rom 1:1-4; 9:4-5; 11:16-18; 15:8-12)" (*Whom God Has Called: The Relationship of Church and Israel in Pauline Interpretation, 1920 to the Present* [Salem, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2010], 116–17 [author's emphasis]). See also Caroline Johnson-Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs: A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 131.

[888] Although Reidar Hvalvik uses the term "new Israel" when speaking of 1 Peter's appropriation of Israelite covenantal terminology, he does not mean thereby that Peter is "advocating a 'replacement theology.' It is not said that the believing Gentiles have *taken the place* of the Jews. What is said is that believing Gentiles are *equal with* the Israel of the Old Testament. In Christ they have now become the people of God" ("Jewish Believers and Jewish Influence in the Roman Church until the Early Second Century," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: the Early Centuries* [ed. O. Skarsaune and R. Hvalvik; Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 2007], 179–216, esp. 205 [author's emphasis]).

ethno-religious Israel in God's salvation history,[889] and adds an exclamation point to the

conclusion reached by Runesson, Binder, and Olsson: "It is thus not possible to argue that

when a group of Christ-believers use *ekklēsia* to designate their institution…they are

departing from either 'the Jewish community,' from 'Jewishness,' or from Jewish

organizational forms, as has so often been assumed."[890] One could say that adopting a

permanent *ekklēsia* identity allowed early Christ-followers, from an institutional

perspective, to disavow any perceptions that they were parting ways with "Judaism." This

being the case, then Paul's '*ekklēsia* identity construction project' did as much to root his

multi-ethnic *ekklēsiai* into the ethno-religious 'tree' of Israel (Rom 11:17-24), as it did to

present his communities as active pro-*dēmokratia* participants in the political culture of

the Greek East.

2.4. Summary: The Nature of the Pauline Ekklēsia

The following picture emerges when one puts all of the pieces together which I

have added to the scholarly puzzle that is *ekklēsia* usage among first-generation Christ-

followers. Paul is a legitimate candidate for the honour of being the first Christ-follower

to adopt *ekklēsia* as a permanent sub-group identity within the first-generation Jesus

movement. Among New Testament writers, he is the most prolific and diverse in his use

of *ekklēsia* terminology, and, of those six writers who unequivocally use *ekklēsia* as a

permanent sub-group identity, only his writings date prior to 70 CE. Irrespective of one's

stance on Paul's status as the originator of a Christ-follower association known as

ekklēsia, it is abundantly clear, though, that he made a creative, and distinctive,

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[889] Part III, §2.3. Ekklēsia *as Ethno-Religious Identity: Supersessionist Ideology?*
[890] Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 11 n. 21.

contribution to the semantic range of the word *ekklēsia*: he created a non-civic, *multi-ethnic* voluntary association comprised of Greeks, Romans, 'barbarians,' and Jews.

The widespread use of *ekklēsia* terminology within the Greco-Roman and Jewish worlds gave Paul's voluntary associations an increased missional relevance within the Diaspora. To Greco-Romans, his *ekklēsiai* reflected civic ideology for the creation of an alternative society that could have been viewed as a pro-'democratic,' counter-oligarchic participant in the ubiquitous "*ekklēsia* discourse" of the newly developing political culture. There is no counter-imperial rhetoric necessarily inherent in Paul's use of *ekklēsia* as a group identity. Rather, he equips his *ekklēsiai* to affect the fabric of everyday *polis* life in positive ways through their inculcation, and public expression, of love-based "socio-ethnic *dēmokratia*."

There are at least six ways in which Paul's use of *ekklēsia* as a permanent group identity could have been perceived by Jews as interconnecting his multi-ethnic, diasporic *ekklēsiai* with a Jewish heritage. Paul metaphorically transforms his multi-ethnic *ekklēsiai* into three examples of Jewish sacred space: the temple of God, the body of the Jewish *Christos*, and a sacred Jewish synagogue. Additionally, his multi-ethnic communities self-designate with the same name used, firstly, of the ethno-religious nation of Israel in the desert (LXX), secondly, by ostensibly contemporaneous non-messianic Jewish voluntary associations in Alexandria and Judea, and, thirdly, of public synagogues in the land (e.g., Sirach, Josephus). The multi-faceted integration of Paul's Christ-followers with the Jewish community, Jewishness, and Jewish organizational forms suggests strongly that Paul does not intend his designation of multi-ethnic

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communities as *ekklēsiai* to communicate supersessionist ideology. My ensuing

examination of *ekklēsia* usage in the rest of the New Testament also does not necessitate

any conclusion to the effect that Christ-followers viewed themselves as a replacement for

Israel.

3. The Development of Ekklēsia *Usages after Paul*

Outside of Paul's undisputed writings, the word *ekklēsia* occurs with some frequency in eight New Testament writings which together represent four different literary genres: epistle, homily, gospel, and apocalypse. As previously discussed, genre considerations are important factors in how one interprets *ekklēsia* references. For example, *ekklēsia* usage in homiletical and epistolary literature may be prescriptive for, rather than descriptive of, the community so addressed. *Ekklēsia* terminology in the Gospel of Matthew may reflect the author's contemporaneous community more so than it does Jesus' historical situation. The Apocalypse, as resistance literature, could very well ascribe group identities for rhetorical, or even polemical, purposes. In this section I will organize my evaluation of the non-Pauline writings into four genre categories. My specific priority will be to assess which *ekklēsia* occurrences refer to a permanent group designation, and to explore the resultant ideological implications.

3.1. Ekklēsia *in Epistolary Literature: Deutero-Pauline, James, 3 John*

The "elder" John (3 John) and (deutero-)Paul each use *ekklēsia* unequivocally as a permanent group identity for their respective communities, particularly those in Asia Minor (e.g., Ephesos).[891] The diasporic epistle of James is ambiguous in its lone use of the word *ekklēsia* (5:14), while the author of 1 Peter does not use *ekklēsia* at all in the epistle he addresses to communities in Asia Minor (1 Pet 1:1).

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[891] The "John" who wrote the book of Revelation also addresses his Christ-follower communities as *ekklēsia*. One of those seven *ekklēsiai* is located in Ephesos.

3.1.1. Ekklēsia *in Deutero-Pauline Writings*

When it comes to the semantic range of the word *ekklēsia* in (deutero-)Pauline writings, one of Schmidt's four categories predominates: the universal *ekklēsia*. Within the epistle ostensibly addressed to the Ephesians, the word *ekklēsia* occurs nine times (1:22; 3:10, 21; 5:23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 32).[892] Each mention is universal in scope and speaks of an *ekklēsia* that is the sum of all Christ-followers in every place.[893]

The word *ekklēsia* occurs three times in Colossians (1:18b, 24; 4:15). In the first two occurrences, the *ekklēsia* is identified as the universal body of Christ (1:18b, 24).[894] The third reference is to a local group of Christ-followers which meets in the home of Nympha (4:15).[895] This *ekklēsia* reference, however, could simply imply a temporary identity assumed by the community while gathered *en ekklēsia* in Nympha's house.

Within the Pastoral Epistles (1 and 2 Timothy, Titus), the word *ekklēsia* only occurs three times, all within 1 Timothy (3:5, 15; 5:16). The anarthrous phrase *ekklēsias theou* is used twice in chapter 3 (vv. 5, 15), but not necessarily each time with the same

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[892] Textual-critical evidence suggests that the epistolary address "to the Ephesians" (Eph 1:1) may not be authentic.

[893] Andrew Lincoln notes that "here in Eph 1:22, following Col 1:18, 24 where *ekklēsia* is used in apposition to *soma* as a designation for the new community in Christ, the reference is to the universal Church, the Christian community in its totality. This is also the case in the other eight uses of the term" (*Ephesians* [WBC 42; Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1990], 67). Robert Banks argues that the nine references to *ekklēsia* in Ephesians are to a heavenly assembly which is permanently in session (*Paul's Idea of Community: The Early House Churches in Their Historical Setting* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/Exeter: Paternoster, 1980], 44–47).

[894] Markus Barth and Helmut Blanke note that there is some question as to the authenticity of the first *ekklēsia* occurrence (1:18b) (*Colossians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [ABY 34B; trans. Astrid B. Beck; New York: Doubleday, 1994], 227). Col 1:15-20 is a hymn divisible into two sections beginning at each occurrence of the words "he is" (*hōs estin*). The first part speaks of creation (1:15-18b) and the second of redemption (1:18c-20). The phrase *tēs ekklēsias* in 1:18b breaks the thematic cohesion of the hymn by awkwardly inserting the theme of soteriology. As a result, Ernst Käsemann considers it a later interpolation ("Eine urchristliche *Taufliturgie*," *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen* [2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960], 1:34–51).

[895] Col 4:15 reads, τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίαν.

meaning.[896] The first occurrence of *ekklēsias theou* is set within a discussion of the

qualifications of an *episkopos*. Depending on the geographical reach of this position, the

ekklēsias theou (3:5) could refer to a local community, to a regional *koinon*, or even to a

provincial-level association known as *ekklēsia theou*. At the very least, a local

designation is intended, especially if the *ekklēsias theou* in 1 Tim 3:5 is contiguous with

the *ekklēsiai tou theou* mentioned by Paul in 1 Corinthians (e.g., 11:16). Further on in

chapter 3, the author again refers to the *ekklēsias theou* but this time he adds the

adjectival modifier *zōntos* ("living") (3:15). Therein, he equates "the house(hold) of God"

and "the foundation of the truth" with "the *ekklēsia* of the living God." The most natural

interpretation of the confluence of all three terms is that the word *ekklēsia* refers to the

universal community of Christ-followers across the Roman empire. The final *ekklēsia*

occurrence in 1 Timothy has clear reference to the local assembly of Christ-followers and

is used in the sense of a permanent collective identity (1 Tim 5:16).[897]

    While a universal definition of *ekklēsia* predominates in the (deutero-)Paulines,

the closest Paul's undisputed writings come to referring to a universal *ekklēsia*, which

encompasses the sum total of all Christ-followers in every place, is found in 1 Cor 12:28.

It is not an *unambiguous* reference, however, since it is possible, though perhaps not

probable, to limit the purview of this passage to the Corinthian *ekklēsia*. If one does so,

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[896] There are two occasions in the New Testament where the anarthrous phrase *ekklēsias theou* occurs (1 Tim 3:5, 15). It may not entail a reference to a universal entity known as "the church of God," of which each *ekklēsia* is its local expression. Rather, (deutero-)Paul may simply be using the phrase *ekklēsias theou* in a general sense as an ideal linguistic category under which each *ekklēsia* of Pauline Christ-followers self-identifies: each community is "of God." It is the character of God, then, which provides the evaluative grid through which Timothy can judge specific progress being made in each local *ekklēsia* under his care relative to leadership development (bishops [3:1-7], deacons [3:8-10], and women [3:11-13]).

[897] 1 Tim 5:16 reads, "let the *ekklēsia* not be burdened [with the care of false widows]."

then Paul's list of gifted ministers (e.g., apostles, prophets; 12:28-30) would refer only to Christ-followers located in the Corinthian *ekklēsia*. In other words, Paul would not be commenting upon the types of gifted ministers which should be evident in other *ekklēsiai* outside of Corinth. However, this does not accord with Paul's comment a few verses later that all of the ministry giftings in Paul's list are in fact not active within the Corinthian *ekklēsia* (12:31: "earnestly desire the greater gifts"). This begs the question, then, as to why Paul would create a list of ministry giftings, the full complement of which the Corinthians could never aspire to. It is less problematic to assume, therefore, that when Paul implicitly equates "the body of Christ" (12:27) with the *ekklēsia* (12:28) within which all gifted ministers are found (12:28-30), that Paul is referring there both to a universal body of Christ and to a universal *ekklēsia*, each of which the Corinthian Christ-followers express locally in their communal gatherings.

There is at least one political implication to viewing the *ekklēsia* in 1 Cor 12:28 as a universal entity. Scholars of the "political Paul" view the (deutero-)Pauline writings, in general, reflecting accommodation, rather than resistance, to the Roman empire. Neil Elliott is illustrative in this regard. He interprets Ephesians, Colossians and the Pastoral Epistles as being part of a "canonical betrayal" in which the later Paulinists present Paul in socially conservative ways so as to facilitate conformity of their present communities to the values and structures of the Roman Empire.[898] This being the case, it logically follows, then, that the (deutero-)Paulines' use of the word *ekklēsia* as a supra-local

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[898] See Neil Elliott's works, *Liberating Paul: The Justice of God and the Politics of the Apostle* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), esp. 25–54; idem, "The Apostle Paul and Empire," in *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance* (ed. R. Horsley; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 97–116.

designation for the sum total of Christ-followers across the entire Roman empire also

follows suit: the ideology behind a universal *ekklēsia* encourages accommodation rather

than resistance. This being the case, and if the *ekklēsia* in 1 Cor 12:28 is a universal

entity, then a similar conclusion can be reached for the Corinthian epistle: Paul's *ekklēsia*

ideology therein reflects accommodation rather than resistance. Such a conclusion is

consistent with my argument elsewhere that the ideology behind Paul's *ekklēsia* usages is

pro-*dēmokratia*, not counter-imperial.

3.1.2. Ekklēsia *in James*

The epistle of James uses the word *ekklēsia* only once (5:14). This occurrence is

set within the context of summoning leaders (*tous presbyterous tēs ekklēsias*) for the

purpose of visiting a sick member so as to pray for that person's healing. The collocation

tous presbyterous tēs ekklēsias uses the word *ekklēsia* with any one of three possible

meanings: a semi-public meeting, a temporary collective identity, or a permanent

collective identity. If one translates this collocation through the lens of Greek epigraphic

evidence, however, it is less likely that *ekklēsia* refers to a permanent collective identity.

The lexically related phrase *presbeis tēs ekklēsias*[899] occurs within numerous

inscriptions, one of which is dated to the 1st century CE (Ephesos; *SE* 210*2; 29 CE).[900]

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[899] The term πρέσβυς, whose comparative form is πρεσβύτερος (e.g., Jas 5:14) occurs in Greek inscriptions and refers to official delegates commissioned on behalf of the *dēmos* through a vote in an *ekklēsia* (See Günther Bornkamm, "πρέσβυς, πρεσβύτερος," *TDNT* 6:651–83).

[900] *SE* 210*2 recounts the election of *presbeis* by the *boulē* through decree of the *gerousia* for a political mission to emperor Octavian on behalf of the entire *polis* of Ephesos (Ephesos, 29 CE; see also *JÖAI* 62, 1993 [Hauptbl.], 114, Nr. 2). Octavius informs the *polis* that he had received the decree of the *gerousia* which was given to him by nine "delegates of the [Ephesian] *ekklēsia*" (πρέσβε[ις] [τῆς ἐκκλη]σίας), each delegate of whom he specifically names.

SE 210*2 explicitly differentiates the *presbeis tēs ekklēsias* from the *dēmos*.[901] This

implies that, in *SE* 210*2, *ekklēsia* only has reference to the public assembly and not to a

temporary collective identity assumed by the *dēmos* during that civic assembly. Other

inscriptions also suggest that the word *ekklēsia* means "assembly" when juxtaposed with

the collocation *presbeis tēs ekklēsias*. These inscriptions indicate that it is within an

ekklēsia (the civic assembly) that *presbeis* are elected by the *dēmos* on a time-limited

basis to serve as their official emissaries or delegates for a specific mission.[902]

If James mirrors Greek inscriptional *praxis*, then the officials (*presbyteroi*)

delegated by the gathered community to pray for the sick in their homes were chosen at

an *ekklēsia* (5:14). In this scenario, *ekklēsia* has reference to a semi-public meeting, and

not to the gathered community. If so, then congruent with Greek inscriptional evidence,

once the officially sanctioned function of James' *presbyteroi tēs ekklēsias* is complete

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[901] *SE* 210*2, in its entirety, reads [Αὐτ. Καῖσαρ θε]οῦ υἱός, ὕπατος τὸ ε΄, αὐτο[κράτ]ωρ τὸ ζ΄, [Ἐφεσίων βο]υλῆ, δήμῳ χαίρειν·; με]τὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὑγια[ί]νω Θεόδω[ρος, Μέμνων, Πρ]ωτογένης, Ἡρακλείδης, Σώπα[τρ]ος, Ἀσκλη[πιάδης], Ἀριστίων, Ἀγαθήνωρ, Μηνόδο[τος] πρέσβε[ις][τῆς ἐκκλη]σίας <ἀπέδοσάν τ'> ἐμοὶ τὸ παρὰ τῆς γερουσ[ίας ψ]ήφισμ[α][διέλεξ]άν τε ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἐν αὐτ[ῷ δι]ακε[ιμέ][νοις· διὸ τό] τε σύστημα τῆς γερουσίας [ἀποδέχομαι],[τηρήσω τε] . ... τοὺς ὑμετ[έρους νόμους][καὶ τὰ τείμια καὶ] φιλάνθρωπα. [ἔρρωσθε]. Since Octavian separately refers both to the Ephesian *dēmos* and *ekklēsia*, it would seem that he does not use the word *ekklēsia* as a temporary collective designation for the *dēmos* during the course of their meeting *en ekklēsia*.

[902] Aside from *SE* 210*2, three other inscriptional examples serve to demonstrate that πρέσβεις are authorized as delegates through an official vote during an *ekklēsia*. An inscription dated to 3 BCE (*IG* XII,Suppl 143, Troas — Lampsakos) is most explicit regarding the use of a vote in an *ekklēsia*: χειροτόνησαι δὲ ἐν τᾶ ἐκκλη[σία ἐφόδι]ον τῷ πρεσβεύτα (see also *IMT SuedlTroas* 579; Troas, 80–70 BCE: χειρίσαι ἐν τῆι ἐκκλησίαι πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς Θασίους). Two mid-Hellenistic period inscriptions describe how πρέσβεις were authorized as delegates through an *ekklēsia*. The first is *IG* XII,Suppl 139 (Aegean Islands; Ionia — Miletos, 167 BCE?): ὅππω[ς] δὲ καὶ Μιλάσιοι παρακολούθωσι τᾶ τῶ δάμω εὐχαριστίαι, δεῖξαι πρεσβεύταν ἐν τᾶι ἐκκλησίαι ἤδ[η]. In the second inscription, the *dēmos* of the Athenian cleruchy of Delos (*IDelos* 1498, 160–150 BCE) held a formal *ekklēsia* (ἐκκλησία κυρία) in their *ekklēsiastērion* (ἐν τῶι ἐκκλησιαστηρίωι) in which they voted upon delegates (πρέσβεις) whom they would send to the Athenian *boulē* and *ekklēsia* on their behalf (χειροτονῆσαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἤδη τρεῖς οἵτινες ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀθήνησιν βουλὴν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν παρακαλέσουσι τὸν δῆμον). See my assessement of *IDelos* 1498 in Part I where I discuss the Tyrian Herakleistai and their approval of delegates for an embassy to Athens. The delegates of this voluntary association were chosen within a synod assembly, which they called an *ekklēsia* (Part I, §3.2.3. *The Tyrian Herakleistai of Delos*).

(praying for healing), their role as *presbyteroi* ends. In this regard, Jas 5:14 paraphrases

as follows: "Call the elders who were delegated by the community at a regular worship

assembly (*ekklēsia*) for the purpose of going to pray for the sick in their homes."

If the *presbyteroi* in James' diasporic community comprise that community's

permanent overseeing 'council' (fictive *boulē*?) instead, as do *presbyteroi* in some Greco-

Roman voluntary associations,[903] then the phrase *presbyteroi tēs ekklēsias* could still be

translated with "assembly," rather than with "congregation," in mind. Jas 5:14 would

then read: "Call the elders who oversee the regular worship assembly (*ekklēsia*) for the

purpose of having them go and pray for the sick in their homes."

James' use of the word *synagōgē* (2:2) also allows for the interpretation of

ekklēsia (5:14) as a semi-public community gathering.[904] If the phrase "your *synagōgē*"

refers to the building of a Jewish synagogue community, within which James' halakhic

observant Christ-followers meet, then his Christ-followers differentiated their "members

only" meeting from other synagogue gatherings by naming their meeting *ekklēsia*.[905]

Given that at least one sub-group of Judean Christ-followers self-identified collectively

as *synagōgē*, the phrase "your *synagōgē*" could also refer to a collective identity assumed

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[903] Kloppenborg, "Edwin Hatch," 214.

[904] Jas 2:2 reads, "For if someone enters your *synagōgē*" (*ean gar eiselthē eis synagōgēn hymōn*).

[905] This option, then, identifies the curious members who visit the Christ-followers' worship assembly as most likely belonging to the Jewish synagogue community, since Jews and Christ-followers all meet in the same synagogue building. Dibelius' observation could support this: "neither the rich nor the poor man seem to belong to the community" given their unfamiliarity with the Christ-follower's social *praxis* (*James*, 134–35). Two other interpretations of the word *synagōgē* are possible: (1) a ritual assembly of Jewish Christ-followers (Richard Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Community," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* [ed. O. Skarsaune and R. Hvalvik; Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 2007], 55–95, esp. 58) or (2) a building owned by Christ-followers and dedicated for their ritual worship assemblies (Scot McKnight, *The Letter of James* [NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011], 183). These two usages of the word *synagōgē* are anomalous with respect to other New Testament writings.

by James' diasporic Jewish Christ-followers.[906] In this case, the term *ekklēsia* again refers

to a semi-public assembly, but one convened by a *synagōgē* of Christ-followers.

In sum, James' epistle can not unequivocally be said to use the word *ekklēsia* as a

permanent group identity. If James uses *ekklēsia* as a temporary group identity instead,

then, as in Greek inscriptions, James' community of Christ-followers can also be said to

convene assemblies which are called *ekklēsiai*.

3.1.3. Ekklēsia *in 3 John*

Within the Johannine epistles the word *ekklēsia* is mentioned explicitly only in

3 John (vv. 6, 9, 10). John the *presbyteros*[907] is writing in the 90s CE,[908] to diasporic

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[906] At least one sub-group in the early Jesus movement explicitly self-identified as *synagōgē*, the Nazarenes of Transjordan (Bastiaan van Elderen, "Early Christianity in Transjordan," *TynBul* 45.1 [1994]: 97–117; Wolfram Kinzig, "The Nazoreans," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* [ed. O. Skarsaune and R. Hvalvik; Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 2007], 463–87). Martin Dibelius notes instances where *synagōgē* refers to meetings of early Christ-followers in patristic-era writings: (1) Ignatius (*Pol.* 4:2: "Let the *synagōgai* be more numerous"; late 1st cent. CE), *The Shepherd of Hermas* (11:9: "a *synagōgē* of righteous men"; also 11:13, 14; 1st or 2nd cent. CE); and (2) Dionysius of Alexandria (mid-3rd cent. CE) who calls the assemblies *synagōgai* (Eus. *HE* 7.9.2; 7.11.11, 12, 17) (*James* [Hermeneia; rev. ed.; ed. H. Greeven; trans. M. A. Williams; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975], 133). Ralph Martin adds one more patristic reference to the word *synagōgē* being used as a designation for a public meeting of Christ-followers gathered for the purpose of worship: Epiphanius' *Haer.* 30.18.2 (*James* [WBC 48; Waco, TX: Word, 1988], 61).

[907] Raymond Brown summarizes five different explanations for the identity of *ho presbyteros* in 2 John. Of the five possible identities of John the *presbyteros*, three connect the post-70 CE Johannine community back to the original community of Jewish Christ-followers in Jerusalem, the community to which the apostle John initially belonged. The three with Jerusalem connections, which are named by Raymond Brown, are: "One of the apostles for whom *presbyteros* served as another designation…A companion or disciple of Jesus who was not one of the Twelve Apostles…A disciple of the disciples of Jesus and thus a second generation figure" (*The Epistles of John* [AB 30; New York: Doubleday, 1982], 648–51). The other two candidates for "John" are: "An elderly man of dignity and importance…[and] one of the college of presbyters (elders) in charge of the community from which II John was sent…" (Ibid, 648–51).

[908] Stephen S. Smalley favours a date in the 90s CE, given his assumption that the Gospel of John was written around 85 CE (*1, 2, 3 John* [WBC 51; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1984], xxxii). Raymond Brown's diachronic theory locates the composition of 3 John between 100 and 110 CE (*The Epistles of John*, 101).

Christ-followers,[909] most likely in Asia Minor,[910] and potentially in Ephesos.[911] The

presbyteros seems to affirm that the community, of which Diotrephes is a leader,[912] self-

designates collectively as an *ekklēsia* (3 John 9).[913] The other two usages of *ekklēsia* in

3 John fall within the semantic range of a meeting and perhaps also of a temporary

designation for the community while in that meeting (3 John 6, 10).[914] In 3 John 6, the

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[909] There are various identifications made of the community to which the Johannine epistles are addressed. Smalley identifies two groups in the Johannine community: "Jewish-Christians…[who] still felt a loyalty to Judaism and Hellenistic-Christians…[who] were still influenced by the beliefs enshrined in Hellenistic systems of salvation, which depended on a dualist ('gnostic') background" (*1, 2, 3 John*, xxiii). Raymond Brown's diachronic history of the community behind the text sees two groups: John's adherents and those whom Brown terms "secessionists." The secessionists prioritize a "dualistic christology and a perfectionist anthropology" which presages the 2nd century docetic, gnostic, and Cerinthian groups (*Epistles of John*, 69–71).

[910] The tradition of identifying Asia Minor as the provenance for the epistles goes back to Irenaeus who claimed to be dependent on "all the presbyters who had been associated in Asia with John" (Irenaeus, *AH* 2:22:5; 3:3:4; cited in Eusebius, *HE* 3:23:3f). Polycrates, the bishop of Ephesos, also attests to the same tradition (Eusebius *HE* 3:31:2f; 5:24:3f). Nauck has suggested a Syrian provenance (*Die Tradition und der Charakter des erstern Johannes briefes* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1957], 165). I. Howard Marshal is unconvinced since Nauck's view is dependent on his interpretation of 1 John 5:6f, which Marshal says "has not found general acceptance" (*The Epistles of John* [NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978], 47).

[911] Moving outwards from the assumption that the epistles address the same community as does the Gospel of John, most commentators see the epistles' provenance as being the same as that of the Gospel's. Brown observes that the combined witness of the four writings requires "a metropolitan center with many house-churches of Johannine Christians…and that within reasonable traveling range there were provincial towns with Johannine house-churches to which II and III John were addressed (*Epistles of John*, 101–102). Brown identifies three possible locations which match those criteria: Ephesos, Syrian Antioch, Alexandria (*Epistles of John*, 101–102). Brown favours Ephesos, as do others such as Smalley (*1, 2, 3 John*, xxxii) and Georg Strecker (*The Johannine Letters: A Commentary on 1, 2, 3 John* [Hermeneia; trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1996], xl–xli).

[912] Raymond Brown notes that Gaius is not the leader of the *ekklēsia*; Diotrephes is. He suggests that each is a leader of a separate house-*ekklēsia* in the same general area (*Epistles of John*, ix, 101). Given Diotrephes' opposition to John the *presbyteros*, and to visiting missionaries in general (v. 10), John addresses his epistle to Gaius instead, requesting that his hospitality to other missionaries (*hoi philoi*) be extended to John's emissary, Demetrius.

[913] In 3 John 9 the *presbyteros* says, "I have written something to the *ekklēsia*" (Ἔγραψά τι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ). This indicates that he uses the word *ekklēsia* as a permanent collective designation and not as a name for the formal meeting of the community.

[914] 3 John 6 reads, οἳ ἐμαρτύρησάν σου τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἐνώπιον ἐκκλησίας ("they [*hoi philoi*] have testified to your love before the *ekklēsia*"). If the meaning behind Paul's anarthrous prepositional phrase *en ekklēsia* (e.g., 1 Cor 14:28) is analogous to that behind John's anarthrous prepositional phrase *enōpion ekklēsias*, then John the elder is only referring in verse six to the semi-public meeting in which Gaius' *ekklēsia* gathers. At the most, 3 John 6 refers to a temporary collective identity while the community is together in their meeting. 3 John 10 reads, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει ("and expels them [*hoi philoi*]

testimony of *hoi philoi* is "before the people when gathered together *en ekklēsia*."[915] In 3 John 10, the expulsion of *hoi philoi* by Diotrephes does not necessarily mean from membership in the local body of Christ-followers (*ekklēsia*). It may only refer to the expulsion of *hoi philoi* from the community's gathering (*ekklēsia*). In this case, translating *ekklēsia* as "church" (e.g., NRSV, NASB, NIV) in 3 John 6 and 10 could be misleading. In those verses, *ekklēsia* may not refer to a permanent group designation.

Although no explicit mention of an *ekklēsia* is made in 2 John, Georg Strecker convincingly argues on the basis of 3 John 9 that the community in 2 John is being addressed as an *ekklēsia*. In 3 John 9, the *presbyteros* states that he previously wrote "something to the *ekklēsia*." The "something" which he previously wrote is the epistle of 2 John. This makes the community to which 2 John is written an *ekklēsia*. Strecker is much less convincing, though, in his corroborating evidence. He claims that the phrase *eklektē kyria* (2 John 1)[916] alludes to the Greek public assembly known as the *ekklēsia kyria*.[917] The *ekklēsia kyria* was the most important *ekklēsia* in classical Athens until that city-state's overthrow in 322 BCE.[918]

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from the *ekklēsia*"). The word *ekklēsia* in verse ten, at the very least, refers to a semi-public meeting, although one could make an argument for either a temporary or permanent collective identity.

[915] For the use of *hoi philoi* as a group designation by Greco-Roman voluntary associations, see Philip Harland (*Dynamics of Identity*, 45, 71, 93). Some examples of inscriptions which use "the friends" (*hoi philoi*) as technical terminology for a voluntary association's self-designation include: *IGLAM* 798 (Kotiaion, Aezanatis valley); *IIasos* 116; *IMagnMai* 321; *IDidyma* 502 (a Dionysiac group); *IMylasa* 571–75; *TAM* V 93 (Saittai; 225 CE); *ISmyrna* 720; *MAMA* III 580, 780, 788 (*Korykos*); *SEG* 35 (1985), no. 1337 (Amastris, Pontus); *IPrusaOlymp* 24 (1st cent. CE); *IAsMinLyk* I 69 (Xanthos, Lycia); *IG* III 1081, 1089, 1102 (Athens, cf. 120s CE; *ephebes*); and *IGUR* 1169 (Rome).

[916] 2 John 1 reads, in part, *eklektē kyria kai tois teknois autēs* ("to the elect lady and her children").

[917] Strecker contends that in 2 John an *ekklēsia* is implicitly presumed given the use of the term κυρίᾳ for the addressee (2 John 1; Ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ). While κυρία is not infrequently translated "to the chosen lady" (NRSV, NIV, NASB), Strecker sees here an allusion to the ἐκκλησία κυρία of classical Athenian times (*The Johannine Letters*, 221, 263). For support, Strecker only cites the

Three factors challenge his claim. First, no other New Testament text alludes to the collocation *ekklēsia kyria*. Second, he cites as evidence only one literary source and entirely neglects epigraphic sources. Third, in the over 250 epigraphic mentions of an *ekklēsia kyria* (4th cent. BCE to 1st cent. CE),[919] none identify a body of people as an *ekklēsia kyria*, not even temporarily so during the course of an *ekklēsia kyria*.

So how do the occurrences of *ekklēsia* within 3 John compare with Paul's usage? 3 John mirrors Paul's presentation of his communities as *ekklēsiai* who hold communal assemblies called *ekklēsiai*. Neither author unequivocally uses *ekklēsia* in a universal sense or as being part of a universal entity known as *ekklēsia*. If Acts is correct in designating the community in Ephesos as an *ekklēsia* (20:28), then the question can be asked if there was any socio-religious continuity in Ephesos between the later Johannine *ekklēsia* (90s CE) and the earlier *ekklēsia* spoken of in Acts.

3.2. Ekklēsia *in Gospel Literature: Matthew*

Anders Runesson identifies at least three examples of 1st century CE Jewish synagogue communities "within the same 'category' as Graeco-Roman

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humorous play of Aristophanes (*Acharnenses* 19; *c*. 425 BCE), but yet does not mention the numerous occurrences of the collocation ἐκκλησία κυρία within the inscriptional record.

[918] See n. 269 for details on the four types of *ekklēsia* convened in ancient Athens (*kyria*, *synklētos*, *archairesia*, and *nomimos*).

[919] Other mentions of an *ekklēsia kyria* are found in Asia Minor (47x), the Aegean Islands (22x), central Greece (1x), and Peloponnesos (3x). Only two date to the 1st century CE: (1) *Peloponnesos*, *Peek*, *Asklepieion* 35(2), see also *IG* IV²,1 84, ll. 24, 41, Epidauria — Epidauros: Asklepieion, 40–42 CE. It reads, ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι, τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζε Πλάτων Ἡφιστιάδης καὶ συνπρόεδροι… καὶ τὸν πάππον Λαμπρίαν, ἵνα τούτων πραττομένων φαίνηται φανερὰ πᾶσιν ἡ Ἀθηναίων …; (2) *St.Pont*. III 141 is from the region of Pontus and Paphlagonia, *polis* of Amasia. It reads, Διὶ Στρατίῳ [ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ] κυρίᾳ ἐπὶ τῆς συν#⁹⁰⁰αρχίας Πομ[πωνίου — — — — τοῦ(?)] Κανδίδου, νεωκοροῦντος γ΄ [— — — — — — — —ο]υ Ἀγριππιανοῦ, ἐκ τῶν συν<λ>ε[λεγμένων χρημάτω]ν. #⁹⁰⁰ ἔτους #⁹⁰⁰ ρα΄. #⁹⁰⁰.

associations…[These are] Essene association synagogues,[920] Pharisaic association

synagogues[921]—and the association synagogue of the Mattheans. These association

synagogues were all different expressions of first-century Jewish identities."[922] Although

some scholars, including Runesson, identify the Mattheans as an *intra muros* Jewish

synagogue association, such a designation is still hotly debated.[923] If the Matthean

community did self-designate collectively as an *ekklēsia* (Matt 16:18) and meet in

assemblies called *ekklēsiai* (Matt 18:17), [924] as is implied in a mirror reading of Jesus'

words,[925] and if *ekklēsia* is a synagogue term, as Runesson, Binder, and Olsson suggest[926]

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[920] Runesson claims that "the Qumran community is best understood as an association" ("Rethinking Early Jewish–Christian Relations," 113 n. 63). He cites two studies in particular upon which he bases that claim: (1) Klinghardt, "The Manual of Discipline," 251–67; and (2) Moshe Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (NTOA 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986). A more recent, and more thorough, proponent of this view is Gillihan (*Civic Ideology* [2012]).

[921] Runesson notes that in Matthew the phrases "their synagogues" (10:17) and "your synagogues" (23:24) "indeed refers to Pharisaic associations," and that in 12:9 "it is possible that we have a reference to a Pharisaic association synagogue" ("Rethinking Early Jewish–Christian Relations," 124 and 121, respectively).

[922] Anders Runesson, "Behind the Gospel of Matthew: Radical Pharisees in Post-War Galilee?" *CurTM* 37:6 (December 2010): 460–71, esp. 464.

[923] Runesson, "Rethinking Early Jewish–Christian Relations," 96–98. Runesson provides an extensive list of scholars who hold either to *intra muros* or *extra muros* opinions (Ibid, 96 n. 3).

[924] Jesus is recorded as saying, "I will build my *ekklēsia*" (Matt 16:18; *oikodomēsō mou tēn ekklēsian*) and "speak to the *ekklēsia*" (*eipe tei ekklēsia*) and "if he does not listen to the *ekklēsia*" (Matt 18:17; *ean de kai tēs ekklēsias parakousēi*).

[925] A mirror reading entails hearing in Jesus' words the self-perceptions of Matthew's contemporary reading audience. In this regard, then, Jesus' use of the word *ekklēsia* would in actuality reflect a retrojection of the Matthean community's own self-designation. Saldarini sees some definitional ambiguity in Matthew's *ekklēsia* usage: "It is not completely clear that Matthew uses *ekklesia* [*sic*] as a proper name for his group; it is clear that the group meets in an assembly that is somewhat institutionalized, because it exercises disciplinary power (18:17) and has the authority to make decisions in God's name (16:19; 18:18-19). It has permanence because God promises to protect it against the 'gates of Hades' (16:18). It is built by and belongs to Jesus (16:18) who is present when only two or three are gathered together in his name (18:20)" (*Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community*, 116). For a judicious critique of mirror readings, see, Richard Bauckham, "For Whom Were Gospels Written?" in *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences* (ed. R. Bauckham; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 9–48.

[926] *ASSB*, nos. 201–203, 216.

and as I have argued above, then Runesson's description of the Mattheans as a Jewish

association synagogue gains reinforcement.[927]

Furthermore, if the Mattheans are an *intra muros* community within pluriform

Second Temple Judaism, then they demonstrate that the adoption of a permanent *ekklēsia*

identity is not a supersessionist move, but may in fact have served further to root their

community within a Jewish heritage. Runesson claims such an *intra muros* status for the

Mattheans, and categorizes them, along with the Essene and Pharisaic association

synagogues, as being "different expressions of first-century Jewish identities."[928]

There are a number of ways in which the Mattheans are said to identify socially

with 1st century Judaism(s). Saldarini states that the "Matthean group was so closely

related to the Jewish community that it functioned as a reformist movement or sect within

Judaism."[929] Craig Evans cites a number of correlations between the Jewishness of

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[927] While recognizing Bauckham's incisive challenge of interpretive approaches that prioritize mirror readings of the Gospels, I will contextualize my discussion here within the interpretive framework that Matthew was the spokesperson for a specific community of Christ-followers and that the particular way in which he fashioned his Gospel addressed the peculiar needs of his community. Challenges to Bauckham's critique of mirror readings include Philip F. Esler ("Community and Gospel in Early Christianity: A Response to Richard Bauckham's *Gospels for All Christians*, *SJT* 51 [1998]: 235–48) and David C. Sim ("The Gospels for All Christians? A Response to Richard Bauckham," *JSNT* 24 [2001]: 3–27). Anders Runesson argues that an ancient text can "never [say] much about the places where it was intended to be read," at least insofar as an audience beyond its local context is concerned ("Behind the Gospel of Matthew," 461). Runesson does contend, however, that since "local circumstances and conditions would consciously or unconsciously but necessarily have made their way, to a greater or lesser extant, into the written product…we may therefore always be able to say at least something about the context in which the text was produced" (Ibid., 461).

[928] Runesson, "Behind the Gospel of Matthew," 464.

[929] Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community*, 114. Saldarini details the socio-religious makeup of the Matthean community: "Matthew's group is thus a sect within first-century Judaism, in the widened sense of the term being used here. Matthew uses polemical and apologetic language that makes the boundaries between his group and other groups clear. His quarrel is mainly with the leadership of the Jewish community and the emerging rabbinic group, which is influencing that leadership. The Matthean group has created a counterorganization that is still reformist and millenarian/revolutionist but has deemphasized the thaumaturgical…[and is] becoming more conversionist in its orientation" (Ibid, 115).

Matthew's Gospel and Jewish Second Temple texts and communities.[930] Michael White

asserts that Matthew's "ethical obligations are defined in remarkably Jewish (explicitly

Pharisaic) terms of Torah observance (Matt 5:17–21, cf. 28: 19–20), where the distinction

is in terms of superiority to other Jewish modes of observance."[931]

When it comes to halakhic issues, such as Torah fidelity, David Sim raises the

bar. He claims that Matthew's Gospel mandates that "both Jewish and Gentile followers

of Jesus needed to observe Torah in its entirety."[932] Runesson seeks more precisely to

place the Mattheans within a definable sub-group. He identifies numerous correlations

between the Gospel and Pharisaic ritual observances.[933] This leads Runesson to locate the

Matthean *ekklēsia* within a sub-group of pluriform Second Temple Judaism which he

calls "Apostolic Judaism."[934] Given the Jewishness presupposed of Matthew's

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[930] Craig A. Evans writes, "The arrangement of the genealogy into three periods of fourteen generations, the Moses typology (in the infancy narrative and in the presentation of Jesus' teaching in five major blocks of material—each concluding with the Pentateuchal phrase 'and when he finished'; e.g., Deut 31:24; 32:45), the appeal to five prophecies in the infancy narrative as fulfilled, the five antitheses in the Sermon on the Mount, the mountain motif, the haggadic embellishments, the familiarity with the diversity of text types available in Palestine, (now attested much more fully thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls), the familiarity with Jewish customs and interpretive traditions, the emphasis on fulfilling Torah so that one's righteousness exceeds even that of the Pharisees, and finally, the references to the 'house of Israel,' to whom the good news of the kingdom is to be proclaimed, testify to the utter Jewishness of the Gospel of Matthew" ("The Jewish Christian Gospel Tradition," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* [ed. O. Skarsaune and R. Hvalvik; Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 2007], 241–77, esp. 244).
[931] L. Michael. White, "Crisis Management and Boundary Maintenance: The Social Location of the Matthean Community," in *Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches* (ed. D. L. Bach; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 211–47, esp. 225.
[932] David C. Sim, "Reconstructing the Social and Religious Milieu of Matthew: Methods, Sources, and Possible Results," in *Matthew, James and Didache: Three Related Documents in Their Jewish and Christian Settings* (ed. H. van de Sandt and J. Zangenberg; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 13–32, esp. 31.
[933] Runesson claims that "if we search Matthew's Gospel we will find a) that the text accepts most of the ritual practices central to Jewish identity, and b) that it adds nothing that we would be able to term 'non-Jewish' or 'un-Jewish'." Runesson cites five categories of ritual observances: prayer, almsgiving, fasting, Torah/commandments, and public ritual reading of Torah in synagogue settings ("Behind the Gospel of Matthew," 465).
[934] "Rethinking Early Jewish–Christian Relations," 95–132, esp. 100, 100 n. 13, and 105.

readership, one can readily situate his community, as one can James', as meeting within a

synagogue building and/or as being part of a synagogue community.[935]

If the social location of the Matthean community was within formative 'Judaism,'

then where might its geographical *locus* have been? Scholarship locates the Matthean

community either in Galilee[936] or in diasporic Syrian Antioch.[937] If Paul does in fact infer

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[935] Saldarini notes that "Matthew's use of the word *ekklēsia* and his polemical references to 'their/your' synagogues prove that he and his group were totally separated from Judaism and institutionalized as a Christian community…Matthew probably used the word *ekklēsia* to denote his group in order to differentiate himself from his opponents in the Jewish community…He may also have been influenced by the practice of other groups of believers-in-Jesus who called their assemblies *ekklēsiai*…His use of the other Greek and biblical term for assembly, *ekklēsia*, may have been a counterclaim against his opponents among the Jewish leadership. Just as they claimed to lead the assembly (*synagoge*) of Israel, so Matthew claimed to lead the assembly of Israel according to the teachings of Jesus. Tagawa notes that Matthew half-consciously identifies Israel and his own group as one: '[Matthew] is clearly aware of the fact that the people Israel and the Christian Church are not directly equal, but on the other hand, he confuses them because both are the milieu in which he finds his own existence. From this confusion arises the dilemma of the Jewish–Christian problem'" (*Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community*, 119–20; cf. Kenzo Tagawa, "People and Community in the Gospel of Matthew," *NTS* 16 [1969–70]: 159).

[936] The apparent conflict between the Mattheans and formative 'Judaism' leads some scholars to posit Galilee rather than Antioch as a more likely location for such a debate since Galilee is closest to formative 'Judaism'. J. Andrew Overman pioneered this view (*Matthew's Gospel*, 158–59; later restated in his *Church and Community in Crisis*, 16–19). Other scholars who favour Galilee include Daniel Harrington (*The Gospel of Matthew* [SP 1; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991], 9–10) and Anthony J. Saldarini ("The Gospel of Matthew and Jewish–Christian Conflict in Galilee," in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* [ed. L. I. Levine; Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard University Press, 1992], 26–27). Aaron Gale locates Matthew's community in Sepphoris, the largest, wealthiest, and most cosmopolitan city in Galilee (*Redefining Ancient Borders: The Jewish Scribal Framework of Matthew's Gospel* [London: T&T Clark, 2005], 41–63). Runesson too leans toward Sepphoris, but also considers Tiberias as another likely location ("Behind the Gospel of Matthew," 462). Sims states that locating the Mattheans within Sepphoris is problematic, though; Josephus notes that during the Jewish war (66–70 CE) Sepphoris suffered extensive damage at the hands of his Galilean soldiers (*Vita* 373-380; *B.J.* 2.645-646). As such, Sim asks, first, why the war and its aftermath did not receive greater emphasis in the Gospel, and, second, would the Matthean community have had "the resources or even the will to compose a long and complex text such as Matthew?" ("Reconstructing," 24).

[937] Antioch on the Orontes, the capital of the Roman province of Syria, was one of the largest metropolises in the Roman empire. B. H. Streeter was first to suggest Syrian Antioch (*The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* [London: Macmillan, 1924]). More recent proponents include: Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 83–62; Robert Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Community under Persecution* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 609; Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew* (2 vols.; WBC 33A–B; Dallas: Word Books, 1993–96), 1.lxxv; Donald Senior, *The Gospel of Matthew* (IBT; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1997), 82; Warren Carter, *Matthew and Empire: Initial Explorations* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001), 36–37; Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 56–58; Rodney Stark, "Antioch as the Social Situation for Matthew's Gospel," in *Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches* (ed. D. L. Bach; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 189–210; White, "Crisis Management," 211–47. Although they also see Antioch as a likely location, Davies and Allison are well apprised of the challenges inherent in that position (*Saint Matthew*, 1.138–47).

that Jewish association synagogues named *ekklēsia* existed in Judea during his day (Gal 1:22; 1 Thess 2:14), then it is not unreasonable to assume that, in the post-70 CE era of the Matthean community, such Jewish *ekklēsiai* had spread to Galilee, the new *locus* of formative 'Judaism.' If so, then by self-designating as an *ekklēsia* the Mattheans implicitly self-present as an *intra muros* Galilean synagogue association.

Antiochean provenance for a Matthean *ekklēsia* is also possible. Three assumptions lead to such a conclusion. First, if, as I have suggested earlier, *ekklēsia* was a group designation assumed only by diasporic Pauline Christ-followers, and not by pre-Pauline Hellenistic Jewish Christ-followers in Judea, then only diasporic Christ-follower communities self-designated as *ekklēsiai*. This excludes a Galilean provenance. Second, if both Jewish (Acts 11:19) and gentile (e.g., Acts 11:19-30; 13:1-3) missions were sponsored by the Christ-follower community in Syrian Antioch, and if that community self-identified collectively as an *ekklēsia* (Acts 11:26), then it does not seem unreasonable to assume that the later Matthean *ekklēsia*, with its halakhic concerns, is a 'progeny' of the Antiocheans' Jewish mission.

3.3. Ekklēsia *in Homiletic Literature: Hebrews*

The homily known as the book of Hebrews uses the word *ekklēsia* twice (2:12; 12:22b-23).[938] In Heb 2:12 the author cites LXX Ps 21:22 verbatim (*en mesō ekklēsia*; "in the midst of the assembly/congregation"). The word *ekklēsia* in LXX Ps 21:22 translates

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[938] In Heb 13:22 the author calls Hebrews "a short word of exhortation." Many commentators consider the genre of Hebrews to be that of an ancient sermon. For example, William L. Lane, *Hebrews 1–8* (WBC 47A; Dallas: Word, 1991), lxix-lxxxiv, 59–80; Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 78–80; and Kenneth Schenk, *Understanding the Book of Hebrews: The Story Behind the Sermon* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2003).

the Hebrew word *qāhāl* (Ps 22:23). The *qāhāl* in Ps 22:23 can refer either to a meeting or

to a (temporary) collective identity ("in the midst of the assembled people"). The word

qāhāl recurs three verses later (Ps 22:26), but this time within the phrase *bĕqāhāl rāb*.

The LXX translates this phrase as *en ekklēsia megalē*. Both the Hebrew and Greek

phrases can be translated either as "in the great assembly" or as a temporary collective

designation: "in the great congregation."[939] If the word *qāhāl* in Ps 22:26 has the same

meaning as that assumed in Ps 22:23 (i.e., "meeting"), then LXX Ps 21:22, which

translates Ps 22:23, more than likely also refers to a meeting ("in the midst of the

people's assembly"). Thus, if in his citation of LXX Ps 21:22 (*en mesō ekklēsia*), the

writer of Hebrews intends the same meaning for the word *ekklēsia*, then the *ekklēsia* in

Heb 2:12 refers to the people's assembly, not to the assembled people.

Use of the word *ekklēsia* in 12:22b-23a is even more ambiguous. The controlling

factor for defining the phrase *ekklēsia prōtotokōn* (12:23a), according to Harold Attridge,

is "the precise construal of the term, 'festive gathering' (πανηγύρει)."[940] He lists three

translational options: (1) "to the myriads of angels in festive gathering and to the *ekklēsia*

of the firstborn"; (2) "to the myriads, a festive gathering of angels (and an *ekklēsia* of the

firstborn)"; or (3) "to the myriads of angels, a festive gathering and *ekklēsia* of

firstborn."[941] Attridge favours the first option "since it most closely conforms to the

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[939] The NRSV (Ps 22:25) translates the Hebrew text of Ps 22:26 as "From you comes my praise in the great congregation."

[940] Harold Attridge, *Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrew* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 375. Heb 12:22b-23a reads, "[you have come]…to innumerable angels in festal gathering (*myriasin angelōn panēgurei*), and to the assembly of the firstborn (*kai ekklēsia prōtotokōn*)."

[941] Attridge, *Hebrews*, 375.

balance of the phrases describing the new holy mountain" in 12:22-24.[942] This makes the

people of God, rather than angels, the referents for *ekklēsia prōtotokōn* (12:23a).

Irrespective of whether the phrase *ekklēsia prōtotokōn* speaks of humans or of

angels, *ekklēsia* could refer either to a "meeting" or to a universal collective identity (the

sum total of all God's servants). The concept of a universal people-group named *ekklēsia*

existing in the heavenlies prior to the *eschaton* is foreign to the rest of the New

Testament, including the writings of Paul.[943] Thus, since each of the pre-70 CE authors

posited for Hebrews is associated with Paul's apostolic mission, one would expect that

Heb 12:23b also would not speak of a heavenly people-group.[944] It seems preferable,

therefore, to translate *ekklēsia* in Heb 2:12 and in 12:22b-23 with the sense of "meeting."

3.4. Ekklēsia *in Apocalyptic Literature: Revelation*

The book of Revelation is addressed to seven *ekklēsiai* of Christ-followers in the

Roman province of Asia, each of which is located in a different *polis*.[945] The word

ekklēsia occurs twenty times, always in reference to the permanent designation of a

community.[946] The majority view dates the composition of the text somewhere within the

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[942] Attridge, *Hebrews*, 375. Heb 12:22a reads, "but you have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem." Unlike 12:22b–23a where the appositional pair occurs first ("to the myriads of angels in festive gathering"), in 12:22a the appositional pairing concludes the phrase ("to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem"). Attridge, though, does not see this as diminishing support for the first translational option (Ibid, 375 n. 63).

[943] A related concept does find expression in the book of Revelation, but only after the start of the *eschaton*, and only through the symbolic conflation of *ekklēsia* and *polis* imagery (the seven *ekklēsiai* as one New Jerusalem; Rev 21:9, 10). I explore this symbolic imagery in my section on Revelation.

[944] The list of potential authors for the epistle to the Hebrews include Barnabas, Apollos, Priscilla (and Aquila), Silas (otherwise known as Silvanus), Epaphras and Timothy (Attridge, *Hebrews*, 1–6).

[945] The seven *poleis* in Roman Asia are Ephesos, Smyrna, Pergamon, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea.

[946] Rev 1:4, 11, 20; 2:1, 7, 8, 11, 12, 17, 18, 23, 29; 3:1, 6, 7, 13, 14, 22; 22:16.

reign of Domitian (81–96 CE).[947] The author self-identifies as "John" (1:4, 9; 22:8). The *opinio communis* does not view him as the apostle John but as an itinerant prophet who had intimate knowledge of the Hebrew scriptures,[948] and who was so well known to his seven *ekklēsiai* that he needed only to mention his first name.[949]

The author gives little indication of how his *ekklēsia* communities functioned within their *poleis*. It can be safely assumed from the apocalyptic content of his letter that he is not interested in having his seven *ekklēsiai* maintain continuity with earlier Pauline

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[947] The majority consensus is well represented by commentators such as David E. Aune (*Revelation* [WBC 52A–C; Dallas/Nashville: Word/Thomas Nelson, 1997–1998]), Leonard L. Thompson (*Revelation* [ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998]), and G. K. Beale (*Revelation* [NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999]). Minority opinion dates Revelation to Nero's reign of 54–68 CE. Scholars of this opinion include: George H. van Kooten, "The Year of the Four Emperors and the Revelation of John: The 'pro-Neronian' Emperors Otho and Vitellius, and the Images and Colossus of Nero in Rome," *JSNT* 30.2 (2007): 205–248; A. A. Bell, Jr., "The Date of John's Apocalypse: The Evidence of Some Roman Historians Reconsidered," *NTS* 25 (1979): 93–102; Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 403–13, esp. 403–407; J. C. Wilson, "The Problem of the Domitianic Date of Revelation," *NTS* 39 (1993): 587–605; John Marshall, *Parables of War: Reading John's Jewish Apocalypse* (SCJ 10; Waterloo, ON.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001); idem, "Who's on the Throne? Revelation in the Long Year," in *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions* (ed. R. S. Boustan and A. Y. Reed; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 123–41; T. B. Slater, "Dating the Apocalypse to John," *Bib* 84 (2003): 252–58; G. Rojas-Flores, "The Book of Revelation and the First Years of Nero's Reign," *Bib* 85 (2004): 375–92; and M. Wilson, "The Early Christians in Ephesus and the Date of Revelation, Again," *Neot* 39 (2005): 163–93.

[948] The book of Revelation is rife with "echoes," parallels, and allusions, particularly to the Hebrew Bible. For example, the 10 plagues of Egypt form the basis for descriptions of divine judgment in the seven Trumpets and Bowls. There are no explicit quotations of HB texts in the book of Revelation, however. The number of allusions are said to vary from 1000 instances (C. van der Waal, *Openbaring van Jezus Christus. Inleiding en Vertaling* [Groningen: de Vuurbaak, 1971], 174–241) down to 195 occurrences (W. D. Dittmar, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1903], 263–79).

[949] The author of Revelation calls himself a "servant" of God (1:1; an HB title of honor as well as a self-designation of the apostle Paul [e.g., Rom 1:1]) and a "brother" of those he addresses (1:9). The simplicity of his self-description implies a certain intimacy with his readership such that further identification is thought unnecessary. His acquaintance with the condition of the seven churches of Asia Minor is evident in the seven letters he transcribed (2:1–3:22). His prophetic status is implicitly assumed given his description of Revelation as a "prophetic book." Thus, he may have been associated with the *ekklēsiai* of Asia Minor in some capacity as an itinerant prophet, possibly even belonging to a circle of prophets (22:9, 16). John's familiarity with the HB and the presence of numerous semitisms presumes his Jewish-Christian background. Second century authors widely identified the "John" of Revelation with John the apostle, the son of Zebedee (e.g., Justin Martyr, *Dialogue* 81.4; Irenaeus, *AH* 4.20.11).

ekklēsiai and enact a socio-ethnic form of *dēmokratia*.[950] In fact, the positive fashion in which the *ekklēsia* identity of his communities may have been viewed in the political culture of Roman Asia only would have undermined the author's apocalyptic polemic. As such, "John" required an offsetting counter-imperial identity. The metaphorical transformation of his seven *ekklēsiai* into an empire-encompassing *polis* serves that purpose well. His *ekklēsiai* are fictively depicted as together comprising a 2200 cubic km, counter-imperial, Jewish '*kosmos-polis*' named "the New Jerusalem" (21:9, 10, 16). Such imagery allows "John" to aim the cross-hairs of his alternative civic ideology past individual *poleis* in Roman Asia to the centre of the *imperium* itself, the city of Rome.

The metaphorical portrayal of the seven *ekklēsiai* in Roman Asia as '*the* Jewish City writ large' also serves the author's ethno-religious purposes. He is able to affirm that Jewishness is intrinsic to the ethno-religious makeup of his seven diasporic *ekklēsiai* in the *eschaton* and beyond, even into eternity. This convergence of counter-imperial and pro-Jewish, or non-supersessionist, ideology, within a single literary work and in such a sustained and visually explicit manner, suggests the value of exploring Revelation's use of the word *ekklēsia* in fuller measure than the other non-Pauline literary works.

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[950] The book of Acts records that Paul himself established at least one *ekklēsia* in Roman Asia, in the *polis* of Ephesos (Acts 19:1-8; cf. 20:17-38). (Deutero-)Paul names at least one other *ekklēsia* in Roman Asia which was loyal to Paul's apostolic authority (Laodicea; Col 4:16). Paul, who potentially writes four decades before John, also speaks of a regional affiliation of *ekklēsiai* in the Roman province of Asia (1 Cor 16:19), although Paul does not give the exact number. These "*ekklēsiai* of Asia" send greetings to the Christ-followers in Corinth (1 Cor 16:19).

3.4.1. Counter-Imperial Civic Ideology: John's Ekklēsiai *as Hegemonic* Polis

In Rev 21:9, 10, John implicitly identifies the New Jerusalem, which descends out

of heaven, as being "the bride, the wife of the Lamb" (21:2, 9, 10).[951] In a brilliant twist

of plot, one could say that the "people of God" have now become the "place of God."[952]

While the citizenry of some Greek *poleis* did self-identify inscriptionally as a *polis*,

John's transformation of an entire socio-religious group (e.g., the *ekklēsiai* of Roman

Asia) into a fictive *polis* appears to be distinctive.[953] It would have taken Stoic,[954]

Cynic[955] and Epicurean[956] conceptions of a universal commonwealth one exponential step

further. This is particularly true of Stoic conceptions of the ideal city. Stoics espoused

two types of ideal *polis*. In *Republic*, Zeno "proposes an ideal communist city, all of

whose citizens are wise."[957] This city is located in a single territory.[958] Cicero, the Roman

Stoic, revised Zeno's ideal *polis* by broadening its geographical reach to include the

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[951] Rev 21:9, 10 reads, "Then one of the seven angels…came and said to me, 'Come, I will show you the bride, the wife of the Lamb.' And in the spirit he carried me away to a great, high mountain and showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God."

[952] Robert H. Gundry claims that "John wanted his Christian readers…to see in the New Jerusalem, not their future dwelling place, but—what was even more heartening—their future selves and state" ("The New Jerusalem: People as Place, not Place for People," *NovT* 29 [1987]: 254–64, esp. 264).

[953] See n. 113 in which I mention Greek enactment decrees wherein the *politai* of a *polis* self-depict as a *polis* (*ISE* 53, *SEG* 33:317 and *SEG* 33:391).

[954] See n. 701 for a summary of Stoic civic ideology.

[955] Cynic civic ideology views every person as a "citizen of the *kosmos*," or as Diogenes defined himself, as a κοσμοπολίτης, and claim an intimate relationship with the founders of the *kosmopolis* itself, that is, the gods (D.L. 6.37, 72) (Gillihan, *Civic Ideology*, 108).

[956] Gillihan notes that Epicureans simultaneously affirmed the value of the Athenian *polis*, and later Greek and Roman empires, while critiquing their inadequacies, and concurrently seeking to establish alternative societies congruent with their alternative civic ideology (*Civic Ideology*, 97).

[957] Donald R. Morrison, "The Utopian Character of Plato's Ideal City," in *The Cambridge Companion to Plato's Republic* (ed. G. R. F. Ferrari; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 232–55, esp. 249.

[958] Richter questions scholarly assertions that Zeno envisaged "a cosmopolitan 'world-state' coterminous with the *oikoumenē*" and suggests that he, like Plato and Aristotle, attempted "to perfect the institution of the classical *polis*" (*Cosmopolis*, 62). Richter claims Zeno did not do away with the regionally delimited *polis* contra to what Plutarch and Eratosthenes may have thought (Ibid, 62).

entire *kosmos*.[959] Cicero's '*kosmos-polis*' is comprised of more than the wise; "it also includes the vicious and the stupid."[960]

Relative to the ethical makeup of the *dēmos* in the New Jerusalem, John differs from Cicero but sides with Zeno. John conceives of a virtuous *polis* community which excludes "those who practice abomination and lying" (Rev 21:27). When it comes to the geographical reach of the New Jerusalem, John differs with Zeno but sides with Cicero. While Cicero's '*kosmos-polis*' is conceptually abstract, John's concretizes his '*kosmos-polis*' by depicting it as a virtuous *dēmos*, consisting of at least seven earthly cleruchies (*ekklēsiai*), which together comprise a *polis* which stretches over much of the *oikoumenē*.

The area of John's walled city (approx. 5 million km^2) far surpasses the unwalled territory controlled by any hegemonic Greek *poleis*. Sparta was the largest with an area of 8, 000 km^2.[961] The ostensible presentation of John's heavenly *polis* as a territorial state also diverges from Greek conceptions of a *polis*. Hansen notes that Greeks never attempted "to unite all the city-states and create one large territorial state."[962] Even if one considers imperial Rome a territorial state, unlike Rome, John's New Jerusalem has walls

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[959] Cicero states that "the universe is as it were the common home of gods and men, or a city that belongs to both" (*ND* II 154; trans. Schofield, *Stoic Idea*, 65). In *ND* II Cicero claims to expound Stoic doctrine. Schofield states that Cicero's "faithful doxographic status" is confirmed by Arius Didymus as cited in Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* xv 15): "the universe is as it were a city consisting of gods and men, the gods exercising leadership, the men subordinate" (*Stoic Idea*, 66).

[960] Morrison, "Utopian Character," 249.

[961] Mogens Hermann Hansen discusses four hegemonic *poleis*: Sparta, Kyrene, Thessalonike, and Demetrias, the last two of which grew by synoikism, not by conquest ("The Hellenic Polis," in *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures: An Investigation*, vol. 21 [ed. M. H. Hansen; Copenhagen: Special-Trykkeriet Viborg a-s, 2000], 141–88, esp. 150). Hegemonic *poleis* were ruled from the centre even if their territory consisted of a number of independent *poleis* (Ibid, 150).

[962] Hansen notes that "one important point emerges with unerring certainty: the Hellenic world remained a world of *poleis* and no attempt was ever made to unite all the city-states and create one large territorial state like that created in the 19th century. To the Greek mind such an idea was as remote as, e.g., the abolition of slavery" ("The Hellenic Polis," 150).

within which to contain its territory. Even without the benefit of modern cartography, John's readers in Roman Asia would doubtlessly have interpreted the immense size of the city as a counter-imperial claim: it is through John's heavenly "people-*polis*" that God's sovereignty extends over Rome itself.[963]

3.4.2. Post-Supersessionist Theology: A Multi-ethnic People as a Jewish Polis

The fictive depiction of God's people as '*the* heavenly city writ large,' however, represents more than simply political ideology. It is also ethno-religious ideology of a type that would have broadly resonated with a Jewish audience. The author inculcates a Jewish heritage for his multi-ethnic *ekklēsiai* in at least three ways: through Jewish literary genres, a Jewish *polis*, and a Jewish temple-*polis*.

Greg Carey notes, firstly, that "Revelation stand[s] in a tradition of Jewish visions about Imperial rule."[964] Revelation correlates with Jewish visionary literature in its theology, terminology, and apocalyptic genre.[965] As an apocalypse, Revelation is anomalous, though, in having an epistolary framework. This fact opens up the possibility,

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[963] If one anachronistically measures ("as the crow flies") the distance between Jerusalem and Rome then a measurement of 1432 miles/2305 kms results.

[964] Greg Carey highlights other Jewish elements in Revelation: "John himself is Jewish. His name is Jewish. The letters to the seven churches assume that the addressees are Jewish…there has been no split between the followers of Jesus and 'Judaism'…John builds his Apocalypse upon the foundation of Jewish Scriptures" ("The Book of Revelation as Counter-Imperial Script," in *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance* [ed. R. A. Horsley; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008], 157–82, esp. 159).

[965] The Greek word ἀποκάλυψις (Rev 1:1), from which the modern word "apocalypse" is derived, simply means "revelation." It was not "until the end of the second century that Christian copyists and commentators...first bestowed the term 'apocalypse' on a select corpus of Jewish sources" (James C. VanderKam and William Adler, eds., *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* [CRINT III, vol. 4; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1996], 8). In this regard, anything formally classified as apocalyptic has primary reference to the "revelation" of heavenly mysteries. These mysteries, though, need not necessarily be of an eschatological nature. Rather, they may simply involve heavenly "revelations" of what is true throughout all of human history and not just in the *eschaton* (e.g., the tour of the heavenly luminaries in *1 Enoch*). For a list of the formal characteristics of the literary genre "apocalypse," see J. J. Collins, "The Jewish Apocalypses," *Semeia* 14 (1979): 23–44.

not yet suggested by scholarship, that Revelation's covenant-based apocalypse[966] may

also reflect another Jewish literary genre: a "covenantal letter to the Diaspora."[967] Donald

Verseput identifies five extant texts of this sub-genre of Jewish epistolary literature: Jer

29:1-23; The Epistle of Jeremiah; 2 Macc 1:1-9; 1:10–2:18; *2 Baruch* 78–86, and the

epistle of James.[968] Verseput states that a covenantal letter to the Diaspora evinces a tone

of consolation in light of future hope. Such a letter has six characteristics: (1) "an

authoritative center, typically Jerusalem"; (2) "consoled the assembled communities in

the Jewish Diaspora"; (3) "in the midst of the affliction"; (4) "occasioned by their evil

circumstance"; (5) "admonished them regarding their covenant responsibilities"; and (6)

"in hope of the expected restoration."[969] The tone of present consolation in light of future

hope is clearly germane to the symbolic message of the book of Revelation. Although

one of Verseput's six genre characteristics is not explicit (provenance from Jerusalem), it

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[966] Kenneth Strand explores the covenantal format of the book of Revelation ("A Further Note on the Covenantal Form in the Book of Revelation," *AUSS* 21/3 [1983]: 251–64). He finds all of the basic elements of the ancient Hittite suzerainty-treaty formulary in Rev 1:5–22:21: (1) *preamble* (1:5a); (2) *historical prologue* (1:5b-6); (3) *stipulations* (the seven letters (2:1–3:22); calls to faithfulness and loyalty (e.g., 6:9-11; 7:12-13; 12:11, 17; 14:12-13; 16:15; 18:4; 20:4); (4) *witnesses* (22:16a, 17a, 20a); and (5) *blessing-and-curse formulation* (22:7b, 14a, 18-19) (Ibid, 253–54). Strand notes that "the whole concept of vassal obligation within the covenant relationship is built upon the prior goodness of the suzerain…Obedience to the covenant stipulations—summarized in the book of Revelation as 'the commandments of God' and 'the testimony of Jesus' (12:17; cf. 14:12)—represents the Christian's obligation of love that stems from Christ's own prior love…and goodness" (Ibid, 264).

[967] Donald Verseput, "Genre and Story: The Community Setting of the Epistle of James," *CBQ* 62/1 (2000): 96–110.

[968] Verseput, "Genre and Story," 101–102. Verseput contends that "The relevance of this epistolary type to the reading of James' epistle is not difficult to grasp. On the heels of the salutatory address to the 'twelve tribes of the Diaspora,' James' introductory challenge to rejoice in the face of tribulation (1:2-8) is most plausibly read against the familiar Deuteronomic backdrop. For James, as for the other writers of the sub-genre, the exilic existence of Israel was a painful experience requiring perseverance in hope of God's ultimate triumph on behalf of his people" (Ibid, 102).

[969] Verseput, "Genre and Story," 99–101.

may be implicit.[970] The other five elements of a covenantal letter to the Jewish Diaspora

are expressly evident within the book of Revelation.[971]

A second way in which Revelation intrinsically unites its seven *ekklēsiai* with a

Jewish heritage is by calling the hegemonic *polis* "the New Jerusalem." The expansive

size of the eschatological Jerusalem exponentially reinforces Jewish Second Temple

conceptions of Jerusalem's centrality as the "navel/centre of the earth."[972] This is seen in

"John's" portrayal of the New Jerusalem as the culmination of God's salvation history:

the old and new covenant people of God are symbolically united into one eschatological

Jewish *polis*.[973] The Covenanters at Qumran partially mirror Revelation's conception of

people as *polis*. In their pesher on Isaiah 54:11 (4QpIs[d], 4Q164), the Covenanters

interpret the sapphire foundation stones of Isaiah's ideal Jerusalem as a reference to their

community (4Q164 1 ii).[974] This symbolism is approximated in the Apocalypse's

portrayal of the twelve apostles of the Lamb as the twelve-fold foundation of the New

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[970] This is particularly evident with respect to the first characteristic, "an authoritative center, typically Jerusalem." One can hardly call the Isle of Patmos an authoritative center from which John's 'epistle' was sent. But perhaps in the case of Revelation (and maybe even the epistle of James) it is not a geographical centre (e.g., Jerusalem), but rather a person, as the authoritative representative of that centre (e.g., an apostle-prophet; cf. Eph 2:20; 3:5), who fulfills that particular literary requirement of a "covenantal letter to the Diaspora." This possibility is enhanced if the "John" of the Apocalypse is the apostle by the same name whose socio-religious roots are centred in Jersualem.

[971] The book of Revelation, as a New Covenantal letter to the Christ-follower "Diaspora," would have: (1) "consoled the assembled communities in the Christian Diaspora" (e.g., the seven *ekklēsiai* [2:1–3:22]); (2) "in the midst of the affliction" (e.g., Smyrna [2:8-11] and Pergamon [2:12-13]); (3) "occasioned by their evil circumstance" (e.g., Philadelphia [3:7-13]); (4) "and admonished them regarding their covenant responsibilities" (e.g., Ephesos [2:1-7], Sardis [3:1-6], and Laodicea [3:14-22]); and (5) "in hope of the expected restoration" (e.g., the concluding promises of eternal reward for each of the seven churches [2:7, 11, 17, 26-28; 3:5, 12, 21]).

[972] Jerusalem is called the "navel of the earth" in *Jub* 8:19 and is said to be situated in the "middle of the earth" in *1 Enoch* 26:1, *Sib. Or.* 5:249, and *Arist*. 83. As already mentioned, in the HB, Jerusalem is the city which is implicit in the descriptor "the navel/centre of the earth" (Isa 24:13; Ezek 38:12).

[973] The city gates each have the name of one Israelite tribe inscribed upon them. Each of the twelve foundations has the name of one of Jesus' apostles inscribed upon them (21:12-14).

[974] 4Q164 1 ii reads, "[Its interpretation:] they will found the council of the *yachad* ["community"], the priests and the people…the assembly of their elect."

Jerusalem (21:14, 19-12).[975] There is one key difference, though. The faithful in

Revelation's '*kosmos-polis*' comprise the entire city, not simply its foundations.[976]

A third way in which "John" communicates Jewish ethno-religious ideology is in

his depiction of his multi-ethnic *polis* as a Jewish sanctuary.[977] The cubic form of John's

'*kosmos-polis*' is reminiscent of the shape ascribed to the Holy of Holies in the Israelites'

Desert tabernacle[978] and in the Solomonic Temple in Jerusalem.[979] Revelation's

transformation of the Old and New covenantal people of God into a fictive Temple-*polis*

positions "John's" New Jerusalem as being the eschatological fulfillment of the Jewish

hope for a renewed and purified Temple.[980] This hope is found in Jewish Second Temple

writings such as the apocalyptic works of *1 Enoch*,[981] *4 Ezra*,[982] *2 Baruch*,[983] the Qumran

sectarian work 4Qflorilegium,[984] and the non-sectarian, non-eschatological Temple Scroll

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[975] J. A. Draper, "The Twelve Apostles as Foundation Stones of the Heavenly Jerusalem and the Foundation of the Qumran Community," *Neot* 22 (1988): 41–63.

[976] John unites into one sacred space (21:9, 10) all faithful non-messianic Jews (the twelve tribes), represented symbolically as the twelve gates of the New Jerusalem (Rev 21:1, 13), and all multi-ethnic Christ-followers (21:24-27), whose twelve apostles are symbolically portrayed as the twelve foundations of the *polis* (21:14).

[977] John notes that he "saw no temple in the city, for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb" (21:22), that holiness extends to all parts of the temple-city ("nothing unclean will enter it"; 21:27), that only the pure will enter the city (21:27; 22:3, 14, 15), and that the (chariot) throne of the God and of the Lamb is set within its midst (22:3, 4).

[978] In Exod 26:15-30 the vertical boards of the tabernacle are described as being ten cubits high.

[979] 1 Kgs 6:20 describes the inner sanctuary as being 20 cubits cubed. See further Briggs, *Jewish Temple Imagery in the Book of Revelation* (1999).

[980] See Gärtner, *The Temple* (1965).

[981] In the Book of Dreams (*1 Enoch* 85–90), Enoch sees an eschatological city situated on a mountain which has no tower (temple). In both *1 Enoch* and Revelation there is no temple. This implies in each case that the entire city will be the sanctuary of God; *1 Enoch* does not portray its city as a people, though.

[982] 4 Ezra 7:26: "the city which now is not seen shall appear, and the land which now is hidden shall be disclosed."

[983] *2 Baruch* describes a pre-existent city and temple to be revealed in the *eschaton*.

[984] 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) speaks of an eschatological temple personally built by the hands of the Lord (מקדש אדם; "the place/temple of Adam"; 4Q174 3.vii). Unlike Rev 21:24, 4Q174 does not envision foreigners co-existing with God and his saints.

(11QT).[985] Additionally, "John's" inference that his Temple-*polis* replaces "heaven"[986]

mirrors Jewish portrayals of heaven as a temple. This imagery is found in *1 Enoch*,[987] the

Testament of Levi,[988] *3 Baruch*,[989] and Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.[990]

In contradistinction to Revelation's multi-ethnic New Jerusalem, the Covenanters'

self-portrayal as Jewish sacred space is exclusive in nature. Even though they pictured

themselves as a living Temple (CD, 1QS),[991] that imagery communicates their self-

perception as a living replacement for the corrupt Temple and its establishment.

Although John also is polemical in his use of Temple-*polis* imagery, his polemic

is not directed against the Temple and its establishment; Jerusalem's Temple lay in ruins

by this time. John's portrayal of God's people as a gargantuan, hegemonic, Temple-*polis*

can only have one rhetorical target: the Roman religio-political *imperium* and its

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[985] Hartmut Stegemann, "The Literary Compositions of the Temple Scroll and Its Status at Qumran," in *Temple Scroll Studies* (JSP 7; ed. G. J. Brooke; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 123–48. The temple in 11QT is not eschatological. It represents an "ideal temple, apparently . . . [the one] the Israelites should have built after their entrance into the land of Canaan" (Johann Maier, "Temple," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 2 [ed. L. G. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000], 921–27, esp. 925). The outer court measures 1700 cubits or 816 metres per outer side (11Q19 21.3-4; 22.13-15; 37.19; 40.5–45.2; 46.3; 4Q365 28.ii). See also, Johann Maier, "The Architectural History of the Temple in Jerusalem in the Light of the Temple Scroll," in *Temple Scroll Studies* (JSP 7; ed. G. J. Brooke; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 24–62, esp. 24–25.

[986] John locates the throne of God and of the Lamb within the New Jerusalem before which "his servants will worship him…reign forever and ever" (Rev 21:5). Prior to the eschatological consummation of all things (6:12–22:21), John had located the throne of God "in heaven" (4:1–5:14, esp. 4:1).

[987] The Book of Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1–36) describes a heavenly sanctuary, modeled on the Herodian Temple, through which Enoch travels on his way to God's presence so as to intercede for the Watchers (fallen angels).

[988] *The Testament of Levi* (2nd cent. BCE) "originally included three heavens, although in some forms of the text (α) 3:1-8 has been modified and expanded in order to depict seven heavens" (*OTP* 1.788). The uppermost heaven is the dwelling of God (*T. Levi* 3:4). This contrasts with John's portrayal of the entire cubic New Jerusalem as being the dwelling of God.

[989] *3 Baruch* (1st to 3rd cents. CE) appears to presume a cultic temple given the priestly role of the archangel Michael.

[990] In the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–407), heaven is depicted as a temple wherein the angels officiate the liturgy. Members of the community participate in the heavenly liturgy offered by the angels when they participate in the worship of the community (see Carol Newsome, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* [HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985]).

[991] See n. 838 for references in CD and 1QS.

pantheon of deities. In this, the Apocalypse reflects an alternative, not revolutionary, civic ideology that is both counter-imperial and non-supersessionist.

A comparison of the *ekklēsia* ideology found in Revelation with that evident in other non-Pauline literary works, including Acts, yields the following results. First, only Matthew, Acts, 3 John, the (deutero-)Paulines, and Revelation employ *ekklēsia* unequivocally as a permanent group identity for their respective communities. Second, only the deutero-Paulines and the Gospel of Matthew expressly use *ekklēsia* in a universal sense. Revelation does so only implicitly when it metaphorically transforms its seven *ekklēsiai* into a universal, eschatological *polis*. Third, five writers speak of a permanently designated *ekklēsia* community residing in Ephesos: (deutero-)Paul (Eph 1:1[?]; cf. 1:22; Col 4:10), John the Elder (3 John 9), the author of Acts (20:28), and the "John" of Revelation (Rev 1:4, 11). The use of *ekklēsia* terminology by Christ-followers located in Ephesos during the 1st century CE does not necessitate identifying them as counter-imperial ideologues. Such political ideology only emerges with "John's" depiction of his Ephesian Christ-followers as a hegemonic Jewish *polis*.

As one approaches the Apostolic Fathers, it is not so much political but rather ethno-religious issues which become more pronounced in their use of *ekklēsia* terminology. By the second century CE, the Jewishness of *ekklēsia* members becomes less prevalent, and in some cases, even abandoned. Revelation may even presage such an ideological shift. The "John" of Revelation appears to contrast *ekklēsia* with *synagōgē*,

especially in his pejorative phrase "*synagōgē* of Satan" (Rev 2:9; 3:9).[992] While some

later non-Jewish Christ-followers read this verse as justification for their parting of ways

with Jews, the 1st century readers/hearers of Revelation may very well have interpreted it

in two other ways. First, since *synagōgē* is not an inherently Jewish term, the "*synagōgē*

of Satan/the opposer" could refer to a Greek voluntary association or civic entity.[993] It

does seem, though, that a Jewish association is in view since John states that the members

of this *synagōgē* "say that they are Jews/Judeans, and are not" (Rev 2:9; 3:9). If a Jewish

group is in view, then, second, the phrase "*synagōgē* of Satan" may simply reflect "a

parting of ways" *within* Judaism(s), not between two so-called "religions" called

"Judaism" and "Christianity." Three factors suggest this: (1) the 'Jewishness' of

Revelation's text; (2) the probability that this Jewish text is describing an inner-Jewish

debate;[994] and (3) the fact that both *ekklēsia* and *synagōgē* are used as collective

terminology for Jewish communities. If Revelation dates to the end of the 1st century,

then the bifurcation of *ekklēsia* and *synagōgē* parallels both the *praxis* of one of the early

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[992] Aside from persecution in Smyrna and Philadelphia by the "synagogue of Satan," John mentions that one Christ-follower was purportedly killed in Pergamon (2:13), a *polis* where the Imperial cult overseen by the *koinon* of Asia existed. He does not specifically name any persecuting agent. Even though Pergamon is identified as the location of "Satan's throne" (2:13), David Aune claims that a Jewish synagogue community is not one of the possible referents for John's polemical phrase (*Revelation 1–5* [WBC 52A; Waco, TX: Word, 1997], 182–84).

[993] A second century BCE example of a non-Jewish *synagōgē*, in this case of the *neoi* of a *polis*, is extant in a civic honorary decree from Thessaly (*I.Thess* I 16; Kierion: Sphades, c. 125 BCE; cf. *IG IX*,2 259): ἐκκλησία<ς> [γενομέ]<ν>ης ἐννόμου, [ἐμφανισμὸν] ποιησαμένων τῶν ταγῶν...[—] τῆς τῶν νέων συναγωγῆς. A late 1st century BCE Alexandrian papyrus records the decree of a *synodos* devoted to emperor Augustus (*SB* XXII 15460=Brashear 1993, 14-15=Papyrus written by the same association as the inscription *BGU* IV 1137; 5 BCE [August 21]): "In the twenty-fifth year of Caesar…at the *synagōgē* which met in the house of the *synodos* of the *archakolothoi* ("principal followers") of emperor Augustus Caesar…whose *synagōgos* ("synagogue leader") is Primos and whose president is Ioukoundos" (*AGRW*, no. 280 [see also *AGRW*, no. 63]). See examples of other "synagogue" terminology used by non-Jews in *AGRW*, nos. 39, 54, 63 (*archisynagōgos*) and nos. 84, 85, 87, 291 (*synagōgos*).

[994] See John Marshall, "John's Jewish (Christian?) Apocalypse," in *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered: Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts* (ed. Matt Jackson-McCabe; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 233–56.

patristic writers (Ignatius), and the demise of *synagōgē* as a group identity for Jewish

Christ-followers (the Nazoreans of Transjordan).[995]

3.5. Ekklēsia *in Patristic Literature*

In the hands of the Apostolic Fathers, the semantic range of *ekklēsia* both shrunk

and grew.[996] Patristic literature does not use *ekklēsia* in the sense of "assembly" but

delimits its semantic domain to that of a permanent identity, whether local or universal. A

local group named *ekklēsia* is evident in *1 Clement*.[997] In this the author parallels Paul's

adscriptio from 1 Corinthians.[998] The (deutero-)Pauline and Matthean predilection for

using *ekklēsia* in its universal sense is reflected by a number of the Apostolic Fathers

(*Barn*. 7:11[999]; *2 Clem*. 14:2a[1000]; the writings of Ignatius [8x];[1001] *Didache* [3x][1002]).

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[995] See n. 906.

[996] The Apostolic Fathers are thought to have written in the 1st century or in the first half of the 2nd century. The five authors are Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp of Smyrna, and the authors of *Didache* and of the Shepherd of Hermas.

[997] Although *1 Clement* "is customarily dated to the end of the reign of Domitian (95 or 96 CE)…one may [best] place the composition of *1 Clement* between A.D. 80 and 140" (Laurence Welborn, "1 Clement," *ABD* 1.1060).

[998] "The *ekklēsia* of God which dwells at Rome to the *ekklēsia* of God which dwells at Corinth, to the called, made holy by a will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ" (*1 Clement*, Introduction; see also 44:3a and 47:6). As in Paul's time, the *ekklēsia* in Corinth was again suffering from factions and schisms. This letter seeks to reverse the expulsion of certain presbyters from the Corinthian *ekklēsia*.

[999] *Barn*. 7:11 reads, "But why is it that they place the wool in the midst of the thorns? It is a figure of Jesus set for the *ekklēsia*, because whosoever wants to take away the scarlet wool must suffer much because the prickly bush is formidable, and being oppressed He is lord of it." This passage's interpretive significance is in its very anti-Jewish stance and extremely allegorical interpretation of the Hebrew Bible. In this, it accords with the Alexandrian school's interpretive approaches. The anticipation of a rebuilt temple (16:3-4) places the composition of the Epistle of Barnabas sometime between temple destruction (70 CE) and Hadrian's reconstruction (*c*. 135 CE) (Jay Curry, "Epistle of Barnabas, The," *ABD* 1.613–14).

[1000] *2 Clem*. 14:2a reads, "I do not suppose that you are ignorant that the living *ekklēsia* is the body of Christ. For the Scriptures say God made man, male and female. The male is Christ; the female the *ekklēsia*." This formulation is reminiscent of Ephesians 5:22-33. *2 Clement* is not an epistle but a sermon addressed to a congregation (Stephen C. Walke, "The Use of *Ecclesia* in the Apostolic Fathers," *ATR* [1950]: 39–53, esp. 42). It has been dated from 120–140 CE (Harnack) to *c*. 170 CE (Lietzmann) (Robert M. Grant, "2 Clement," *ABD* 1.1061).

[1001] Ignatius, *Eph*. 5:1; 17:1; *Trall*. 2:3; *Phld*. 3:2; 5:1; 9:1; *Smyrn*. 1:2; *Pol*. 5:1. Of the eight passages in which Ignatius uses *ekklēsia* in its universal sense, only *Trall*. 2:3 is disputable. In that one instance, it may simply refer to the *ekklēsia* of God in Tralles rather than to the *ekklēsia* of God universal. It

The relationship between *Didache* and the literary works of Matthew and James is distinctive within the *corpus* of the Apostolic Fathers. *Didache* and Matthew both appear to address an intra-Jewish dispute, possibly with Pharisaic elements, and do so in polemical fashion.[1003] *Didache* differentiates itself from Matthew, though, in its lack of concern over "who can decide on the correct interpretation of Torah, a matter that is central to Matthew."[1004] James' concern with Jewish wisdom instruction is also reflected in *Didache*,[1005] but, unlike *Didache*, James "is not crudely polemical."[1006]

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reads, "And they also who are deacons of the mysteries of Jesus Christ must be in every way pleasing to all men. For they are not deacons (servants) of food and drink, but servants of the *ekklēsia* of God; they must therefore guard against blame as against fire."

[1002] *Did*. 9:4; 10:5; 11:11. The word *ekklēsia* is synonymous with the gathered total of all Christ-followers "from the ends of the earth" (9:11) and "from the four winds" (10:5) into God's kingdom. *Did*. 11:11 enigmatically reads, "though he enact a worldly mystery of the *ekklēsia*." The *Didache* is generally dated at the latest to the early years of the 2nd cent. CE. Stephen J. Patterson writes that "when the similarities between the Didache and Barnabas, or the Shepherd of Hermas, are no longer taken as proof that the Didache is literarily dependent upon these documents, the trend is to date the Didache much earlier, at least by the end of the first century or the beginning of the second, and in the case of Jean-P. Audet, as early as 50–70 C.E." (*The Gospel of Thomas and Jesus* [Foundations and Facets; Sonoma, CA; Polebridge Press, 1993], 173). Udo Schnelle dates *Didache* about 110 CE (*Theology of the New Testament*, 355). Robert A. Kraft provides a survey of scholarly perspectives on the provenance of the *Didache*: "that most commentators now seem to opt for Syria (Audet 1958; Hazelden Walker 1966; Rordorf and Tullier 1978) or Syro-Palestine (Niederwimmer 1977) as the place of origin is not in itself an indication that the supporting evidence is compelling; Egypt (Kraft 1965) and Asia Minor (Vokes 1970) also have their supporters" ("Didache, The," *ABD* 2.197).

[1003] Anders Ekenberg underscores the fact that *Didache*'s polemic against the *hypokritai* (*Did*. 8:1-2; cf. 2.6; 4.12; 5.1) "has its closest correspondence in the gospel of Mattew…*Did*. 8:2 comes especially close to Matt 6:5, 16" ("Evidence for Jewish Believers in 'Church Orders' and Liturgical Texts," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* [Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 2007], 640–58, esp. 643). See also, Johnathan A. Draper, "Christian Self-definition against the 'Hypocrites' in Didache 8," in *The Didache in Modern Research* (AGJU 37; ed. J. A. Draper; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 223–43, esp. 231ff. Marcello Del Verme adds a note of caution. Since "*Did*. 8:1-2 does not indicate that followers of Jesus were expelled from worship in the synagogue; therefore the mention of 'hypocrites' in *Did*. 8 does not lead to the supposition that such individuals are Pharisees or Jews…[but rather] one large group with factions, perhaps to be comprehended as Christian Jews" (*Didache and Judaism: Jewish Roots of an Ancient Christian-Jewish Work* [New York: T&T Clark, 2004], 147). For a detailed comparison of the Matthean community with Pharisaic sub-groups, see Runesson, "Rethinking Early Jewish–Christian Relations," 95–132. On Matthew and *Didache*, see also Anders Runesson, "Building Matthean Communities: The Politics of Textualization," in *Mark and Matthew I. Comparative Readings: Understanding the Earliest Gospels in Their First-Century Settings* (WUNT 271; ed. Eve-Marie Becker and Anders Runesson; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 379–408, esp. 389–393.

[1004] Joseph Verheyden, "Jewish Christianity, A State of Affairs: Affinities and Differences with Respect to Matthew, James, and the Didache," in *Matthew, James, and Didache: Three Related Documents*

Two observations arise from these comparisons. First, the communities of

Matthew and the didachist did not adopt *synagōgē* terminology, as did at least one other

group of Jewish Christ-followers (e.g., the Nazoreans), or "Jewish Christians," as Oskar

Skarsaune calls them.[1007] Instead, by self-designating as *ekklēsiai*, both communities

identify with another synagogue term, one which other Jewish associations appear

already to have adopted in Egypt and Judea. By presuming to be part of a universal

ekklēsia association, the Mattheans and didachists, firstly, differentiate themselves from

the regionally delimited *ekklēsiai* of non-messianic Jews, and, secondly, affirm their

rootedness both in "common Judaism"[1008] and in a trans-local stream of "messianic

Judaism" which ostensibly spans the Roman empire. Second, since the universal *ekklēsia*

and polemical rhetoric found in Matthew and *Didache* are lacking in James, one could

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in Their Jewish and Christian Settings (ed. H. van de Sandt and J. Zangenberg; Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 123–35, esp. 134.

[1005] Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Community," 94.

[1006] Verheyden, "Jewish Christianity," 134.

[1007] Oskar Skarsaune identifies as "Jewish Christians" those Jews who came to believe in Jesus but "at the same time continued a wholly Jewish way of life" ("Jewish Believers in Jesus in Antiquity—Problems of Definition, Method, and Sources," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Christians* [Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 2007], 3–15, esp. 4). In addition to ethnicity and recognition of Jesus as messiah, Torah observance is a key disguishing feature of what Skarsaune, in agreement with Mimouni, calls a "Jewish way of life" (Ibid, 9; cf. Simon Claude Mimoumi, "Pour une definition nouvelle du judéo-christianisme ancien," *NTS* 38 [1991]: 161–86). Skarsaune cites two categories of "Jewish Christians": first, those called Ebionites and Nazoreans and, second, "those unnamed Jewish believers, spoken of by Justin Martyr, who believe Jesus to be the Messiah and practice a Jewish way of life" (Ibid, 9). The actual term "Jewish Christian" or "Christian Jew" (*hebraeus Christianus*) finds at least one basis in antiquity "in the Latin prologue to the (now lost) Latin translation of Aristo of Pella's *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*, = Ps. Cyprian *Ad Vigilium Episcopum de Iudaica Incredulitate* (3d cent.)" (Ibid, 6). Skarsaune prefers the phrase "Jewish believers in Jesus," or "Jewish believers" for short, for those who "chose to become more or less 'orthodox' Christians within mixed communities, often with a Gentile majority" (Ibid, 4).

[1008] See n. 14 for E. P. Sanders' definition of "common Judaism," which I follow in this study. Del Verme suggests that "the phase of 'cohabitation' of Christian Judaism with other contemporary Judaisms is well documented by the *Didache*, in particular by the earlier *strata* of the work, which may be dated before 70 CE" (*Didache and Judaism*, 75).

suggest that James' diasporic community comprises a stream of Christ-following Jews

different from the *ekklēsia* association presumed in Matthew and *Didache*.[1009]

Stephen Walke observes that there are three other patristic usages of the word

ekklēsia which stretch its semantic range beyond that found in the writings of the New

Testament[1010] First, *2 Clement* speaks of a pre-existent *ekklēsia* in heaven, one which

existed prior to the resurrection of Jesus Christ (2:2; 14:1a, b, 2b, 3a, 4a).[1011] Walke notes

that this almost Platonic conception is unattested elsewhere in the Apostolic Fathers.[1012]

Second, Ignatius appears to be unique in his application of the collective term

ekklēsia to an individual. In *Trall*. 12:1 he writes: "I greet you from Smyrna together with

the *ekklēsiai* of God which are present with me, men who according to all things have

refreshed me in flesh and also in spirit."[1013] Walke comments that this concept may

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[1009] Verheyden identifies a common thread which joins these three communities that display "many ways and various 'degrees'" of what it means to be "Jewish Christian" ("Jewish Christianity," 134). He asks, "what is it that holds them together and might link them to other such groups? The answer is probably not to be found in matters of ethics, or ritual and praxis, nor in doctrine, but in the way these various groups and communities are positioning themselves in relation to the Judaism they originated from, hence what Garleff calls the formal criteria. What these groups have in common is, negatively, that they do not outrightly reject their Jewish roots and religious heritage, nor do they even struggle to free themselves from it, but, positively, rather try to 'master' their past and keep it functioning as well as possible within the new reality that is installed with and by Jesus and that they also fully recognize as such" (Ibid, 134–35; cf. Gunnar Garleff, *Urchristliche Identität in Matthäusevangelium, Didache und Jakobusbrief* [BVB 9; Münster: LIT, 2004], 26–47). Verheyden explains Garleff's two formal criteria as having "to do with indicators of continuity and differentiation, with how a group or community creates a link with its own past and roots and with how it also demarcates its present situation from that past" ("Jewish Christianity," 129).

[1010] Walke, "*Ecclesia* in the Apostolic Fathers," 49–51.

[1011] For example, *2 Clem*. 14:1a reads, "Therefore, brothers, when we of God shall do the will of the Father, we shall be from (or *of*) the first *ekklēsia,* from the spiritual, from that which was created before the sun and the moon." *2 Clem*. 14:3a reads, "Now the *ekklēsia* being spiritual was manifested in the flesh of Christ showing us that, if any one of us guard her in the flesh and defile her not, he shall receive her in the Holy Spirit; for the flesh is the anti-type of the Spirit. No one therefore having defiled the antitype shall receive the authentic."

[1012] Walke, "*Ecclesia* in the Apostolic Fathers," 49.

[1013] In Ign. *Eph*. 1:6, a not dissimilar concept surfaces: "Seeing then that I received in the name of God your whole congregation (*ekklēsia*) in the person of Onesimus, a man of inexpressible love and your bishop. . . ."

presage later descriptions of the Bishop as being not only representative of his diocese, but "also in a very real sense equal to, or a personification of, his diocese."[1014]

Third, the anachronistic English translation "Catholic Church" does not represent any of the semantic domains of the collocation *katholikē ekklēsia*. This collocation occurs five times in the Apostolic Fathers, once in Ignatius (*Smyrn.* 8:2) and four times in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (Introduction, 8:1a; 16:2; 19:2).[1015] Walke suggests that, at the very least, Ignatius intends the universal sense of the word *ekklēsia*, rather than of some later institution called the "Catholic Church." At least one late Imperial Greek inscription can be said to attest to the continued use of the phrase *katholikē ekklēsia* in a non-institutional, universal sense into the 4th century CE.[1016] Walke also notes another

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[1014] Walke, "*Ecclesia* in the Apostolic Fathers," 50. See n. 208 where later Christ-followers' concept of priest as the personification of people is presaged somewhat in the eponymous priesthood of Hellenistic-era Phrygian Laodicea.

[1015] *Smyrn.* 8:2 reads, "Wherever the Bishop appears let the people be present, just as wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the *catholic ekklēsia* (καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία)." One example of a reference to the "Catholic Church" in the Martyrdom of Polycarp is found in the Introduction: "The *ekklēsia* of God which dwells in Smyrna to the *ekklēsia* of God which dwells in Philomelium and to all the sojournings of the holy *catholic ekklēsia* in every place" (πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας). The Greek lexemes καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία underly Polycarp's other three references: (*Smyrn.* 8:1a) "Now when he had at last finished his prayer, after remembering all who had ever even come his way, both great and small, high and low, and the whole *catholic ekklēsia* throughout the world"; (*Smyrn.* 16:2) "And being one [here add 'of the elect'] he also became Polycarp, the wonderful martyr, in our times become an apostolic and prophetic teacher, [a] bishop of the *catholic ekklēsia* in Smyrna"; and (*Smyrn.* 19:2) "By his endurance he overcame the unrighteous ruler, and thus gained the crown of immortality, and he is glorifying God and the Almighty Father, rejoicing with the Apostles and all the righteous, and he is blessing our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of our souls, and governor of our bodies, and the Shepherd of the *catholic ekklēsia* throughout the world."

[1016] In at least one 4th cent. CE inscription (*RIChrM* 235; Makedonia [Edonis], Philippoi), the phrase *katholikē ekklēsia* can be read non-institutionally. Even though it is paired with the terms *apostolikē* and *hagias*, the full collocation may reflect the same non-institutional meaning behind similar wording found in the Nicene Creed (325 CE; μίαν, ἁγίαν, καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν). This inscription also delimits the referent for the full collocation to the Philippian congregation (τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας Φιλιππησίων). It does not apply that phraseology universally to all of Christendom, or even more specifically, to the institutional representative of Christendom centred in Rome and known as "the Catholic Church." *RIChrM* 235 reads: κοιμητήριον τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων πρεσββ(υτέρων) {²⁶πρεσβυτέρων}²⁶ Φαυστίνου καὶ Δωνάτου τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας Φιλιππησίων. Similar terminology is found, in part, in another 4th cent. CE inscription (*SEG* 19:719), but in

meaning attributed by Ignatius to *katholikē*. He states that "Ignatius means not only

'universal' but also 'true.'"[1017] Polycarp appears to employ the same double *entendre*

about fifty years later when he addresses issues related to Gnosticism and Montanism.[1018]

Justin Martyr not only conceives of a universal *ekklēsia* but also of a universal

synagōgē (*Dial*. 134; *c*. 132–135 CE).[1019] Membership in the *ekklēsia* and in the *synagōgē*

is divided along ethno-religious lines:

> [Justin Martyr] reserves 'church' (*ekklēsia*) for non-Jewish Christian institutions, while
> the synagogue could serve as the home of Christ-believing Jews as well as Jews who did
> not share this belief. Such a distinction is not evident in earlier sources, where both
> designations could be used either for Christian or non-Christian (Jewish) institutions.[1020]

Ignatius, however, does not conceive of Torah observant Jewish Christ-followers

belonging to the synagogue, let alone even to his Antiochean *ekklēsia*; his *ekklēsia* is

alienated from its Jewish roots.[1021]

This alienation became a *fait accompli*, in many respects, when in 380 CE

Theodosius I issued an edict that all subjects of the Roman empire should worship the

Christian God. Daniel Boyarin claims that this edict represents the birth of 'religion' as a

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this instance from Lydia in Roman Asia (Güllüköy, nr. Eşme). *SEG* 19:719 reads, [κοι]μητήριν
Χρειστιανῶν {²⁶Χριστιανῶν}²⁶ καθολικῆς ἐκλησίας. One inscription clearly uses the phrase in reference to
the institutionalized organization known as the "Catholic Church" (*IGLSyr* 5 2126; not datable; Syria,
Emesene — Djagar el-Amīri). It reads, ὡς ἐνετύπωσεν(?) ὁ θεοτίμητος Γρηγόρι]ος ἡμῶν πατριά[ρχης],
[κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς κανόνας(?) τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκ]λησίας·.

[1017] Walke, "*Ecclesia* in the Apostolic Fathers," 51. In commenting on the superfluousness of the
term "catholic" within the context of *Smyrn*. 8, Walke states that "its use here must mean that there was
some group in schism or in heresy which denied the Bishop, which broke the unity of the Church, and
against whom an adjective of generality or universality was necessary" (Ibid, 51).

[1018] Walke comments that "We can hardly avoid this inference, because the word is used so
naturally and so often without any preparation. The Catholic Church is the universal Church, that which is
'throughout the world,' but it is also the true Church, that which has Jesus Christ for its Shepherd"
("*Ecclesia* in the Apostolic Fathers," 52).

[1019] *Dial*. 134 reads, "Now Leah is your people and the synagogue [*synagōgē*]; but Rachel is our
Church [*ekklēsia*]. And for these, and for the servants in both, Christ even now serves."

[1020] Runesson, Binder, and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 272.

[1021] *Mag*. 10.3 (2nd cent. CE) reads, "it is monstrous to speak of Jesus Christ and to practice
Judaism."

separate social category, a 'religion' now known as "Christianity" and institutionally

represented in the "Catholic Church."[1022] By then the demographics of this "Christian"

institution known as the "Catholic Church" were predominantly gentile, with the word

"church" also doubling as a term for the structures ("basilicas") within which the

"Catholic Church" met.[1023] This 4th century development in how the *ekklēsia* of

"Christians" was conceived ("Catholic Church" and "church buildings") was

significantly different from how the concept of *ekklēsia* ("assembly") was understood by

early Christ-followers and perceived by Greco-Romans and Jews of the 1st century CE.

Ekklēsia life was considerably different "before Church."

3.6. Summary: Pauline and Post-Pauline Ekklēsia *Usages*

My review of non-Pauline and early patristic writings now affords the opportunity

for some broad-based conclusions relative to all *ekklēsia* usages within Christ-follower

literature up to the mid-2nd century CE. First, if the author of Acts uses *ekklēsia*

[1022] Daniel Boyarin, "Semantic Differences; or, 'Judaism'/'Christianity,'" in *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (ed. A. Becker and A. Reed; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 65–85, esp. 77. J. Andrew Overman is similarly disposed: "Up to the fourth century it is difficult to speak reliably about so-called Christianity and Judaism. The distinction between these two groups across the Roman Empire simply does not obtain in a consistent and thorough enough manner" ("Problems with Pluralism in Second Temple Judaism: Matthew, James, and the Didache in Their Jewish-Roman Milieu," in *Matthew, James, and Didache: Three Related Documents in Their Jewish and Christian Settings* [ed. H. van de Sandt and J. Zangenberg; Atlanta: SBL, 2008], 259–70, esp. 259). Ancient Mediterranean societies knew nothing of 'religion' as an autonomous socio-religious entity disconnected from ethno-cultural identities. See n. 786 in which (1) Steve Mason identifies six culturally integrated aspects of 'religion' which were integral to the warp and woof of everyday life in early antiquity, (2) where Bruce Malina notes that religion and economics "did not exist as discrete, self-standing, independent institutions in antiquity," (3) where Brent Nongbri claims that "religion" is a false category through which to investigate ancient societies, and (4) where Paula Fredriksen emphasizes the unified nature of cult and ethnicity.

[1023] One 4th cent. CE Egyptian inscription (*Pan du désert* 27; 340/1 CE) appears to use *katholikē ekklēsia* for the institution known as "the Catholic Church," although there is enough ambiguity in the phraseology to infer a reference to a church building being constructed (κατασκευάσας) in Porphyrites Mons (Gebel Dokhan). *Pan du désert* 27 reads: Φλαυιός Ἰούλιος ὁ διασημότατος ἡγεμὼν Θηβαΐδος ὁ κατασκευάσας ἐνταῦθα καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐπὶ τρῆτος ἐπισκόυ Μαξιμιανοπόλ(εως.

provincially when writing about pre-Pauline Christ-follower communities, then Paul's

communities are the only sub-group within the pre-70 CE Jesus movement which self-

designated collectively as *ekklēsiai*. Majority opinion ascribes a post-70 CE date to other

authors and writings which use the word *ekklēsia* as a permanent group identity.[1024]

Second, not all Christ-follower communities in the Diaspora are explicitly

identified as *ekklēsiai*. The Jewish writings of James and Hebrews use *ekklēsia* but not

unequivocally as a permanent group identity. In 1 Peter the word *ekklēsia* is notable by its

absence. This is even more striking since 1 Peter addresses Christ-followers across Asia

Minor, which is where Paul established *ekklēsiai* (Galatia, Roman Asia), and where, only

a few decades later, the author of Revelation writes to seven *ekklēsiai* (Roman Asia).[1025]

Third, not all Christ-followers within the same *polis* self-designate as an *ekklēsia*.

Paul's epistle to the Romans appears to be a case in point. Paul requests the addressees of

his epistle, whom he does not call *ekklēsia*, to extend greetings to an *ekklēsia* that meets

elsewhere within a house owned by Aquila and Priscilla (16:3-5). Paul's other four

ekklēsia occurrences in Romans all refer to his diasporic communities (16:1, 4, 16, 23).

The fact that Paul is not the founder of the Roman community helps explain why the rest

of the Roman community does not appear to self-identify collectively as an *ekklēsia*.[1026]

[1024] Matthew, Acts, Ephesians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, 3 John, Revelation, *1 Clement*, *2 Clement*, *Barnabas*, *Didache*, the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, and the writings of Ignatius and Justin Martyr. Since, as historiography, the book of Acts may have priorities other than presenting historical fact for its own sake, its description of pre-Pauline communities self-designating as *ekklēsiai* need not be taken at face value.

[1025] 1 Peter 1:1 reads, "To the exiles of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia."

[1026] I provide here a brief review of scholarship relative to the potential birth and makeup of the Roman community. Acts 2 claims that Jews from a number of regions throughout the Roman empire heard Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost. Some of those who came to faith in Jesus as the *Christos* (2:36-41) include Jews from Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia (Acts 2:9; 1 Peter 1:1) and Judeans/Jews and gentile

Fourth, not all Christ-followers within the same worshipping community self-designate as an *ekklēsia*. Paul's Corinthian correspondence is illuminating in this regard. Terms such as *hoi hagioi* and *ekklēsia tou theou* may indicate distinctive group designations assumed by some of the factions within the Christ-following community of Corinth (1 Cor 1:12; 3:4-6; 11:16; 14:33b-35).

Fifth, in relation to the Corinthian community, Paul may even use *ekklēsia* for ideological purposes. Within the course of only one of the Corinthians epistles (1 Corinthians), Paul employs all four of Schmidt's definitional categories for the word *ekklēsia*[1027] in describing four out of the six possible group sizes identified by Meeks.[1028] 1 Corinthians, thus, becomes in many respects not only a 'manual' of *ekklēsia* terminology but even a 'manifesto' of *ekklēsia* ideology. From many different angles,

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proselytes from Rome (Acts 2:10; cf. Rom 1:7, *klētoi hagioi*). Philip Esler suggests that the "Rome-born Judeans" and "non-Judean synagogue-attenders and reverers of the Judean God (called 'God-fearers' in the NT)…could either have returned to Rome taking the gospel with them or passed it on to Roman visitors to Jerusalem" (*Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003], 101). For support of Esler's view, see Richard Longenecker who cites evidence from church fathers such as Eusebius (303 CE) and Ambrosiaster (4th cent. CE) (*Introducing Romans: Critical Issues in Paul's Most Famous Letter* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011], 69–73). Contra Eusebius' contention that Peter introduced the gospel to Rome (*EH* 2.14.6; cf. 2:17.1 and *Chron* 261F), Longenecker favours the view of Ambrosiaster that Jewish Christ-followers, who already lived in Rome did (*Introducing Romans*, 71–73). This view dovetails with Acts' inference that Roman Jews and proselytes who came to Christ on Pentecost returned to Rome and began a community of Jewish Christ-followers.

[1027] Eleven of the combined total of thirty-one *ekklēsia* occurrences directly refer to the *ekklēsia* ("congregation") in Corinth or to its *ekklēsia* ("meeting") (1 Cor 1:2; 6:4; 11:18, 22; 14:4, 5, 12, 19, 23, 28; 2 Cor 1:1). Another sixteen occurrences implicitly assume that the Corinthian *ekklēsia* is trans-locally connected to other Pauline *ekklēsiai* (1 Cor 4:17; 7:17; 10:32; 11:16; 12:28; 15:9; 16:1, 19 [2x]; 2 Cor 8:1; 18, 19, 23, 24; 11:8, 28; 12:13). Some of the different groups of trans-locally connected Pauline *ekklēsiai* include the *ekklēsiai* "of God" (1 Cor 10:32), "of Galatia" (1 Cor 16:1), "of Asia" (1 Cor 16:19), and "of Macedonia" (2 Cor 8:1). Three occurrences may be references to non-Pauline congregations (*hoi hagioi*) which use the word *ekklēsia* in reference only to their "meeting" and not as a collective identity ("congregation") (1 Cor 14:33b, 34, 35).

[1028] Meeks' third and fourth group types are not represented within 1 (and 2) Corinthians. Paul does not speak either of a trans-local association located across geographical regions but aligned along ethnic or other criteria (e.g., 'the *ekklēsiai* of the gentiles"), or of a trans-local assembly (*hē ekklēsia*) which is comprised of a number of local assemblies in any given region ("the *ekklēsia* throughout all Judea, Galilee, and Samaria"; Acts 9:31).

Paul, the apostolic overseer of the Corinthian community, not only depicts *ekklēsia* life to the Corinthian Christ-followers, but he prescribes it.[1029] Paul applies these dictates even to those who do not yet appear to self-identify as a member of a Pauline *ekklēsia* (e.g., the *hoi hagioi* who "belong to Cephas"[?]; 1:12).

Sixth, Paul does not unequivocally use the word *ekklēsia* in a universal sense. The closest he comes is in 1 Cor 12:27, 28 where he equates the *ekklēsia* with the body of Christ, although it is not impossible that the *ekklēsia* of which he is writing may only be the Corinthian community. By contrast, within post-70 CE writings, the universal sense of *ekklēsia* is unmistakably present. The universal sense of *ekklēsia* comes to predominate within the Apostolic Fathers, with three new etymological developments surfacing. The word *ekklēsia* is used of a pre-existent community in heaven (*2 Clement*), of a bishop as the personification of the whole congregation (Ignatius), and of a *katholikē* congregation, that is, a "universal and true" congregation (Ignatius, Polycarp).

[1029] 1 Cor 4:17 ("Timothy…[will] remind you of my ways in Christ Jesus, as I teach them everywhere in every *ekklēsia*"); 1 Cor 7:17 ("this is my rule in all the *ekklēsiai*"); 1 Cor 11:16 ("we have no such custom, nor do the *ekklēsiai* of God"); 1 Cor 14:19 ("nevertheless, *en ekklēsia* I would rather speak five words with my mind"); 1 Cor 16:1 ("you should follow the directions I gave to the *ekklēsiai* of Galatia").

4. Conclusion: Part III

I began the third part of this thesis by suggesting that Paul's diasporic communities are just as viable of a choice for the distinction of being the first sub-group in the Jesus movement to self-designate as an *ekklēsia* as are pre-Pauline Hellenistic Jewish Christ-followers in Jerusalem. I then examined Paul's undisputed writings for the socio-political and ethno-religious implications of that terminological move. Politics in Imperial Greek *poleis* provided a basis for assessing the socio-political implications of a non-civic group self-identifying with a civic identity (*ekklēsia*).

My political findings form a six-point position statement: each Pauline *ekklēsia* reflects civic ideology for the creation of an alternative society, which is not counter-imperial, nor a trans-local parallel political organization, but rather a trans-local Jewish socio-religious voluntary association, whose membership was open to Greco-Roman participants, and which could have been viewed as a pro-'democratic,' counter-oligarchic participant in the ubiquitous "*ekklēsia* discourse" of the newly developing political culture of 1ˢᵗ century CE Greco-Roman society.

My ethno-religious findings identify six ways in which a permanent *ekklēsia* designation could be said to root Paul's multi-ethnic Christ-followers in a Jewish heritage. Three ways are by literary depiction: Paul metaphorically transforms his *ekklēsiai* into the temple of God, the body of the Jewish *Christos*, and a sacred Jewish synagogue. The other three ways are by lexical association. *Ekklēsia* is the same designation used by contemporaneous non-messianic Jewish voluntary associations in

Egypt (and perhaps Judea), by public synagogue assemblies in Judea, and by the translators of the LXX for the nation of Israel.

My research advances scholarship on Pauline *ekklēsiai*, specifically those in Asia Minor, in at least two respects. First, I problematize counter-imperial interpretations of Paul's *ekklēsiai* by assessing the political implications of their adoption of a civic identity through the lens of the political culture in Asia Minor. Second, I not only explore analogies between Pauline *ekklēsiai* and the *proseuchai* of Bosporan Jewish *synagōgai*, but I contend that Paul's designation of his communities as *ekklēsiai* was ideologically motivated for the purpose of linking his Jewish and gentile Christ-followers with a Jewish heritage.

Conclusion

As my study of the word *ekklēsia* has wound its way through the corridors of time, a number of doors of enquiry have opened into its use within Greek, Roman, Jewish, and Christ-follower sources. This journey of enquiry has discovered that before its translation as "church" or "the Church," *ekklēsia* had a much broader semantic range.

With respect to Greek and Roman sources, *ekklēsia* referred to the civic assemblies of the citizenry (*dēmos*) of a Greek *polis*, to a temporary group designation for the *dēmos* while meeting in their *ekklēsia*, and to some semi-public assemblies of non-civic groups in the Greek East (Delos, Samos, Sinuri). I have suggested that a voluntary association which self-designated as an *ekklēsia* could very well have been seen as a positive, rather than as a counter-imperial, participant within Greek *poleis*. If some Greco-Roman outsiders, especially Roman authorities, perceived Pauline *ekklēsiai* also as being communal 'sites' of socio-ethnic *dēmokratia*, then, by giving his non-civic groups a political identity, Paul provided them with a type of 'defense mechanism.' It would have been difficult for Roman suspicions to have been aroused over a voluntary association in the Greek East, the socio-religious *praxeis* of which portrays it as a paragon of civic order and *dēmokratia*, and the very name of which situates it in the centre of the "*ekklēsia* discourse" in Asia Minor.

Within Jewish sources, *ekklēsia* was used for various assemblies of, and even as a supra-local identity for, the ethno-religious nation of Israel, for publicly accessible gatherings of Jews during the Hellenistic (Judea) and Imperial periods (Judea and Alexandria), and for the permanent group identity of at least one semi-public, non-civic group in Philo's Alexandria (*Virt*. 108). When it comes to early Christ-follower sub-

groups, Binder has identified the need for a focused study on "the emergence and development of the Christian *ekklēsia*," specifically with respect to its function as a "sectarian synagogue."[1030] Given that *ekklēsia* is a synagogue term, one of the goals of my study has been to begin the process of understanding "the emergence and development" of those early Christ-follower *ekklēsiai* as "sectarian synagogues," or perhaps better, association synagogues. Its use by *intra muros* groups within pluriform Second Temple Judaism, and its subsequent adoption by Pauline Christ-followers, becomes another factor by which to problematize scholarly suggestions that Paul was "parting ways" with Judaism(s), 'Jewishness,' or Jewish organizational forms or that Paul was supersessionist in his *ekklēsia* ideology.

It seems clear, though, that no such thing as a "Christian *ekklēsia*" existed in the 1st century CE, if by that term Binder means a universal *ekklēsia* consisting of all Christ-followers within the Roman empire. Not every Christ-follower community appears to have self-identified as an *ekklēsia*. The New Testament only explicitly attributes *ekklēsia* as a permanent collective identity to Christ-follower groups which were apostolically aligned with Paul, the "elder" John, the "prophet" John, or Matthew.

By the turn of the century, however, patristic writers appear to employ *ekklēsia* in more standardized fashion as a universal entity to which all Christ-followers belong. This terminological development glosses over regional variations in how Jewish Christ-followers, in particular, self-identified (e.g., *hoi hagioi*, *synagōgē*), and plays right into the hands of Ignatius and Justin Martyr who created an ethnic bifurcation between

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[1030] Binder, *Into the Temple Courts*, 24.

ekklēsia and *synagōgē* communities. Justin Martyr conceives of Christ-followers belonging to a universal *ekklēsia* or to a universal *synagōgē*, with non-Jews belonging to the *ekklēsia* and Jewish Christ-followers to the *synagōgē*. Ignatius appears to have gone a step further. He no longer countenanced the *praxeis* of ethno-religious Jews within his Christ-follower community in Antioch. By the time of Theodosius I this ethnic alienation became the norm when the religio-political institution that was the universal *ekklēsia* came to consist almost exclusively of gentiles. Not least by this time the semantic range of *ekklēsia* lost its primary meaning as a community of people and shifted in its definitional focus to identifying the institutionalized "Catholic Church" and the structures ("basilicas/churches") within which "the Church" met.

Ethical implications arise from the knowledge that one can translate *ekklēsia* as "meeting" rather than only as "congregation," or anachronistically as "church." At least two passages in the New Testament come into clearer focus as a result. First, if one translates *ekklēsia* as "meeting" in 3 John 6 and 10, then that ancient community did not enact a disciplinary strategy for "church discipline" which entailed the exclusion of members from the community itself. Rather, rebellious members were excluded from participation in that community's worship "meeting." It can be assumed that the disciplinee was still able to interact with the community outside of assembly times.

Second, if, in 1 Cor 14:33b-35, one both translates *ekklēsia* as "meeting" and assumes that the silence imposed upon women during that "meeting" reflects the practice of a non-Pauline sub-group of Christ-followers who self-designate as *hoi hagioi*, then

Paul can not be labelled as a misogynist, but rather as one who affirms the right of women to participate publicly in his communities' *ekklēsiai*.

Campbell's dictum that identity precedes theology appears to have particular application to Paul's epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, particularly if one presumes that not all Christ-followers within those two communities self-designated collectively as *ekklēsiai*. Paul's theology, especially his fictive portrayal of Christ-followers as the temple of God, the Body of the Jewish *Christos*, and a sacred manumission synagogue, can then be seen as having as its primary goal the construction of a socio-religious bridge. This bridge is not for the crossing and mending of a Jewish–gentile ethnic divide, but rather of "a denominational divide," so to speak, between Paul's *ekklēsiai* and those Christ-followers who hold different apostolic allegiances, particularly to the apostles in Jerusalem (e.g., *hoi hagioi*).

At least two directions for further study evolve out of the present study. I phrase them as questions. First, "at what point in his apostolic mission did Paul first adopt the idea of a permanent *ekklēsia* identity?" and, second, "what are the self-designations of other Christ-followers who did not designate collectively as an *ekklēsia*?" Two pluralistic sub-group identities factor prominently in answering both questions: *hoi hagioi* and *Christianoi*.[1031] It would seem that an opportune moment has now arrived for a

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[1031] See Trebilco, *Self-designations*, 122–63 (*hoi hagioi*), 272–97 (*ho Christianos*). The author of Acts records that the sub-group identity *Christianoi* originated in Antioch and was adopted by the community there only after gentiles were incorporated (Acts 11:19-30). This raises the question as to whether an exclusively Jewish identity (*hoi hagioi*) was no longer tenable for the Antiochean Christ-followers' newly *multi-ethnic* community. The term *Christianoi* would have fit the new socio-ethnic realities of the Antiochean community well in that it still maintained their indelible rootedness in a Jewish heritage (i.e., *Christos* as the Jewish Messiah), but had a semantic range broad enough to allow for gentile inclusion (i.e., *Christianoi* indicates followers of the *Christos*, irrespective of ethnicity). The primary

comprehensive reassessment of group identity construction among early Christ-followers

and to re-read their writings, which collectively are known canonically as the New

Testament, with an ear to the implied conversations between differentiated

'denominational' sub-groups. Some are in conversation with each other, such as the

Christ-follower communities in Rome and Corinth. Other Christ-follower *ekklēsiai* are

only literarily attested decades later, whether in Roman Asia (e.g., the *ekklēsiai* of the

elder John and of the prophet John), or in Galilee or the Diaspora (the Mattheans). It is

my hope that this study has provided a sufficiently firm foundation upon which to build

the next step of reconstructing a diachronic picture of group identity formation within the

early Jesus movement.

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apostolic allegiance of the *Christianoi*, however, was still with the Jerusalem apostles (Acts 11; 1 Peter 4:16). Thus, once the gentile mission under Paul's apostolic authority began to develop, a new collective identity would have become necessary. Paul chose *ekklēsia*. 1 Peter does not use *ekklēsia* terminology when writing to its diasporic addresses in Asia Minor (Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia; 1 Peter 1:1). Christ-followers are referred to individually as Χριστιανός (1 Pet 4:16). *Christianos* only occurs four times within early Christ-follower writings (Acts 11:26; 26:28; 1 Pet 4:16; *Did.* 12:4). *Didache* uses *Christianos* in a matter of fact way as insider terminology. *Didache* instructs an itinerant preacher to live "as a *Christianos* with you, not idle" (πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν ζήσεται Χριστιανός). Extended discussions of *Christianos* as a socio-religious sub-group identity within the early Jesus movement include: Heinrich Karpp, "Christennammen," in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum; Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt* (29 vols; ed. T. Klauser [Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950], 2.1115–38); Tim Hegedus, "Naming Christians in Antiquity," *SR* 33 (2004): 173–90; Trebilco, *Self-designations*, 272–97; and most recently, the unpublished dissertation of Eric Rowe ("Called by the Name of the Lord: Early Uses of the Names and Titles of Jesus in Identifying His Followers" [Ph.D. diss., The Graduate School of the University of Notre Dame, 2012]), 119–57). For specific discussions on the origin of the term *Christianos*, see Paul Achtemeier who suggests that "the language of Acts 11:26 implies" that *Christianos* is "outsider language," but without further comment (*1 Peter* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996], 313 n. 114). Charles Bigg notes that *Christianos* "is of Latin formation," yet without much explanation (*The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude* [ICC; 2d ed.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1902], 179). Peterson argues that the ending –ανος indicates its origin in a Latin speaking milieu. Peterson suggests it goes back to Roman officials ("Christianus," in *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis: Studien und Untersuchungen* [ed. E. Peterson; Rom et al.; 1959], 64 –87, esp. 66–77; cited in Reinhard Feldmeier, *The First Letter of Peter: A Commentary on the Greek Text* [trans. P. H. Davids; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2008], 227). Outsiders other than Tacitus who designate early Christ-followers as *Christianoi* include Suetonius (*Vit.* 6.16.2), Pliny (*Ep.* 10.96) and Lucian of Samosata (*Alex.* 25; *Pergr. mort.* 11–13, 16). See Bigg, *The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 179; Leonhard Goppelt (*A Commentary on 1 Peter* [EKK; trans. John E. Alsup; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993], 309); Ernest G. Selwyn (*The First Epistle of St. Peter* [2d ed.; London: Macmillan, 1955], 225); and J. Ramsay Michaels (*1 Peter* [WBC 49; Waco, TX: Word, 1988], 268).

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Appendix #1: *Ekklēsia* in First Century BCE Inscriptions

Sardis 7,1 8, Lydia, Sardis, 5–1 BCE; ἐπὶ τῶι Γαΐωι χαρὰν καὶ περὶ ὅλον τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ εὔνοιαν, παραγενόμενός τε ἐν τῆι συναχθείσῃ δημοτελεῖ ἐκ<κ>λησίαι τὴν ἀποπρεσβείαν ἐποιεῖτο, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν.

JÖAI 62,1993,114, Nr. 2, Ionia, found in Ephesos, 29 BCE (copy is from the 2nd cent CE): Brief [Octavians] an [bo]ule und demos von [Ephesos]; betr. eine Gesandtschaft der Ephesier bezügl. Eines [ps]ephism[a] der ephesischen Gerusie sowie die Bestätigung von Privilegien (der Gerusie?); πρέσβε[ις] [τῆς ἐκκλη]σίας <ἀπέδοσάν τ'> ἐμοὶ τὸ παρὰ τῆς γερουσ[ίας ψ]ήφισμ[α] [διέλεξ]άν τε ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἐν αὐτ[ῷ δι]ακε[ιμέ][νοις· διὸ τό] τε σύστημα τῆς γερουσίας [ἀποδέχομαι].

Clinton, Sacred Officials 50,D14/*SEG* 30:93, Attica, Athens, 20/19 BCE: This is the latest extant Athenian decree formalized during an *ekklēsia kyria*; ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν Μηνόφιλος.

Agora 16 335/*IG*^{2} 1051+1058/*SEG* 24.141, Attica, Athens, 30–22/21 BCE; This decree reflects dealings with the klerouchs in Lemnos and recounts the Athenian decision to send four emissaries with the text of a decree to Lemnos, one of whom was a herald (κῆρθξ) of the *boulē* and *dēmos*; [ἐπὶ ...c.11.... ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς ....c.20........ πρυτανήας][ἦ ....c.22.........ἐγρ]αμμάτε[υεν· ....c.20........][......c.16...... τῆς πρυτα]νήας· ν ἐκκλησ[ία κυρία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι· τῶν] [προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν ..c.7.. Δ]ωροθέου [..c.8... καὶ συμπρόεδροι]·[ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι·.1032

IDid 218ΙΙ, Ionia, found between Didyma and Karakuyu, *c*. 38/24 BCE: *Prophētēs* inscription for [Lysimachos?] Sopolidos, envoy to Egypt and Rome; προφήτης vacat [Λυσίμαχος?]‖ Σωπόλιδος, ἀνὴρ εὐσεβὴς καὶ [φιλόδοξος?,]‖ πρνεσνβεύνσας ν δὲ καὶ εἰς Ῥώ[μην καὶ ἀπο]‖κατανστηνήσανς τήν τε πρό[τερον ἐκκ]‖λησίαν τῶι δήμωι καὶ τοὺς νόμους.

SEG 55:608, Thessalia (Pelasgiotis) — Larisa, *c*. 70 BC: Citizenship decree for Zobios and Dionysios of Chalkis; προγραφῆς γενομένης πρὸς τὴν ἐκλησίαν {²⁶ἐκκλησίαν}²⁶ τὴν ἐν τῶι Ἱπποδρομίωι μηνί, στρατηγοῦντος Ἡρακλείδου, περὶ τοῦ δοθῆναι πολιτείαν Ζωβίω Ζωβίου, προξένω Θεσσαλῶν, καὶ Διονυσίω Ζωβίου Χαλκιδεῦσιν τοῦ καὶ ἐπαχθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκλησίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ προεστῶτος ταγοῦ Εὐδίκου τοῦ Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ αἰτησαμένου αὐτοῖς τὴν πολιτείαν Φιλοκράτους τοῦ Ἀντιγ[ό]νου.1033

Reynolds, *Aphr.&Rome* 2, *Aphrodisias* 28, 88 BCE: An inscription which was found at Aphrodisias is a Decree of the *boulē* and *dēmos* (of Plarasa/Aphrodisias) to give military help to Quintus Oppius, Roman praetor pro consule; εἴλατο δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἄνδρα τὸν ἡγησάμενον ν ἀνανκαῖον δέ ἐστιν ἐξαποστεῖλαι καὶ πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς ἐνφανιοῦντας τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ περί τε τῆς αἱρέσεως ἧς ἔχει ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὄντας σωτῆρας καὶ εὐεργέτας καὶ ἐάν τι ὁ στρ<ατ>ηγὸς ἐπιτάσσῃ καὶ ἕτερον τῇ πόλει.

> It has been decided by the *ekklēsia*, and it is (appropriate??) to dispatch a man to lead things, and (demarcated) ambassadors to the proconsul in accordance with the proposal which our *dēmos* adopted for the purpose of being deliverers and benefactors of the Romans; and whatever the general may command, and anything else for the *polis*…

BCH 52 (1928) 174[2], Delphi, Phokis — Delphi, 100–50 BCE; μηνὸς Βοαθοίου τετράδι, [ἐ]ν ἐννόμωι ἐκκλησίαι· βουλευόντων Κλεοδάμου, Αἰακίδα, Μέντορος, Δίωνος·.

1032 For a detailed analysis of *Agora* 16 335/*IG*^{2} 1051+1058/*SEG* 24.141, see Benjamin D. Merritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 36, no. 1 (1967): 57–100, esp. 66–68.
    1033 See A. Tziafalias and B. Helly, *BCH* 128/129 (2004/5): 407, II; cf. J.-C. Decourt and B. Helly, *BE* (2008): 316.

IK 6,7 (*IMT NoerdlTroas* 7), Troas, Äg. Inseln — Thasos, Agora von [Aa: Lampsakos], 100–66 BCE; δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι, τὴν βουλὴν προβουλεύσασαν καθ' ὃ τιμηθήσεται προξενίαι Διονυσόδωρος ἐξενεγκεῖν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, συντελεῖσθαι δὲ ὡς ἂν τῶι δήμωι δόξηι·

> Resolved by the *boulē* and the *dēmos*, since the *boulē* made a *probouleuma* according to which Dionysidorus will be honoured by proxeny before the *ekklēsia*, let it be decided as the *dēmos* sees fit.

IG II² 1028, Attica, Athens, 100/99 BCE; Βοηδρομιῶνος ἐνάτηι ἱσταμένου, ἐνάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν Ἐπιτέλης Ἀρεταίου Παιανιεὺς καὶ συμπρόεδροι·

IK Knidos I 31,Dlph, Caria, Phokis–Delphoi, 100 BCE: ᾧ] ἡ Ἀσία ἢ Μακεδονία ἐπαρχεία ἐστίν, [ὅδ'] ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα ταῖς ἔγγιστα, αἷς ἂν γν[ωρίσῃ τοῦτον τ]ὸν νόμον τ[ῶι δήμωι κεκυρῶσθαι ἐ]ν τῆι ἐκκλησίαι, ὀμνυέτω ὅτι ὅσ' [ἂ]ν ἐν τούτωι τῶι νόμωι κελεύει ποιεῖν, πάντα ποιείτω, οὔτε ὑπεναγ[τίον τι ποιήσει ἄνευ] δόλου πονηροῦ.

> The Praetor [or Proconsul who] has either Asia or Macedonia as his province shall, within the ten days immediately after he learns that this law [has been confirmed by the People] in the assembly, take an oath to do everything that he is required to do in this law and shall not do anything contrary [to its provisions] with malice or ill-will.[1034]

IG XII,1 3, Rhodes and S. Dodecanese, Rhodes, somewhere between the 1st cents. BCE to CE: A decision to purchase olive oil is transacted by the *dēmos* in the *ekklēsia*; ἔδοξεν τῶι δ]άμωι ἐν τᾷ ἐκ<κ>λησίᾳ ἐν τῶι Ἀρταμιτίωι μηνί· τῶ[ν ἀνδρῶν, οἵτ]ινες θησεῦντι καὶ πωλησεῦντι τὸ ἔλαιον ἰς τ[ὸ] [γυμνάσιον(?) ἀ]φθόνως.

IMyl 102/*Mylasa* 25, Caria, found at Mylasa, 1st or 2nd cent. BCE: Honorary decree by *boulē* and *dēmos* for Mos[chio]n Aristeidou; Φιλίππου τε τοῦ Διοφάντου ἐπελθόντος [ἐπὶ] τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκλησίαν, δηλώσαντός τε διότι σῶμα αὐτο[ῦ] ἐψυχαγωγημένον ἧκται εἰς Μύνδον, αἱρεθεὶς πρεσβευτὴς πρὸς Μυνδίους.

> After Philip and Diophanus came before the *boulē* and the *ekklēsia*, and made known that his (lifeless??) body had been brought to Myndos, an ambassador was chosen (to go to) Myndos.

Myl 207 (see also *Imyl* 206/*Mylasa* 83, 212/*Mylasa* 87, 1st or 2nd cent. BCE): Decree of phyle of Otorkondeis concerning purchase of land from Thraseas; ἐπελθὼν δὲ καὶ ὁ Θρασέας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκλησίαν νης δὲ τῆς ὠνῆς τῶν προγεγραμμένων τοῖς κτηματώναις εἰς -γραμμένα πάντα αὐτὸς Θρασέας παρὰ τῶν ταμιῶν τῆς καὶ ἕξει αὐτὰ εἰς πατρικὰ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἢ οἷς ἂν ἡ -λέσει ἑκάστου ἔτους φόρον τοῖς τῆς φυλῆς ταμίαις ἐμ μη Ῥοδίου λεπτοῦ δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν.

> And Thraseas comes before the *ekklēsia* νης them giving advice of the sale to the (owners??)…the same Thraseas…everything (was recorded??) according to the treasurers (of…) and he will…(maintain) the things within his patrimony and the (will own) what is outside of it, and for those things which (may be [leased??]) a tibute of 100 drachmas per year (will be paid) {something about "what remains outside Rhodes"[??]}

TAM II 168, Lycia, Hippokome, 1st or 2nd cent. BCE; [ἐπὶ ἱ]ερέ[ως Τ]ο[άλλεως τοῦ] [Πειγάσεω]ς μηνὸς Ἡρα[ιῶνος? ..] [ἐν? τοῖ]ς ἀρχαιρεσίοις ἐκλησ[ία]ς κυ[ρί][ας γεν]ομένης ἔδοξεν Ἱπποκωμητῶ[ν][τῇ βο]υλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἀρχόντων [γν]ώμῃ Σωσιπόλεως τοῦ Ζήνωνος καὶ Θέωνος τοῦ Μηνοδώρου καὶ γραμματέως Ἡφαιστίωνος τοῦ Παρδαλέοντος·

[1034] Translation of *IK Knidos* I 31,Dlph (C.8-10) by Mark Hassall, Michael Crawford, and Joyce Reynolds, "Rome and the Eastern Provinces at the End of the Second Century BCE," *JRS* 64 (1974): 195–220, esp. 208.

Appendix #2: *Ekklēsia* in First Century CE Inscriptions

Meletemata 11 K2, Macedonia, Makedonia (Mygdonia) — Kalindoia (area of Kalamoto), 1 CE; 1 ἔτους · η΄ καὶ μ΄ · καὶ · ρ΄· οἱ πολιτάρχαι προβουλευσαμένων τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας εἶπαν ἐν τῶι δήμωι·.

FD III 6:27, Delphi, Phokis — Delphi, 1–20 CE: Manumission inscription; ἄ[ρ]χοντος Εὐδώρου τοῦ Ἐπινίκου, μηνὸς Ἀμαλίου ἕκτη ἰσταμέ[νου ἐν] τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, βουλευόντων [Δι]οδώρου τοῦ Φιλονίκου, Διοδώρου τοῦ Ἀ[νδρονί]κου, Κριτολάου τοῦ Δωροθέου, [ἀπ]έδοντο ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερίᾳ Διόδωρος Φιλονίκου καὶ Καλλικράτεα Λυσιπόνου παιδάριον τὸ ἴδιον θρεπτὸν οἰκογε<νέ>ς, ὧι ὄνομα Ὕλας, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ [Πυ]θίῳ ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερίᾳ, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν τριῶν, καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἀπέχομε[ν πᾶσ]αν, ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὥστε ἐλεύθερον εἶναι Ὕλαν καὶ ἀνέφαπτον ὑπὸ πάντων πά[ντα χρ]όνον.

FD III 6:31, Delphi, Phokis — Delphi, 1–20 CE: Manumission inscription; ἄρχοντος Πολεμάρχου τοῦ Δάμωνος, μηνὸς Ἀπ[ελλ]αίου ὀγδ[όη ἰσταμένου], ἐν ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, βουλευόντων Διοδώρου τοῦ Φιλονίκου, Ἀ[βρο]μάχου τοῦ Ξεναγόρα ἀπέδοτο ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθ[ε]ρίᾳ Νίκων Νικαίου καὶ Δαντὼ Νίκωνος σῶμα γυναικεῖον ἀγοραστὸ[ν] ἐκ Δρυμίων Ζωΐλου τοῦ Ζωΐλου, ᾇ ὄνομα Τρυφέρα, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερίᾳ, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν δέκα, καὶ τὰν τιμὰν ἀπέχω πᾶσαν, ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὥστε ἐλευθέραν εἶμεν Τρυφέραν καὶ ἀνέφαπτον ὑπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα χρόνον πανταχῇ.

Lindos II 419, Aegean Islands, Rhodes and S. Dodecanese, Rhodes, 22 CE; ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀ[ργ]υρίου ἐν Λίν[δ]ῳ ἐ[ν ταῖς] [ἀ]γο[μ]έναις ἐ<κ>κλησίαις τῷ Ἀγ(ριανίῳ) μ(ηνί)·.

Peloponnesos, *Peek*, *Asklepieion* 35(2) (see also *IG* IV²,1 84, ll. 24, 41), Epidauria — Epidauros, Asklepieion, 40–42 CE; ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι, τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζε Πλάτων Ἡφιστιάδης καὶ συνπρόεδροι.

IScM III 32 (see also *SEG* 16.428), Thrace and the Lower Danube, Scythia Minor, Kallatis (Mangalia), 50–75 CE; The ἀρχιερατικὰ ἐκλησία is mentioned twice: (1) δ[εδ]όχθαι [οὖν τῷ δά]μῳ ἐπηνῆσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐν πάσῃ [δὲ] [σ]υνπεριφορᾷ καὶ συνόδῳ καὶ δαμοθοινίᾳ καὶ Καισαρίοις καὶ πανηγύρει καὶ ἀρχιερατικᾷ ἐκλησ[ί]ᾳ; (2) ἐκυρώθη τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο [ἐν τῇ ἀρχιε]ρατικῇ ἐκλησίᾳ τρίτῃ·.

Bosch, *Quellen Ankara* 76,72, Galatia, N. — Ankyra (Ankara), 50–100 CE; Τιβ. Κλαύδιο[ν] Φιλόστοργον νεώτερον φυλὴ <θ΄> Ἱερὰ Βουλαία, κατὰ ἀναγόρευσιν βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, τειμηθέντα πολλάκις ἐν ἐκκλησίαις, ἀνδρίας ἕν[εκεν] .

IScM III 34 (see also Dacia 2 (1925) 126, 8), Thrace and the Lower Danube, Scythia Minor, Kallatis (Mangalia) — Arsa, 50–100 CE; [ἔ]δοξε τᾷ ἀρχι[ερα]τικᾷ [ἐκ(κ)λησίᾳ].

IScM III 31 (also *SEG* 1.327 [frg. b] — *SEG* 24.1029 [frg. a]), Thrace and the Lower Danube, Scythia Minor, Kallatis (Mangalia), mid-1st cent. CE: An honorific crowning decree; καθ᾽ ἑκάσταν ἐψάφ[ισθαι εὐεργε][σί]αν στεφανοῦσθε αὐτὸν διὰ βίου καὶ κατ᾽ ἀΐδιον ἕν τε ἀρχιερ[ατικᾷ ἐκ(κ)λησίᾳ] καὶ Κεσαρείοις καὶ παναγύρι καὶ Διομβρίοις καὶ δαμοθοινίες [πάσαις ἀναγο]ρεύοντος τοῦ κάρυκος·.

IG VII 2713, Megaris, Oropia, and Boiotia, Boiotia — Akraiphia, 67 CE; (I) Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ λέγει· ...(II) συνελθόντων τῶν ὄχλων ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ προσεφώνησεν τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα.

FD III 4:61, Delphi, Phokis — Delphi, 75–100 CE; [ἔδοξ]ε τῆι Δελφῶ[ν πόλ]ει, ἐν [προσκλή]τωι ἐ[κ]κλησίαι·.

FD III 3:233, (see also *SGDI* 2731), Delphi, Phokis — Delphi, 80–95 CE; μηνὸς Ἀμαλίου γ΄, ἐν ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, εὐφαμηθέντος Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Ὑγίνου τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου.

The regular occurrence of the ἐκκλησία in 1st cent. CE Delphi is implied by the prepositional phrase ἐν ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ

St.Pont. III 141, Pontus and Paphlagonia, Pont. — Amasia, 98/99 CE; Διὶ Στρατίῳ [ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ] κυρίᾳ ἐπὶ τῆς συν#⁹⁰⁰αρχίας Πομ[πωνίου — — — — τοῦ(?)] Κανδίδου, νεωκοροῦντος γ΄ [— — — — — — — — ο]υ Ἀγριππιανοῦ, ἐκ τῶν συν<λ>ε[λεγμένων χρημάτω]ν. #⁹⁰⁰ ἔτους #⁹⁰⁰ ρα΄. #⁹⁰⁰.

Iscr. di Cos EV 75bis (see also *Historia* [Milan] 8 [1934]: 433, 434), Cos and Calyma, Kos — Kos, 1st or 2nd cents. CE; [— — ἔδο]ξε τ[ᾶι ἐκκλησίαι(?) — —].

Appendix #3: *Ekklēsia* in Second Century CE Inscriptions

IG IX,1 193, Phokis, Lokris, Aitolia, Akarnania, and Ionian Islands, Phokis — Tithora, beginning of the 2nd cent. CE; δούσας τᾶς πόλιος τὸ ψάφισμα ἐπὶ ἄρχοντι Ἑλλανείκῳ Ἑλλανείκου ἐν ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ. μάρτυ[ρε]ς· Σώκλαρος Ἀριστίωνος, Εὔφρων Στρατάγου, Τείμων Νεικαινέτου.

IGR 3.192 (see also *Bosch, Quellen Ankara* 120,103), Galatia, N. — Ankyra [Ankara], 100–150 CE; γυνα[ῖ]κ[α] δὲ γε<ν>ο[μέ]νην Π. Κα]λπουρ<ν>ίου [Πρόκ]λ[ου(?)] Κορ[ν]ηλιανοῦ [ὑ]<π>[α]<τ>ικοῦ [τ]ειμηθεῖσαν ἐν [ἐκ]κλησίᾳ ὑπό τε βουλῆς [κὲ] [δ]ή[μ]ου.

IEph 27A + Add. p. 2/*Ephesos* 115 (see also Curtius, *Hermes* 4 [1870]: 201–203, no. 12 [part]; *GIBM* 481, 481*; *FiE* II no. 27A; *Laum* 74, 1-7 [part]; Oliver, *Sacred Gerousia* 3, 1–134; *SEG* 15, 698), Ionia, found at Ephesos, 104 CE: Honorary decree of *boulē* and *dēmos* of Ephesos honoring Gaius Vibius Salutaris for his benefaction paying for statues of Artemis, Trajan, Clotina, Senate, equites, and *dēmos* of Rome, *polis* of Ephesos, *dēmos* of Ephesos, *boulē* of Ephesos, *gerousia* of Ephesos, *ephebeia* of Ephesos, and so on, and accepting benefaction; one of three ἐκκλησία occurrences reads as follows: τῇ τε ν[ουμ]ηνίᾳ ἀρχ[ιερατικοῦ] ἔτους θυσί[ᾳ καὶ ἐν τ]αῖς ι[β′ καθ’ ἕκαστο]ν μῆνα ἀ[θροιζο]μέναις ἱερα[ῖς τε κα]ὶ νομ[ίμοις ἐκκλ]ησίαις κα[ὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν] Σεβ[ασ]τείων [καὶ Σω]τηρίων [καὶ τῶν π]εντ[ετηρικῶν —].

IEph 27B + Add. p. 2/*Ephesos* 212 (see also *GIBM* 481, 481*, 728, 749; *FiE* II no. 27B; Oliver, *Sacred Gerousia* 3, ll. 134–332; *SEG* 15, 698); found at Ephesos, 104 CE: Letter of Caius [Vibius Salutaris] offering benefaction to [*boulē* and *dēmos*] of Ephesos in form of legal document; ὥ[στε καὶ αὐ]τὰς τίθε[σ]θαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπάνω τῆς σελίδος τῆς βουλ[ῆς μετὰ τῆς] χρυσέας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰκόνων.

IEph 27E/*Ephesos* 153 (see also *GIBM* 481, 481*; *FiE* II no. 27E; Oliver, *Sacred Gerousia* 3, ll. 414–430), Ionia, found at Ephesos, 104 CE; ὅπως ἐξῇ τοῖς χρυσοφ[οροῦσιν τῇ θεῷ φέρειν εἰς τὰς] ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τὰ ἀπεικ[ον]ίσματα καὶ <τὰς> εἰκόνας τὰ καθιερωμέν[α ὑπὸ Γαΐο]υ Οὐειβίου Σαλουταρίου ἐκ τοῦ προνάου τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος.

IEph 35/*Ephesos* 830 (see also *CIL* III 141957n4; *ILS* 7193; *FiE* II no. 28b; Oliver, *Sacred Gerousia* 4; Smallwood, *Doc.'s Nerva* 493a [part]), Ionia, found at Ephesos, 104 CE: Dedication (in Latin and Greek) to Artemis Ephesia and *gerousia* of Ephesos, by C(aius) Vibius Salutaris; ἅτινα καθιέρωσεν, ἵνα τιθῆται κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τῶν βάσεων, ὡς ἡ διάταξις αὐτοῦ περιέχει·.

FD III 2:104, Delphi, Phokis — Delphi, 117–138 CE; μηνὸς Δαδηφορίου δ′, ἐν ἐννόμῳ ἐ<κ>κλησίᾳ, Θησέα Ἡροξένου Ἀθ<η>ναῖον Δελφοὶ Δελφὸν ἐποίησαν καὶ βουλευτή[ν].

Robert, *Hellenica* 6 80,26, Mysia [Upper Kaïkos] / Lydia, Mys./Lyd. — Stratonikeia (Siledik) (see also *BCH* 11.1887.108 — *IGR* 4.1156; Oliver 79–81), 127 CE; Κάνδιδος ἀπέδωκα τὴν ἐπισ[το][λ]ὴν Λολλίῳ Ῥουστικῷ ἄρχοντι τῇ πρὸ α′ ἰδ[ῶν] Μαίων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθ[ι]κοῦ υἱὸς, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνὸς, Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστὸς, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ια′, ὕπατος τὸ γ′ Ἀδριανοπολιτῶν Στρατονικέων τοῖς ἄρχο[υ]σι καὶ τῇι βουλῇι καὶ τῶι δήμωι χαίρειν.

BCH 1885, 127-28, no. B (see also *Clerc, *BCH* 9, 1885, 127–128, no. B; Dietl, *Nysa* 7 no. C; **Kourouniotes, AD 7, 1921-1922, 85 [l. 2] [PH]; *BE* 1924:355; *SEG* 4, 418; **Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 24, 1929, 194 [ll. 10–13]; *BE* 1930:209), Caria, found at Nysa, later at Nazilli, 138–161 CE: Honorary decree for Titus Aelius Alikibiades by *boulē* and *dēmos* of Nysa; ἄλλας ἐπ’ ἄλλαις [χά][ρ]ιτας καὶ δωρεὰς ἰδίᾳ τε ἑκάστο[ις] [κ]αὶ δημοσίᾳ κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ συ[ν]έδρια καὶ συμμορίας διανέμων [ὡ]ς πᾶσαν μὲν ἐκκλησίαν, πᾶ[σ]αν δὲ βουλήν.

IGR 3.704/*Serta Harteliana* 1/7, Lycia, Kyaneai(Yavu), 138–161 CE; χρόνοι ψηφισμάτων τειμητικῶν καὶ ἐπι[στολ]ῶν γραφισῶν ἡγεμόσι καὶ ἀντιγραφῶν περὶ Ἰάσονος... Ἀρτεμεισίου γ΄ ἐκλησίας ἀπόλογος.

IG XII,3 326, see also *IG* XII,3 Suppl. p. 283, Doric Sporades, Thera, 149 CE; ἐν ἐγδικί[α]ις ἀκριβής, ἐν πρακτορείαις ὑγιής, ἐ[ν] ἀρχαῖς καὶ στρατηγίαις δίκαιος, ἐν ἐπιδόσεσι πολειτῶν μεγαλόψυχος φανείς, ἐκκλ[η]σίας ἀγομένης ἐννόμου τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, παρελθὼν εἰσή[γ]γειλεν βουλῇ καὶ δήμῳ τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει Βασιλικὴν στοάν.

Bosch, Quellen Ankara 263, 201, Galatia N. — Ankyra [Ankara], 150–200 CE; Ζωτικὸν Βάσσου, ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν, υἱὸν φυλῆς ια΄, φυλαρχήσαντα φιλοτείμως καὶ ἀστυνομήσαντα ἀγνῶς κὲ ἔργον ποιήσαντα πολυτείμητο[ν] ἐν κομοκετίῳ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κὲ καθ' ἡμέραν πολλὰ παρέχοντα τῇ φυλῇ, τειμηθέντα ἔν τε ἐκκλησίαις κὲ βουλῇ, φυλὴ ια΄ Νέα Ὀλυμπιά[ς].

IMT NoerdlTroas 8, see also *IK* 6,34, Troas, Tr.: nördl. Troas — Lampsakos (Lapseki) [Aa: Eresos od. Methymna?], 2nd cent. CE?: (1) proclamation of a decree regarding a crowning; δεῖξαι δὲ καὶ πρεσβεῖα ἐν τᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅστις παραγενόμενος πρὸς Λαμψακανοὶς [τό] [τ]ε ψάφισμα ἀποδώσει καὶ ἀξιάσει ποιήσασθαι τ[ὰν ἀν]αγγελίαν τῶν στεφάνωγ καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐν το[ῖς Δι]ονυσίοις καὶ ἵνα ἀναγραφῇ τὸ ψάφισμα τοῦτο [εἰς] [σ]τάλαν λευκῶ λίθω καὶ ἀνατεθῇ ἐν τῷ ἐπιφ[ανεστά]τῳ τόπῳ'; (2) voting by show of hands; χειροτονῆσαι δὲ ἐν τᾷ ἐκκλη[σίᾳ ἐφόδι]ον τῷ πρεσβευτᾷ ποσσᾶν [ἀμερᾶν δεήσει — — — —].

FD III 1:261(3), Delphi, Phokis — Delphi, 2nd cent. CE?; πα[ραγενόμενοι καὶ ἐπελ]θόν[τε]ς ἐπὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν διελέγησαν ὑπὲρ Πυλ[άδα τοῦ Ἀκ]ε?σαμεν[οῦ Ὑπαταίου.

Strubbe, *Cat. Pessinus* 13 (see also *CIG* 4085 w/ Add.p.1111 — SbMünchen 1860.194, 197 — *OGIS* 537, *IGR* 3.226), Galatia, N. — Pessinous (Ballihisar), 2nd cent. CE or later (PHI dating; U of Hamburg dates *Strubbe*, [2005] 25, Nr. 13 to the second half of the 2nd cent. CE; http://s145739614.online.de/ result.php?lang=en&id=10; accessed August 18, 2012); πάσαις τ[ει]μαῖς τειμηθέντα ἐν ἐκκλ[η]σίαις ὑπό τε βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, ἀνδριάντων ἀν[ασ]τάσεσι καὶ εἰκόνων [ἀνα]θέσεσι, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν <κ(αὶ)> εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς [ἑαυτούς].

IG IV 853, Peloponnesos, Saronic Gulf, Corinthia, and the Argolid, Troizenis — Methana, 2nd cent. CE?: Reference is made to the formal title of a member of the ἐκκλησία— οἱ ἐκκλησιασταὶ; αἱ συναρχίαι πᾶσαι κα[ὶ] οἱ ἐκκλησιασταὶ {ἐκκλησιασταὶ} εἶπαν.

SEG 34:766 (see also *IosPE* I² 263 — *I.Olbia* 47 + 179 + 53 — Sodalitas. Scritti A. Guarino 1 [1984]: 461–465 (J.G. Vinogradov), see also: *I.Olbia* 179 *I.Olbia* 47; *I.Olbia* 53; *IosPE* I² 263), N. Black Sea, Olbia, 200 CE: Honorific decree for Marcianus of Prousias; frg. a.1 ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων τ[ῶν περὶ Σατορνεῖλον Π]εισιστράτου μηνὸς Ληνεῶνος κ[.΄, ἐκκλησίας συνηθροι]σμένης πανδήμου, εἰσηγησαμένου [τοῦ δεῖνος — — —ο]υ, οἱ περὶ Σατορνεῖλον <Π>εισιστράτου ἄρχ[οντες εἶπαν.

Appendix #4: Spreadsheet Categories for Epigraphic *Ekklēsia* Occurrences

In order to faciliate the efficient organization and comparative research of all *ekklēsia* occurences within Greek epigraphic sources, a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet with thirty-nine categories was created into which each *ekklēsia* occurence listed by PHI was inputted.

The database is searchable by three hierarchical categories. If one searches by "dating", "region," and "verbal form that is juxtaposed with *ekklēsia*," respectively, then Excel sorts all *ekklēsia* occurrences first by those of similar date, then, within those similarly dated sources, by regional locations, and, finally, of those *ekklēsia* occurrences which have a similar date and occur in the same region, Excel sorts alphabetically by modifying participles (e.g., *synelthōn*, s*ynagagōn*).

Lexeme Search: ἐκκλησία, ἐκκλησίη, ἐκλησία, ἐκκλεσία, ἐγκλησία
Location-Geographic: Asia Minor
Location-region/province: Ionia
Location-city: Ephesos
Location IN the city: ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι
Date-->1B.069--> 1B=1BCE; 1C=1CE; 0.069 = year69
Epigraphical Title: *IDidyma* 314
Description: Hydrophoros inscription for Artemo Antipatrou
Did PHI website tagging miss ἐκκλησία occurrences? Packard Humanities
  Institute divides multiple ἐκκλησία occurrences in one inscription into
  multiple website references. The actual ἐκκλησία occurrence referenced by PHI
  in each individual search engine hit is bolded and underlined.
Literary source: *IG, SEG* (The source titles are hyperlinked to the PackHum website)
Secondary source: website (e.g., PackHum)
Tertiary source: Ralph Korner's Word document file name
Multiple occurrence? E.g., also cf. Aegean *ID* 1499, 1501, 1504, 1505, 1505
Lexeme: ἐκκλησία
Morpheme: ἐκκλησίαν
Parsing: N =nominative, G =genitive, D =dative, A =accusative, PT =participle
Actual phrase: εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν; δεδόχθαι τᾶι ἐκκλησίαι
Immediate context for phrase: δεδόχθαι τᾶι ἐ[κκλησίαι τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Θεαγγε]λέων
  ἐπαινέσαι
Preposition? ἐν, εἰς
Article? τᾶι, τὰν, τὴν
Adjectival modifier: κυρία, ἐννόμῳ
Adjectival use of ἐκκλησία: χειροτόνησαι δὲ τὰν [ἐκκλησίαν πρεσβεύταν
Verbal modifier (morpheme): δεδόχθαι
Verbal modifier (lexeme): δοκέω
Verb + ἐκκλησία phrase: δεδόχθαι τᾶι ἐκκλησίαι·

ἐκκλησία with partitive/wholative genitive: τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ἐκλησίας

Activities/functions of the ἐκκλησία: τοῖς δόγμασι τᾶς ἐκκλησίας, χρηματίσαι ερὶ τούτων

Definition of ἐκκλησία: M = a Meeting; P = a People who are meeting; B = a Building; I = an Institution

Restored ἐκκλησία reading? 5 = # of letters restored in the word ἐκκλησία.

Epigraphic title/1st sentence: ἔδοξε τᾶι πόλει ἐν ἀγορᾶι τελείωι σὺμ ψάφοις ταῖς ἐννόμοις

Political ἐκκλησία reference? Y =yes, N =no (religious), A =association, U =unsure

Political Terms in ἐκκλησία sentence: e.g., ψήφισμα, ἄρχοντος

Stock political formulae in the rest of the epigraphic source? δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι

Association terminology in epigraphic source? διατελεῖ κοινῆι (I merely record occurrences of terminology that can also used for 'associations' while recognizing that such terminology has other possible meanings. As such, I do not assume that the occurrence of 'association'-like terminology means that a voluntary association is being referenced)

Religious terms in epigraphic source: Διονυσίοις, θυσίαις

Location of inscription: ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι Ἡρακλείωι

Manumission context? ἐν ἐννό]μῳ ἐκκλησίαι, ἀφίητι Ἀσωπόδωρ[ος — — —] ἐλεύθερον

Type of epigraphy: engraving, ink, woodcut

Material source: marble, wood

Appendix #5: *Ekklēsia* **Occurrences in Manumission Inscriptions (Central Greece)**

1. Of all extant inscriptional mentions of the word *ekklēsia* at least 16 are set within a manumission context.
2. Of these 16 manumissions connected with a civic *ekklēsia*, all 16 occur within inscriptions found in central Greece (Phokis, Boeotia, Locris, W.).
3. Of these manumission inscriptions from central Greece, 15 are for individual slaves, and 1 is for an 'enslaved' region—Achaia/Pelopponesia/Corinth.
4. *FD* III 2:120 is an example of how the word *ekklēsia* functions within a public manumission decree (Delphi, uncertain date).

- In its first line, the decree indicates that the manumission inscription should be posted in the temple of the Pythian Apollo (ἀναγραφῇ ἁ αὐτὰ ἀπελευθέρωσις ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου).
- The second line contains formulaic elements that confirm the date and legally binding nature of this decree (ἄρχοντος Νικάνδρου, μηνὸς ἕκτου, ἐν ἐννόμ[ωι] ἐκκλησίαι, γραμματεύοντος τῶν συνέδρων Ἐπικράτεος τοῦ Νέωνος).
- The third line declares the freed status of Agōn, the manumitted slave (ἀφίητι Ἄγων καὶ Τίμανδρος Λαοδίκαν ἐλευθέραν), yet enjoins him, through a *paramonē* clause, to remain obligated to his former master Timandros as long as Timandros should live (παραμ<ε>ίνασαν παρὰ Τίμανδρον ἄχρι κα ζώῃ Τίμανδρος).
- Summary: The contents of the second line replicate four of the six formulaic elements normally found in the standard opening of an Athenian-style decree, with only Athenian tribal and *prytaneia* details missing because Delphi is not part of Attica (cf. McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, 219–220). Any combination of these four formulaic elements provide precise dating and affirm the legally binding nature of the subsequent enactment formula (ἔδοξεν τῆι…; "resolved by…"). The four formulaic elements in *FD* III 2:120 are: (1) the name of the eponymous magistrate is given followed by his title in the genitive (i.e., ἄρχοντος Νικάνδρου; "during the archonship of Nikandros"); (2) the month is given (μηνὸς ἕκτου) "in the eighth month"); (3) the approval of an *ekklēsia* is confirmed (ἐν ἐννόμ[ωι] ἐκκλησίαι); (4) other officers, such as the secretary of the council, are cited (γραμματεύοντος τῶν συνέδρων Ἐπικράτεος τοῦ Νέωνος; "while Epikrateos of Neōnos was secretary of the Synedroi"). McLean observes that "the name of the secretary gave official sanction to public documents and became a means of identifying and dating decrees, in the same way we might assign a document an identification number for easy reference" (Ibid., 219).

Inscription	Date	City	*Aphiēmi* Manumission?	*Paramonē* Clause?	Other Verbs of Manumission?
FD III 2:120	?	Delphi	Yes; ἐν ἐννόμ[ωι] ἐκκλησίαι, ... ἀφίητι ... ἐλευθέραν	Yes; παραμ<ε>ίνασαν ... ἄχρι κα ζώη Τίμανδρος, ... [ἐ]πεὶ κ[ατ]έβαλε τ[ὰ] λύτρα ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων	ὡς ἀπελεύθε[ρ]ον, ποθίερον τῶι Ἀσκλαπίωι καὶ τᾶι πόλει τῶν Ἐλατέων, ἀργυρίου μνᾶς τρ[ι]άκοντα,
IG VII 2713	67 CE, Nero	[Boiotia] Akraiphia	Political freedom for the region		Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ λέγει... θέλων τὴν εὐγε-νεστάτην Ἑλλάδα ... παρῖναι [παρῖναι verb pres inf act poetic rare] ἰς Κόρινθον ... συνελθόντων τῶν ὄχλων ἐν ἐκκλησία προσεφώ νησεν τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα. ... χαρίζομαι ... πάντες οἱ τὴν Ἀχαΐαν καὶ τὴν ἔως νῦν Πελοπόννησον κατοικοῦντες Ἕλληνες λάβετ' ἐλευθερίαν ἀνισφορίαν ... ἢ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίοις ἢ ἀλλήλοις ἐδουλεύσατε ... ἀκμαζούσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρειχόμην ταύτην τὴν δωρεάν, ἵνα μου πλείονες ἀπολ αύωσι τῆς χάριτος· ... τὸ μέγεθος τῆς χάριτος... . πόλεις μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ἠλευθέρωσαν ἡγεμόνες, [Νέρων δὲ ὅλη]ν ἐπαρχείαν. ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν διὰ βίου καὶ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδας Ἐπαμεινώνδου εἶπεν· προβεβουλευμένον ἑαυτῷ εἶναι πρός τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ἐπιδὴ ὁ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου κύριος Νέρων, αὐτοκράτωρ μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ τρισκαιδέκατον ἀποδεδειγμένος, πατὴρ πατρίδος, νέος Ἥλιος ἐπιλάμψας τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, προειρημένος εὐεργετεῖν τὴν Ἑλ<λ>άδα,
BCH 108 (1984) 366,4	20-46 CE	Delphi	No	No	ἐν τᾶ ἐκκλησία ... ἀπέδοτο... , σῶμα οἰκ[ο]γεν[ές], τῷ Ἀπ[ό]λλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ ἐπ' ἐλευθερία
FD III 6:27	1-20 CE	Delphi	No	Yes; παραμενέτω ... πάντα τὸν τᾶς ζωᾶς αὐτ<οῦ> χρόνον ποιοῦσα τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἀνενκ[λ]ήτως,	ἐν] τῇ ἐκκλησία, ... [ἀπ]έδοντο ἐπ' ἐλευθερία ... παιδάριον τὸ ἴδιον θρεπτὸν οἰκογε<νέ>ς, ... , τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ [Πυ]θίῳ ἐπ' ἐλευθερία,
FD III 6:31	1-20 CE	Delphi	No	Yes; παραμ[εινάτω] ... πάντα τὸν τᾶς ζωᾶς αὐτ[ῶ]ν [χρ]όνον, ποιῶν [τὸ] ἐπιτασσόμενον ἀνενκλήτως.	ἐν ἐννόμωι ἐκκλησίαι ... ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐλευθ[ε]ρία ... σῶμα γυναικεῖον ἀγοραστὸ[ν] ... τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ ἐπ' ἐλευθερία,
IG IX,1² 3:705	137/6 BCE?	Delphi	No	No	ἐν ἐννόμωι ἐκκλησίαι ἀνέθηκε ... συνευδοκεόντων τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτᾶς ... τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Πυθίωι σῶμα γυναικεῖον, ᾇ ὄνομα Μνασώ

Inscription	Date	City	*Aphiēmi* Manumission?	*Paramonē* Clause?	Other Verbs of Manumission?
SGDI II 2097	140-100 BCE	Delphi	No	No	ἐν ἐννόμωι ἐκκλησία, ἀνέθηκε … συνευδοκεόντων τοῦ τε πατρὸς αὐτᾶς … τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Πυθίωι σῶμα γυναικεῖον,
PAPPADAKIS 1920.1	Post-165 BCE	Boeotia, Phastinos, Sanctuary of Apollo		No	through the lawful assembly [ἐν ἐννόμωι ἐκκλησία?] of the city of the Euantheians, he handed over … being in agreement … to Apollon in Phaistinos a slave, a woman … for freedom at a price in silver of five minas. Guarantors according to the law … Witnesses: the citizens. [No Greek text available electronically]
IG IX,1 193	2 cent BCE, begin	Tithora	No	Yes; παραμείνασαν … τὸν τᾶς ζωᾶς χρόνον, τειμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν δέκα.	ἀπέδοτο… τῷ θεῷ τῷ Σεράπει κοράσιον… ἐπ' ἐλευθερία … ἀποτεισάτω μνᾶς τριάκοντα,; ἀνεγράφη ἐν ἱερῷ τῷ Σεραπείῳ … δούσας τᾶς πόλιος τὸ ψάφισμα ἐπὶ ἄρχοντι … ἐν ἐννόμω ἐκκλησία. μάρτυ[ρε]ς·
IG IX,1 120	2 cent BCE	Elateia	Yes; ἐν ἐννόμω ἐκκ]λησία τῶν συνέδρων, … ἀφίεντι ἐλευθέρα[ν … κατ<α>δουλίζοιτο … ποθιέρους τῷ] Ἀσσκλαπιῶι ἀργυρίου μνᾶς	No	εἰ δέ τις κατ<α>δουλίζοιτο …, ἀποτεισάτω ποθιέρους τῷ] Ἀσκλαπιῶι ἀργυρίου μνᾶς
IG IX,1 122	2 cent BCE	Elateia	Yes; ἐν ἐννόμωι ἐκκλη[σία, ἀφίητι τὸν] [ἑαυτᾶς] δ[οῦλον] … ἐλεύθερον … [σ]υνευδοκε[οῦσ]ας καὶ [τᾶς ματρὸς	No	ἀλλ' ἐλεύθερος νομιζ]έσ[θ]ω(?) καὶ ἀνέπαφος ἔστ[ω.; [ἀποτε]ισάτω ὁ καταδουλ[ιζόμενος] [ποθίερο]ν τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῷ ἀργυρίου [τάλαντον],
IG IX,1 124	2 cent BCE	Elateia	Yes; ἐν ἐννό]μω ἐκκλησίαι, ἀφίητι … — — —] ἐλεύθερον, συνευδοκέοντος κα[ὶ	No	ἀπο]τεισάτω ὁ καταδουλιζόμενος αὐτὸ[ν ἀργυρίου τάλαντον ποθίερον] τῶι Ἀσκλαπιῶι
IG IX,1 125	2 cent BCE	Elateia	Yes; ἀφίεντι … ἐν ἐννό]μω ἐκκλησία τῶν συνέδρων, … ἐπεὶ κατέβαλον τὰ λύτρα τὰ ἐκ τῶν πολε[μίων, ἱερατεύον]τος τοῦ Ἀσκλαπιοῦ	No	ἀπο]τεισάτω ὁ καταδουλιζόμενος ἀργυρί[ου τάλαντον ποθίερον τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῷ,

Inscription	Date	City	*Aphiēmi* Manumission?	*Paramonē* Clause?	Other Verbs of Manumission?
IG IX,1 126	2 cent BCE	Elateia	Yes; [ἀφίητι … ἐλευθέραν] … ἐν ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν [συνέδρων	Yes; π]αραμείνασαν … ἄχρι κα ζώῃ Δίων.	ἀποτεισάτω δὲ ὁ καταδουλιζόμενος ζα]μίαν ποθίερον τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῷ ἀργυρίου τάλαν[τον.
IG IX,1 127	2 cent BCE	Elateia	Yes; [ἀφίητι ἐλευθέραν— — —] ἐν ἐννόμωι ἐκκ[λησί]ᾳ τῶν συνέδρων …. ὁ καταδουλιζό[μενο]ς … ἀργυρ[ίου τάλαντον ποθίερον τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῷ.	No	ἀποτεισάτω δὲ] καταδουλιζό[μενο]ς … ἀργυρ[ίου τάλαντον ποθίερον τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῷ.
IG IX,1² 3:712	Mid-2 cent BCE	Locris, W; Phaestinus	No	Yes; ἐν ἐνν]όμῳ ἐκλησίᾳ {²⁶ἐκκλησίᾳ}²⁶ τᾶς πόλιος τ[ῶν Οἰανθέων(?) παραμεινάτω δὲ] Ζωπύρα Νικομάχῳ ποιοῦ[σα] τὰ ἐπ[ιτασσόμενα	ἀπέδοτο Νικόμαχος — τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι] τῷ ἐν Φαιστείνῳ ἐπ' ἐλε[υθερίᾳ τιμᾶς ἀ]ργυρίου μνᾶν τεσσάρων — —ἐν ἐνν]όμῳ ἐκλησίᾳ {²⁶ἐκκλησίᾳ}²⁶ τᾶς πόλιος τ[ῶν Οἰανθέων(?) παραμεινάτω δὲ] Ζωπύρα Νικομάχῳ ποιοῦ[σα] τὰ ἐπ[ιτασσόμενα

Appendix #6: *Ekklēsia* **in Greek Literary Works**

At least 1063 *ekklēsia* occurrences in Greek literary works (5th cent. BCE–3rd cent. CE)
(excluding Josephus, New Testament writers and later Christian authors)

http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/searchresults?target=greek&all_words=e%29kklhsi
%2Fa&all_words_expand=on&phrase=&any_words=&exclude_words=&documents=
Accessed Feb. 10, 2011

Most Numerous *Ekklēsia* Citations by Author:
Dionysius of Halicarnassus has 225 occurrences
Plutarch has 142 occurrences
Diodorus Siculus has 101 occurrences
Demosthenes has 76 occurrences
Aeschines has 57 occurrences

Ekklēsia Citations Listed Alphabetically by Author
Aeschines, Against Timarchus 11 Aeschines, On the Embassy 18 Aeschines, Against
Ctesiphon 28 Andocides, On the Mysteries 2 Andocides, Against Alcibiades 1 Appian,
Wars in Spain 2 Appian, Macedonian Affairs 1 Appian, Mithridatic Wars 2 Appian,
Punic Wars 4 Appian, Samnite History 1 Appian, The Civil Wars 22 Apollodorus,
Epitome 2 Aristophanes, Acharnians 4 Aristophanes, Birds 1 Aristophanes, Ecclesiazusae
12 Aristophanes, Knights 5 Aristophanes, Lysistrata 1 Aristophanes, Peace 2
Aristophanes, Plutus 4 Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazusae 5 Aristophanes, Wasps 1
Aristotle, Athenian Constitution 9 Aristotle, Economics 4 Aristotle, Politics 16 Aristotle,
Rhetoric 1 Arrian, Anabasis 4 Athenaeus, The Deipnosophists, Book 2 1 Athenaeus, The
Deipnosophists, Book 4 1 Athenaeus, The Deipnosophists, Book 5 2 Athenaeus, The
Deipnosophists, Book 12 2 Demades, On the Twelve Years 1 Demosthenes, Exordia 5
Demosthenes, On the Halonnesus 1 Demosthenes, On the Chersonese 3 Demosthenes,
Philippic 3 3 Demosthenes, On Organization 2 Demosthenes, On the Accession of
Alexander 1 Demosthenes, On the Crown 12 Demosthenes, On the False Embassy 14
Demosthenes, Against Leptines 1 Demosthenes, Against Midias 11 Demosthenes,
Against Androtion 1 Demosthenes, Against Aristocrates 2 Demosthenes, Against
Timocrates 9 Demosthenes, Against Aristogiton 1 7 Demosthenes, Against Polycles 1
Demosthenes, Against Neaera 1 Demosthenes, Letters 2 Dinarchus, Against
Demosthenes 4 Dinarchus, Against Aristogiton 1 Dio Chrysostom, Orationes 15
Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica, Books 1–20 101 Diogenes Laertius, Lives of
Eminent Philosophers 6 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Books 1–20 203 Dionysius of
Halicarnassus, De Lysia 1 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, De Isocrate 2 Dionysius of
Halicarnassus, De Demosthene 6 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ad Ammaeum 3 Dionysius
of Halicarnassus, 7 Euripides, Rhesus 1 Herodotus, The Histories 1 Hyperides, In
Defence of Lycophron 1 Isaeus, Dicaeogenes 1 Isocrates, Panathenaicus 1 Isocrates, On
the team of horses 1 Isocrates, Areopagiticus 2 Isocrates, On the Peace 6 Lucian,
Demonax 2 Lucian, Macrobii 1 Lucian, Verae Historiae 1 Lucian, Juppiter confuatus 1
Lucian, Juppiter trageodeus 8 Lucian, Gallus 1 Lucian, Icaromenippus 3 Lucian, Timon 1

Lucian, Bis accusatus sive tribunalia 1 Lucian, De parasito sive artem esse parasiticam 1 Lucian, Necyomantia 2 Lucian, De morte Peregrini 1 Lucian, Pseudologista 1 Lucian, Deorum concilium 3 Lucian, Quomodo historia conscribenda sit 1 Lucian, Dialogi mortuorum 2 Lucian, Dialogi deorum 1 Lycurgus, Against Leocrates 1 Lysias, Against Eratosthenes 5 Lysias, Against Agoratus 6 Lysias, On the Property of Aristophanes 1 Lysias, On the Scrutiny of Evandros 1 Lysias, Against Ergocles 1 Pseudo-Xenophon, Constitution of the Athenians 1 Pausanias, Description of Greece 11 Plato, Laws 2 Plato, Republic 1 Plato, Apology 1 Plato, Euthyphro 1 Plato, Statesman 1 Plato, Alcibiades 1 3 Plato, Gorgias 3 Plato, Protagoras 1 Polybius, Histories 35 Plutarch, Aemilius Paulus 3 Plutarch, Agis 1 Plutarch, Alcibiades 3 Plutarch, Antony 1 Plutarch, Aratus 2 Plutarch, Aristides 3 Plutarch, Cimon 1 Plutarch, Demetrius 1 Plutarch, Nicias 6 Plutarch, Pericles 4 Plutarch, Romulus 1 Plutarch, Solon 4 Plutarch, Brutus 1 Plutarch, Camillus 2 Plutarch, Cato the Younger 3 Plutarch, Cleomenes 2 Plutarch, Comparison of Lysander and Sulla 1 Plutarch, Lives, Caius Marcius Coriolanus 3 Plutarch, Crassus 1 Plutarch, Demosthenes 6 Plutarch, Dion 6 Plutarch, Fabius Maximus 3 Plutarch, Marcellus 1 Plutarch, Pelopidas 1 Plutarch, Phocion 8 Plutarch, Pompey 4 Plutarch, Publicola 2 Plutarch, Sertorius 1 Plutarch, Sulla 2 Plutarch, Tiberius Gracchus 4 Plutarch, Timoleon 6 Plutarch, Caesar 1 Plutarch, Lycurgus 4 Plutarch, Caius Marius 4 Plutarch, Pyrrhus 1 Plutarch, Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat 1 Plutarch, Septem sapientium convivium 1 Plutarch, Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata 4 Plutarch, Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata 4 Plutarch, Apophthegmata Laconica 1 Plutarch, Apophthegmata Laconica 1 Plutarch, Parallela minora 1 Plutarch, De defectu oraculorum 2 Plutarch, An virtus doceri possit 1 Plutarch, De garrulitate 1 Plutarch, Quaestiones Convivales 5 Plutarch, An seni respublica gerenda sit 1 Plutarch, Praecepta gerendae reipublicae 1 Plutarch, Vitae decem oratorum 2 Strabo, Geography 1 Theophrastus, Characters 4 Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War 32 Xenophon, Anabasis 3 Xenophon, Apology 1 Xenophon, Hellenica 14 Xenophon, Memorabilia 2

Additional *Ekklēsia* Occurrences within Non-Greco-Roman Literary Works:
Flavius Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae 40, Flavius Josephus, De bello Judaico libri vii 7, Flavius Josephus, Vita 1, Greek Anthology, Volume V 1, Elegy and Iambus, Volume I 1, Elegy and Iambus, Volume II 1

Appendix #7: *Ekklēsia* **as Voluntary Association Terminology**

English translations by Patrick Hogan

I. Previously Suggested Examples of *Ekklēsia* as Voluntary Association Terminology

<u>(1) An Association of the Wrestlers held an *Ekklēsia*</u>

<u>McCabe 1986, no. 119/*Samos* 119</u>
http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main?url=oi%3Fikey%3D254283%26bookid%3D522%26regio
n%3D7%26subregion%3D21
Donald F. McCabe, *Samos Inscriptions. Texts and List*. The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of
Anatolia, The Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), no. 119.
Regions : Aegean Islands, incl. Crete (IG XI-[XIII]) : *Samos* (IG XII,6 1)
Ion. — Ephesos(?) — Kat.23 — *BCH* 1935, 476-77, no. 2

1
ἐπὶ Λευκίππου· Ληναιῶνος ζ΄· ἔδοξεν τοῖς
ἀλειφομένοις ἐν τῆι γεροντικῆι πα-
λαίστραι, συναχθεῖσιν εἰς ἐκκλησί-
4
αν· ἐπειδὴ Ἱστιόδωρος Ἡρώιδου, φιλο-
5
δόξως διακείμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, διατ[ε]-
[λεῖ ἐκ]τενῆ καὶ πρόθυμον ἑαυτὸν παρε-
[χ]όμενος τοῖς ἀλειφομένοις τῶν πρε-
[σβ]υτέρων, <γ>υμνασιαρχῶν τε ἐν τοῖς κα[τὰ]
[τὴ]ν ἀρχὴν ἀνέστ[ραπ]ται πᾶσιν φιλοδο[ξί]-
10
[ας] οὐθὲν ἐλλείπων, [τῆς τε τοῦ ἐλαίου θέ]-
[σ]εως προενοήθη καθ[ηκόντως· ὅπως οὖν]
[κα]ὶ ἡμεῖς φαινώμεθα [τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ἀγα]-
θοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τιμ[ῶντες καταξίως τῶν?]
εἰς ἑαυτού[ς] γινομ[ένων εὐεργεσιῶν?· δεδό]-
15
χθαι τῶι κοινῶι τῶν [πρεσβυτέρων τῶν ἀλει]-
φομένων ἐν τῆι γερο[ντικῆι παλαίστραι· ἐπηι]-
νῆσθαι Ἱστιόδωρον Ἡ[ρώιδου ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς]
τοὺς ἀλει[φομενένους —]ἐπὶ Λευκίππου· Ληναιῶνος ζ΄· ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἀλειφομένοις ἐν τῆι
γεροντικῆι παλαίστραι, συναχθεῖσιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν· ἐπειδὴ Ἱστιόδωρος Ἡρώιδου,
φιλοδόξως διακείμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, διατ[ε][λεῖ ἐκ]τενῆ καὶ πρόθυμον ἑαυτὸν
παρε[χ]όμενος τοῖς ἀλειφομένοις τῶν πρε[σβ]υτέρων, <γ>υμνασιαρχῶν τε ἐν τοῖς κα[τὰ]
[τὴ]ν ἀρχὴν ἀνέστ[ραπ]ται πᾶσιν φιλοδο[ξί][ας] οὐθὲν ἐλλείπων, [τῆς τε τοῦ ἐλαίου
θέ][σ]εως προενοήθη καθ[ηκόντως· ὅπως οὖν] [κα]ὶ ἡμεῖς φαινώμεθα [τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ
ἀγα]θοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τιμ[ῶντες καταξίως τῶν?] εἰς ἑαυτοὺ[ς] γινομ[ένων εὐεργεσιῶν?·
δεδό]χθαι τῶι κοινῶι τῶν [πρεσβυτέρων τῶν ἀλει]φομένων ἐν τῆι γερο[ντικῆι

παλαίστραι· ἐπηι]νῆσθαι Ἱστιόδωρον Ἡ[ρώιδου ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς] τοὺς ἀλει[φομενένους —].

With Leukippos presiding; on the seventh day of the month of Lenaion it was resolved by the athletes in the *palaistra* of the elders, who were gathered in an assembly (*ekklesia*): since Histiodoros the son of Herodes has from the beginning been desirous of fame and continues to show himself attentive and dedicated to the athletes among the elders; and since while serving as gymnasiarch, he has conducted himself well in all the matters pertaining to his office and has not omitted any opportunity for pursuing honor; and since he showed suitable care for the supply of olive oil; therefore, in order that we too show ourselves to be people who honor good and noble men in a fashion worthy of their benefactions towards us – it has been resolved by the *koinon* of the older athletes in the *palaistra* of the elders that Histiodoros the son of Herodes be praised for his excellent conduct towards the athletes...

(2) A Merchant Association of Tyrian Herakles held an *Ekklēsia* in the Temple of Apollos

IDelos 1519/ *ID* 1519/CIG 2271/Foucart no. 43

http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main?url=oi%3Fikey%3D63955%26bookid%3D1%26region%3D7%26subregion%3D15
August Boeckh, Johannes Franz, Ernst Curtius, A. Kirchoff, Hermann Roehl, eds. *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum.* 4 vols. Berlin: Reimer, 1828–77
Regions : Aegean Islands, incl. Crete (IG XI-[XIII]) : Delos (IG XI and ID)
Delos — 153/2 BCE

ἐπὶ Φαιδρίου ἄρχοντος, Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ὀγδόει, ἐκκλησία ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· Διονύσιος Διονυσίου ἀρχιθιασίτης εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Πάτρων Δωροθέου τῶν ἐκ τῆς συνόδου, ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἀνανεωσάμενος τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῶι εὔνοιαν εἰς τὴν σύν[ο]δον, καὶ ὅτι πολλὰς χρείας
παρείσχηται ἀπροφασίστως, διατελεῖ δὲ διὰ παντὸς κο[ι]-
νεῖ τε τεῖ συνόδωι λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ συμφέροντ[α]
καὶ κατ' ἰ<δί>αν εὔνους ὑπάρχων ἑκάστωι τῶν πλοιζομέ[νων]
10
ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων, νῦν [δ' ἔτι] μᾶλλον ἐπ<η>υξημέ-
νης αὐτῆς μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίας παρεκάλεσεν τὸ
κοινὸν ἐξαποστεῖλαι πρεσβείαν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθη-
ναίων ὅπως δοθῇ αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν ὧι κατασκευάσουσιν τέ-
μενος Ἡρακλέους τοῦ πλείστων [ἀγαθ]ῶν παραιτίου γ[ε]-
15
γονότος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀρχηγοῦ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπά[ρ]-
χοντος· αἱρεθεὶς πρεσβευτὴς πρός τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ
τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, προθύμως ἀναδεξάμενος ἔ-
πλευσεν δαπανῶν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐμφανίσας τε τὴν
τῆς συνόδου πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὔνοιαν παρεκάλεσεν

20
αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπετελέσατο
τὴν τῶν θιασιτῶν βούλησιν καὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν τιμὴν <συνηύξησεν>
καθάπερ ἥρμοττεν αὐτῶι· πεφιλανθρωπηκὼς δὲ
καὶ πλείονας ἐν τοῖς ἀρμόζουσιν καιροῖς, εἴρηκεν
δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς συνόδου ἐν τῶι ἀναγκαιοτάτωι
25
καιρῶι τὰ δίκαια μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας καὶ φιλοτι-
μίας καὶ ἐδέξατό τε τὸν θίασον ἐφ’ ἡμέρας δύο ὑπὲρ
τοῦ υοῦ·   IN   ἵνα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀπαρά-
κλητον ἑαυτὸν παρασκευάζηι καὶ ἡ σύνοδος φαί-
νηται φροντίζουσα τῶν διακειμένων ἀνδρῶν εἰς ἑαυ-
30
τὴν εὐνοικῶς καὶ ἀξίας χάριτας ἀποδιδοῦσα τοῖς
εὐεργέταις καὶ ἕτεροι πλείονες τῶν ἐκ τῆς τοῖς συνό-
δου διὰ τὴν εἰς τοῦτον εὐχαριστίαν ζηλωταὶ γί-
νωνται καὶ παραμιλλῶνται φιλοτιμούμενοι
περιποιεῖν τι τεῖ συνόδωι· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει·
35
δεδόχθαι τῶι κοινῶι τῶν Τυρίων Ἡρακλειστῶν
ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων ἐπαινέσαι Πάτρωνα Δω-
ροθέου καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν χρυ-
σῶι στεφάνωι ἐν ταῖς συντε[λου]μέναις θυσίαις
τῶι Ποσειδῶνι ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ καλοκαγαθί-
40
ας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Τυρί-
ων ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐ-
τοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα γραπτὴν ἐν τῶι τεμένει τοῦ
Ἡρακλέους καὶ ἀλλαχῆ οὗ ἂν αὐτὸς βούληται· ἔσ-
τω δὲ ἀσύμβολος καὶ ἀλειτούργητος ἐν ταῖς
45
γινομέναις συνόδοις πάσαις· ἐπιμελὲς δὲ ἔστω
τοῖς καθισταμένοις ἀρχιθιασίταις καὶ ταμίαις
καὶ τῶι γραμματεῖ ὅπως ἐν ταῖς γινομέναις θυ-
σίαις καὶ συνόδοις ἀναγορεύηται κατὰ ταύτην
τὴν ἀναγόρευσιν· ἡ σύνοδος τῶν Τυρίων ἐμπό-
50
ρων καὶ ναυκλήρων στεφανοῖ Πάτρωνα Δωροθέου
εὐεργέτην. ἀναγραψάτωσαν δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή-
φισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στησάτωσαν ἐν
τῶν τεμένει τοῦ Ἡρακλέους· τὸ δὲ ἐσόμενον ἀνάλωμ[α]
54
εἰς ταῦτα μερισάτω ὁ ταμίας καὶ ὁ ἀρχιθιασίτης.
55

ἐπὶ ἀρχιθιασίτου
Διονυσίου τοῦ Διονυσίου,
ἱερατεύοντος δὲ
Πάτρωνος τοῦ Δωροθέου.
cr 1.59
  ὁ δῆμος
60
ὁ Ἀθηναίων.
cr 2.61
ἡ σύνοδος
τῶν Τυρίων
ἐμπόρων
καὶ ναυκλήρων.

With the archon Phaidrias presiding; on the eighth day of Elaphebolion an assembly (*ekklesia*) was held in the sanctuary of Apollo. Dionysios the son of Dionysios, the head of the association, proposed: since Patron the son of Dorotheos, a member of the synod, has come to the assembly (*ekklesia*) and renewed the goodwill that he has shown to the synod; and because without hesitation he has supplied many of the needs of the synod, and he continues in every way to speak and act in a way beneficial to the common synod, and to remain personally well-disposed to each of the maritime merchants and ship-owners; and since now with the goodwill of the gods thus increased the *koinon* has asked him to serve on an embassy to the people of Athens to request that a place may be given to them where they will establish a sacred precinct for Herakles, who has been responsible for the majority of the benefits enjoyed by mankind and who is the leader of the country; and since having been chosen as an ambassador to the council and people of Athens, he eagerly undertook the task and sailed at his own private expense, and he made the request while showing the goodwill of the synod towards the people of Athens, and for this reason he accomplished the will of the members of the association, and he increased the honor shown to the gods, just as it was fitting for him to do; and since he dealt in a kindly fashion with many people at appropriate times, and also spoke justly on behalf of the synod at a very critical moment with every mark of eagerness and ambition; and since he hosted the association for two days on behalf of his son. - [[IN]] Therefore, in order that he keep himself willing and able to serve henceforth; and in order that the synod show its kind consideration of men so well disposed towards it and render to its benefactors worthy thanks; and in order that more other men belonging to this synod may emulate him because of the thanks shown to him, and that they be ambitious to surpass him in benefiting the synod. - Good Fortune - Let it be resolved by the synod of the Tyrian Merchants and Ship-owners of Herakles to praise Patron the son of Dorotheos and grant him a golden crown for a year during the sacrifices performed for Poseidon on account of the excellence, goodness, and nobility that he continues to have towards the *koinon* of the Tyrian Merchants and Ship-owners; and to dedicate a painted image of him in the sacred precinct of Herakles and in another place of his choosing; let him be exempt from making contributions and performing liturgies in all the synods; and let the chiefs,

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treasurers, and secretary of the association see to it that during the sacrifices and synods he is publicly announced in the following way: "The synod of the Tyrian Merchants and Ship-owners crowns Patron the son of Dorotheos as its benefactor." Let them record this decree on a stone stele, and let them set it up in the sacred precinct of Herakles, and let the treasurer and head of the association divide the expense thus incurred for these measures.

With Dionysios the son of Dionysios presiding as the head of association, and Patron the son of Dorotheos serving as priest.

The people of Athens.

The synod of the Tyrian Merchants and Ship-owners.[1035]

(3) *IGLAM* 1381–1382/CIG 4342
Le Bas, Philippe and William Henry Waddington. *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineure*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1870/Reprinted 1972, 2.336.

(1) *IGLAM* 1381. See commentary in Kloppenborg, 1993 "Edwin Hatch," p. 215.
Ζήνοων [Θεοδώρου ἀρχιτ]έκτων τοῦ θεάτρου ἀνέθηκεν. ἀ[πέδωκεν εἰς ἀγῶνα] γυμνικὸν γενέθλιον τοῦ θεάτρου πρισχείλια, [καὶ εἰ]ς εὔφημον ἐκκλησ[ίαν ἐχαρίσατο κήπους πρὸς τῷ ἱπποδ[ρόμῳ...]

Zeno the son of Theodoros, the manager of theater, dedicated this. He donated 3,000 towards a gymnastic contest celebrating his birthday, and he gave gardens by the hippodrome as a gift to the auspicious assembly (*ekklesia*).

(2) *IGLAM* 1382. See commentary in Kloppenborg, 1993 "Edwin Hatch," p. 231
ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Ζήνοων[α] Θεοδώρου ἀρχιτέκτοντα τοῦ θεάτρου [καὶ] τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἔργων... καὶ εἰς εὔφημον ἐκκλησ[ίαν ἐχαρίσα]μενον κήπους π[ρὸς τῷ] ἱπποδρόμῳ...

The council and the people honored Zeno the son of Theodoros, the manager of the theater and of the public works of the city...for giving gardens by the hippodrome as a gift to the auspicious assembly (*ekklesia*).

(4) *OGIS* 488
(a) W. Dittenberger, ed. *Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae*. Supplementum Sylloges
        inscriptionum graecarum. 2 volumes. Leipzig: Hildesheim, 1903–5/repr. 1960.
(b) For the online version of *OGIS*, vol. 1 see:
        http://www.archive.org/stream/orientisgraeciin01dittuoft#page/656/mode/2up
(c) For the online version of *OGIS*, vol. 2 see:
        http://www.archive.org/stream/orientisgraeciin02dittuoft#page/n5/mode/2up
        For *OGIS* 488, see volume 2, pp. 121–122.

[1035] See also the full translation of *IDelos* 1519 in *AGRW* no. 223.

Greek text of *OGIS* 488

Ἐν Καστωλλῷ χώμῃ Φιλαδελφέων, γενομένης ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν χωμητῶν πάντῶν, καὶ βουλευσαμένων αὐτῶν διελέσθαι τὸν ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς ἀγρὸν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὄροις τόπῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ Ἀγάθωνος μάνδραις ὄντα ὀρεινόν, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες οἱ χομῆται－－]

Latin comment by *OGIS* editor in Note 3:

Hoc unum est exemplum γερουςίας pagi, sed collatis eis quae not. 2 exposita sunt hoc nihil miri habet. Non est cur dubitemus, quin etiam in pago, ut in civitatibus Asianis, gerusia collegium hominum aetate provectiorum fuerit.

English Translation:

In the village of Kastollos of the Philadelphians, after an assembly (*ekklesia*) was held by the *gerousia* and by the rest of the villagers, and after the councilors resolved to divide up a field that lay within the boundaries of their village, in the place called Agathon's, a field that was bounded by hills, since all the villagers...

II. New Example

Sinuri Inscriptions (*Sinuri* 73/8 and 24a/22)

The group indicated in *Sinuri* 73 and 22 is a *syngeneia*, not a *polis* nor a *koinon*. A *syngeneia* is a kinship based group, whether biological or mythical.[1036] The *syngeneia* in *Sinuri* 73 appears to be either some local group or a 'virtual' group within a group. Its identity in the fourth century (*Sinuri* 73/8) is not clear but in the Hellenistic period (*Sinuri* 24a/22) a different *syngeneia* met there which clearly was some kind of subdivision of Mylasa. Louis Robert's investigations appear to support an identification of the 4th century BCE *syngeneia* at Sinuri as being functionally equivalent to a voluntary association. See *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa* (Paris: L'institut français d'archéologie de Stamboul, 1945); idem., "Decret d'une syngeneia Carienne au sanctuaire de Sinuri," *Hellenica* VII (1949): 59–68.

Sinuri 73 = Sinuri 8 in PHI

http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main?url=oi%3Fikey%3D262400%26region%3D8%26subregio
n%3D27%26bookid%3D524%26caller%3Dsearch%26start%3D152%26end%3D164

Honorary decree of *syngeneis* **of Pelekōs for […]s (?) Nesaios, with curse for violation, on two fragments of white marble; 350/344 BCE; found at Sinuri.**

Robert, Sinuri no. 73 (PH); *BE* 1944:168; Wilhelm, *SAWW* 224, IV, 1947, 3-5, 11-20 (= Akadschr. III 251-253, 259-268); BE 1948:215; *Hellenica* 7, 63-64; *BE* 1950:181; **Hornblower, Mausolus* M5.

Hornblower, Mausolus M5
1
[ἔδοξεν] Πελεκωδος συγγενεῦσι
[συ]νελθοῦσι πᾶσιν· vacat
[ἐκκλ]ησίης κυρίης γενομένης ΕΝ.
[.c.4.]ι, Νησαιωι καλῶι κἀγαθῶι vacat
5
[γεγ]ενημένωι εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐμπε[δώσαντι?]
[.c.4. τὴ]ν ἐντολὴν τὴν Ἰδριέως καὶ Ἄδα[ς καὶ?]
[.c.6..]ασθαι ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτῶν αὐ[τόν τε]
[καὶ ἐκ]γόνους το[ὺ]ς τούτο[υ] εἰς τὸν ἀ[εὶ χρόνον]
[μετέ]χοντα πάν[των ὅσ]ων? κα[ὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μετα]-
10
[δίδοτ]αι Πελεκωδος συγγε[νεῦσι καὶ]
[δεδόσ]θαι αὐτῶι Ε..ΕΝ.φ[όρ]ω[ν?]
[πάν]των ἀτέλειαν πλὴν ἀπομ[οίρας·]
[ἐὰν δ]έ τις ταῦτα παραβαίνη ἢ ἄκυρα π[οιῇ,]
[ἐπικα]τάρατος ἔστω αὐτός τε καὶ τὰ τού[του]

[1036] *Syngeneia* is also used by a *polis* when speaking of other *poleis* with which it desires to create a mythical kinship. For example, the decree of Allaria confirms friendship (*syngeneis*) with, and asylia of, Teos; *LW73, Teos* 3, (200 BCE) found near Hereke; Ion. — Ephesos(?) — Kat.23 (*LW 73; **ICret II Allaria* no. 1 (ll. 4, 12): ἐπειδὴ Τήϊοι φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς διὰ προγόνων ὑπάρχοντες ψάφισμα καὶ πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλαν<⁶¹>⁶¹[⁵¹τες]⁵¹ παρ' ἁμὲ Ἀπολλόδοτον καὶ Κωλώτην.

15
[πάν]τα ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου.

It was resolved by all the assembled families of Pelekōs: during a legally held assembly (*ekklesia*)...for Nisaios, who has been a noble and good man towards them and who has enforced the ordinance of Idris and Adas...their own brother and the descendants of this man henceforth and who shared in all...He is given a share with the other families of Pelekōs. and that he receive immunity from taxes without contribution. And if anyone violates these resolutions or renders them invalid, let him be accursed and all his (property be excluded) from this god.

Sinuri 24a = Sinuri 22 in PHI

http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main?url=oi%3Fikey%3D262414%26region%3D8%26subregio
n%3D27%26bookid%3D524%26caller%3Dsearch%26start%3D119%26end%3D129

Fragment of honorary (?) decree of *kyria* [*ekklesia*] mentioning [...] Leọ[ntos], on block of white marble; Hellenistic?; found at Sinuri: *Robert, Sinuri no. 24a (PH); *BE* 1944:168.

Robert, Sinuri no. 24a

1
[—] Λέọ[ν]-
[τος —] κυρίας
[ἐκκλησίας —]
[—].ΔΗΙ
5
[—]ῼΝΠΑ
[—]ΣΑΝ

Appendix #8: *Synagō* **and** *Eis Ekklēsian*: **Greek Sources**

I. Greek Writers Pairing *Synagō* With *Ekklēsia* But Not With *Eis Ekklēsian*
Thucydides (*c*. 460 BC– *c*. 395 BC; Athens; *The Peloponnesian War* 2.60.1) Xenophon
(*c*. 430 – 354 BC; Athens; *Anabasis* 1.3.2) and Demosthenes (384–322 BCE; Athens;
Letters; 1.5).

II. Greek Inscriptions Pairing *Synagō* With *Ekklēsia* But Not With *Eis Ekklēsian*
Samos 4 (n.d.; Samos, Aegean Islands)
συναχθῆναι μὲν τ[ὴν ἐκκλησίαν? —]

Samos 119 (n.d.; Samos, Aegean Islands)
ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἀλειφομένοις ἐν τῆι γεροντικῆι παλαίστραι, συναχθεῖσιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν·

Samos 120 (n.d.; Samos, Aegean Islands)
1 ἐπὶ Τίμωνος· Τ[αυρεῶνο]ς ἐμβολίμου νουμηνίᾳ· ἐκκλη[σ]ίας συναχθείσης·

Aphrodisias/*BCH* 1972, 443–45 (1st cent BCE[?]; Aphrodisias, Caria, Asia Minor)
Honorary decree of koinon of Hellenes in Asia for Dionysios Iasonos and Hierokles
Iasonos of Aphrodisias and Tralles; I; found at Aphrodisias
καὶ κληθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου συναχθείσης ἐκλησίας

IvO 52 (138 BCE; Olympia, Elis, Peloponnesos)
ἐκκλησία συνήχθη κυρία ἐγ [τῷ θεά]τρωι ἐν τῆι προειρημένηι ἡμέραι,

Milet I 3, 145/*Miletos* 42 (200/199 BCE; Ephesos, Ionia, Asia Minor)
Honorary decree for Eudemos Thallionos, who established and regulated administration
of school;
τῆι δὲ ὀγδόηι ἀνομένου τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός, ἐπειτὰν ἡ ἐκκλησία συναχθῆι, τίθεσθαι ἐν τῆι
ὀρχήστραι τρίποδα καὶ θυμίατρον, τοὺς δὲ ἱερεῖς τόν τε τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τοῦ Ἐναγωνίου τοῦ
ἐν τῆι παλαίστραι τῶν παίδων καὶ τὸν τῶν Μουσῶν καὶ τὸν ἱεροκήρυκα καὶ τοὺς
κεχειροτονη

EKM 1. *Beroia* 1 (200–166 BCE; Makedonia [Bottiaia] — Beroia, Macedonia, northern
Greece)
συναχθείσης ἐκκλησίας Ζώπυρος Ἀμύντου, ὁ γυμνασίαρχος, Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἡρᾶ,
Κάλλιππος Ἱπποστράτου εἶπαν·

Rigsby, Asylia 52c (242 BCE; Asklepion, Cos and Calyma, Aegean Islands)
Decree of unknown Ionian city (cf. *Asylieurkunden aus Kos* [1952] p. 27 — *Chiron* 31
[2001]: 333, 1 [text] — *SEG* 51.1055)
[καὶ τῶν θεωρῶν συναχθείσης ὑπὸ τ]ῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκκλησ[ία]ς·

SEG 51:1055 (242 BCE; Asklepion, Cos and Calyma, Aegean Islands)
Decree of an Ionian city concerning the asylia of Kos. No description.
[καὶ τῶν θεωρῶν συναχθείσης ὑπὸ τ]ῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκκλησ[ία]ς·

IosPE I² 33 (3rd cent. BCE[?]; Olbia, north shore of the Black Sea)
τῶν δὲ ἀρχόντων συναγαγόντων ἐκλησίαν

SEG 47:1280 (post-241 BCE; Asklepieion [stoich.], Cos and Calyma, Aegean Islands)
Decree of Samos?
1 ἐπὶ τοῦ [θεοῦ —].Μ[— — — — —], Ἀπατουριῶνος τρεισκαιδεκάτηι, ἐκκλησ[ί]ας κατὰ
νόμον περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν συναχθείσης,

IMT Adram Kolpos 732 (319–317 BCE; Aiol.Mys.: Adramyttenos Kolpos —
Nasos/Poroselene? [Alibey Ad.]: Nasos [Dulapi], Mysia, Asia Minor)
εἰς μίκρον συνάγαγε ? Implied by μίκρον?

SEG 25:687 (Hellenistic period; Thessalia [Magnesia] — Korope, Thessaly, central
Greece). Regulations concerning the cult of Zeus Akraios.
...... πρῶτον τὸ [ἄγα]λμα τῶι θεῶι, συναχθείση[ς ἐκκλη]σίας τοῦ προειρημένου [μην]ὸ[ς
ἀ]ναφέροντος ἀεὶ λόγον τῶι [μηνὶ τῶι] σ...τηνιωι[— — — πρὸς τοὺς] ἐξεταστάς·

Iasos 4.33-110/Iasos 4 (195/190 BCE; found at Iasos, Caria, Asia Minor)
Honorary decree of demos (of Iasos) for King Antiochos (III) and Queen Laodike (III)
[πρυτ]άνεων ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόντων τριακάδι ἔδο[ξε] τῶι δήμωι·

Sardis 7,1 8 (5–1 BCE; Lyd. — Sardeis, Lydia, Asia Minor)
ἐπὶ τῶι Γαΐωι χαρὰν καὶ περὶ ὅλον τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ εὔνοιαν, παραγενόμενός τε ἐν τῆι
συναχθείση δημοτελεῖ ἐκ<κ>λησίαι τὴν ἀποπρεσβείαν ἐποιεῖτο, ὁ δὲ δῆμος
ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν

Sardis 7,1 8 (5–1 BCE; Lyd. — Sardeis, Lydia, Asia Minor)
ἐ<κ>κλησίας, ἀρχαιρετικῆς συναχθείσης καὶ συνελθόντων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν [πόλεων
ἑ]κατὸν κ(αὶ) ν′ ἀνδρῶν τιμᾶν ἐπηνέχθησαν ἄθροοι τὸν καθ’ ἔτος ἔκδικον τοῦ κοινοῦ
τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσί[ας Ἑλ]λήνων Μηνογένην Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Μηνογένους τὸν πολείτην
<ὑ>μῶν,

IGRR 4.1756 (5–1 BCE; Lyd. — Sardeis, Lydia, Asia Minor)
ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστο[ῦ, Σαρδιανῶν]
ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν· ἐ<κ>κλησίας, ἀρχαιρετικῆς συναχθείσης καὶ συνελθόντων
τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν [πόλεων ἑ]κατὸν κ(αὶ) ν′ ἀνδρῶν τιμᾶν ἐπηνέχθησαν ἄθροοι τὸν καθ’ ἔτος
ἔκδικον

IC II xii 20 (227–224[?] BCE; Crete, W. — Eleutherna, Crete, Aegean Islands)
ἐὰν δὲ μὴ σ]υναγάγωσιν τὴν ἐ[κλησίαν ἢ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς μὴ] προσαγάγωσιν ἢ
χρη[ματίσωσιν ἄλλο τι πρὶν ἢ ἀπόκ]ρισιν δοῦναι τοῖς [πρεσβευταῖς,

IC II xii 20 (227–224[?] BCE; Crete, W. — Eleutherna, Crete, Aegean Islands)
συναγέτωσαν [οἱ κόσμοι τὴν ἐκλησίαν ἐν δέκ]ᾳ ἡμέραις ἀφ' ἧς ἂν πα[ραγένωνται οἱ πρεσβευταί,

Meletemata 11 K1 (late 2nd to mid-1st cents BCE; Makedonia [Mygdonia] — Kalindoia [area of Kalamoto, Macedonia], northern Greece)
οἱ πολιτάρχαι, συνβου[λευσάμενοι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ σ]υναγαγόντες ἐκκλη[σίαν εἶπαν

III. Inscriptions Pairing *Synagō* With Unmodified *Eis Ekklēsian*

Only one inscription: *Samos* 119 ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἀλειφομένοις ἐν τῆι γεροντικῆι παλαίστραι, συναχθεῖσιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν·

IV. Literary Authors Pairing *Synagō* With Unmodified *Eis Ekklēsian*

Polybius (ca. 200–118 BC; Arcadia of Macedonia)
Polybius uses *synagō* plus *ekklēsia* 13 times
Polybius uses *synagō* plus unmodified *eis ekklēsian* 5 times

Polybius, *Histories*
book 1, chapter 45: [2] βουλόμενος ἀκεραίοις ἀποχρήσασθαι ταῖς ἑκατέρων ὁρμαῖς πρὸς τὴν διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπίθεσιν τοῖς ἔργοις, συνῆγε πάντας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν:
[2] He wished to take advantage of the excited feelings of both parties, before they cooled, in order to organise an attempt to set fire to the works of the besiegers. He therefore summoned the whole army to a meeting,
Historiae. *Polybius*. Theodorus Büttner-Wobst after L. Dindorf. Leipzig. Teubner. 1893-.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0233:book=1:chapter=45&highlight=e
%29kklhsi%2Fan

book 5, chapter 1: [6] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος, ἐνδεὴς ὢν σίτου καὶ χρημάτων εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις, συνῆγε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς διὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰς ἐκκλησίαν. [7] ἀθροισθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους εἰς Αἴγιον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους
[6] As for Philip, being in need of corn and money for his army, he summoned the Achaeans to a general assembly by means of their magistrates. [7] When the assembly[not *ekklesia* but *plethos*] had met, according to the federal law,

book 22, chapter 10: [10] ὁ δὲ Καικίλιος ὁρῶν τὴν τούτων προαίρεσιν, ἠξίου τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῷ συναγαγεῖν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν. [11] οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἄρχοντες ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν δεῖξαιτὰς ἐντολάς, ἃς εἶχε παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου περὶ τούτων. τοῦ δὲ παρασιωπῶντος, οὐκ ἔφασαν αὐτῷ συνάξειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν:
[10] Seeing what the disposition of the magistrates was, Caecilius demanded that the public assembly should be summoned, to which the Achaean magistrates demanded to see the instructions which he had from the Senate on these points: and when he gave no answer to this demand, they said that they would not summon the assembly for him
Historiae. *Polybius*. Theodorus Büttner-Wobst after L. Dindorf. Leipzig. Teubner. 1893-.

http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0233:book=22:chapter=10&highlight=e%29kklhsi%2Fan

book 22, chapter 12: [5] Ἀπελογήθησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καικίλιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρέσβεις ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ, φάσκοντες οὐθὲν ἀδικεῖν αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἀξίους ἐγκλήματος ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ συνάγειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν:
[5] But the ambassadors from the Achaeans offered an explanation also to Caecilius in the Senate, on behalf of the magistrates, asserting that "They did not act wrongly or deserve blame for refusing to summon the assembly,
Historiae. *Polybius*. Theodorus Büttner-Wobst after L. Dindorf. Leipzig. Teubner. 1893-.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0233:book=22:chapter=12&highlight=e%29kklhsi%2Fan

book 23, chapter 5: [16] ἐπεὶ δὲ καταπλεύσας εἰς Ναύπακτον ἔγραψε τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τοῖς δαμιουργοῖς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, κελεύων συνάγειν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν,
[16] Having landed at Naupactus, Flamininus addressed a despatch to the Strategus and Demiurgi bidding them summon the Achaeans to an assembly; to which they wrote back that "they would do so, if he would write them word what the subjects were on which he wished to confer with the Achaeans;"
Historiae. *Polybius*. Theodorus Büttner-Wobst after L. Dindorf. Leipzig. Teubner. 1893-.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0233:book=23:chapter=5&highlight=e%29kklhsi%2Fan

Diodorus Siculus (Sicily, wrote between 60 and 30 BCE).
Diodorus uses *synagō* plus *ekklēsia* 18 times.
Four time he uses *synagō* plus unmodified *eis ekklēsian*
One time he uses *synagō* plus unmodified *eis tēn ekklēsian*

book 14, chapter 38: [4].... ὃς παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἡράκλειαν συνήγαγεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰ πλήθη, καὶ περιστήσας αὐτοῖς ὁπλίτας συνέλαβε τοὺς αἰτίους καὶ πάντας ἀνεῖλεν, ὄντας περὶ πεντακοσίους.
[4]…As soon as Herippidas arrived in Heracleia he called an assembly of the people, and surrounding them with his hoplites, he arrested the authors of the discord and put them all to death, some five hundred in number.
Diodorus Siculus. Diodorus of Sicily in Twelve Volumes with an English Translation by C. H. Oldfather. Vol. 4-8. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, Ltd. 1989.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0083:book=14:chapter=38&highlight=e%29kklhsi%2Fan

book 15, chapter 74: [5] ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος ὁ νεώτερος διαδεξάμενος τὴν τυραννίδα, πρῶτον τὰ πλήθη συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν παρεκάλεσε τοῖς οἰκείοις λόγοις τηρεῖν τὴν πατροπαράδοτον πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν, ἔπειτα τὸν πατέρα
[5] Dionysius the younger on his succession to the tyranny first gathered the populace in an assembly and urged them in appropriate words to maintain toward him the loyalty that passed to him with the heritage that he had received from his father;
Diodorus Siculus. Diodorus of Sicily in Twelve Volumes with an English Translation by C. H. Oldfather. Vol. 4-8. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, Ltd. 1989.

http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0083:book=15:chapter=74&highlight=
e%29kklhsi%2Fan

book 16, chapter 10: [3]... τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν ὅπλοις
συνεσκεύασεν. συναγαγὼν δ᾽ ἅπαντας εἰς κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπεφαίνετο μὲν ἑαυτὸν
ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθέρωσιν τῶν Σικελιωτῶν,
[3]…and equipped the rest as well as he could with weapons that came to hand. Then
having brought them all to a general assembly, he disclosed that he had come for the
liberation of the Greeks of Sicily,
Diodorus Siculus. Diodorus of Sicily in Twelve Volumes with an English Translation by C. H. Oldfather.
Vol. 4-8. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, Ltd. 1989.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0083:book=16:chapter=10&highlight=
e%29kklhsi%2Fas%2Ce%29kklhsi%2Fan

book 17, chapter 94: [5] ὡς δ᾽ ἐπανῆλθον οἱ στρατιῶται πολλῶν πλῆθος ἀγαθῶν ἐκ τῆς
προνομῆς εὑρηκότες συνῆγε πάντας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν. διελθὼν δὲ λόγον πεφροντισμένον
περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Γανδαρίδας
[5] When the soldiers returned laden with wealth from their expedition, he brought them
together to a meeting. He delivered a carefully prepared speech about the expedition
against the Gandaridae
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0083:book=17:chapter=94&highlight=
e%29kklhsi%2Fas%2Ce%29kklhsi%2Fan

Plutarch (46–120 CE; born to a prominent family in Chaeronea, Boeotia, a town about
twenty miles east of Delphi)
Plutarch uses *synagō* plus *ekklēsia* 15 times
Plutarch uses *synagō* plus unmodified *eis ekklēsian* 7 times

Plutarch, *Aemilius Paulus*
chapter 11: [1] εἰωθότων δὲ τῶν ὑπατείαν λαβόντων οἷον ἀνθομολογεῖσθαί τινα χάριν
καὶ προσαγορεύειν φιλοφρόνως τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, Αἰμίλιος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
συναγαγὼν τοὺς πολίτας τὴν μὲν προτέραν ὑπατείαν μετελθεῖν ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀρχῆς
δεόμενος
11. [1] It was the custom for those who obtained the consulship to return thanks, as it
were, for the great favour in a friendly speech to the people from the rostra; but Aemilius,
having gathered an assembly of the citizens, said he had sued for his first consulship
because he himself wanted office,
Plutarch. Plutarch's Lives, with an English Translation by Bernadotte Perrin. Cambridge, MA. Harvard
University Press. London. William Heinemann Ltd. 1918. 6.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2008.01.0080:chapter=11&highlight=e%29kkl
hsi%2Fan

Plutarch, *Caesar*
chapter 19: [2]... συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν παρὰ
γνώμην οὕτως ἀνάνδρως καὶ μαλακῶς ἔχοντας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔφη τὸ δέκατον τάγμα μόνον
παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους πορεύσεσθαι,

[2]… he called them together[3]["into assembly" is implied] and bade them be off, since they were so unmanly and effeminate, and not force themselves to face danger; as for himself, he said he would take the tenth legion alone and march against the Barbarians;
Plutarch. Plutarch's Lives, with an English Translation by. Bernadotte Perrin. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. London. William Heinemann Ltd. 1919. 7.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2008.01.0130:chapter=19&highlight=e%29kkl hsi%2Fan

Plutarch, *Caius Marius*
chapter 33: [3]… ὡς ἀνεχώρησαν ἀμφότεροι, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς στρατιώτας, Ἀπορῶ, φησί, πότερον εἴπω τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνανδροτέρους ἢ ὑμᾶς:
[3]…and both sides had withdrawn, he called an assembly of his soldiers and said to them: 'I do not know whether to call the enemy or you the greater cowards;
Plutarch. Plutarch's Lives, with an English Translation by. Bernadotte Perrin. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. London. William Heinemann Ltd. 1920. 9.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2008.01.0132:chapter=33&highlight=e%29kkl hsi%2Fan

Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus*
chapter 3: [4]… περὶ δὲ ταύτης ὡς πρῶτον ἤκουσεν ὁ στρατηγὸς Πομπώνιος, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον οὐ περιπλοκὰς οὐδὲ παραγωγὰς ἀλλ᾽ ἄντικρυς ἔφη προσελθὼν Ἐνενικήμεθα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, μεγάλῃ μάχῃ,
[4] but as soon as Pomponius the praetor heard of this second defeat, he called an assembly of the people, faced it, and without roundabout or deceptive phrases, but in downright fashion, said: 'Men of Rome, we have been beaten in a great battle;
Plutarch. Plutarch's Lives, with an English Translation by. Bernadotte Perrin. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. London. William Heinemann Ltd. 1916. 3.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2008.01.0114:chapter=3&highlight=e%29kklhs i%2Fan

Plutarch, *Lycurgus*
chapter 29: [1]… οὕτως ἀγασθεὶς καὶ ἀγαπήσας τὸ τῆς νομοθεσίας κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος ἐν ἔργῳ γενομένης καὶ ὁδῷ βαδιζούσης, ἐπεθύμησεν, ὡς ἀνυστὸν ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνης προνοίας, ἀθάνατον αὐτὴν ἀπολιπεῖν καὶ ἀκίνητον εἰς τὸ μέλλον, συναγαγὼν οὖν ἅπαντας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν,
[1]…He therefore ardently desired, so far as human forethought could accomplish the task, to make it immortal, and let it go down unchanged to future ages. Accordingly, he assembled [nominal not verbal form of *ekklesia*] the whole people,
Plutarch. Plutarch's Lives, with an English Translation by. Bernadotte Perrin. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. London. William Heinemann Ltd. 1914. 1.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2008.01.0131:chapter=29&highlight=e%29kkl hsi%2Fan

Plutarch, *Pericles*
chapter 33: [5] τὸν δὲ δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν οὐ συνῆγε δεδιὼς βιασθῆναι παρὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ νεὼς κυβερνήτης ἀνέμου κατιόντος ἐν πελάγει θέμενος εὖ πάντα καὶ κατατείνας τὰ ὅπλα χρῆται τῇ τέχνῃ,

[5] And he would not call the people together into an assembly, fearing that he would be constrained against his better judgement, like the helmsman of a ship, who, when a stormy wind swoops down upon it in the open sea, makes all fast, takes in sail, and exercises his skill,

Plutarch. Plutarch's Lives, with an English Translation by. Bernadotte Perrin. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. London. William Heinemann Ltd. 1916. 3.

http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2008.01.0072:chapter=33&highlight=e%29kkl hsi%2Fan

chapter 43: [2] εὐθὺς οὖν ἐπιβὰς Ἰταλίας ὁ Πομπήϊος καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὰ πρέποντα διαλεχθεὶς καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος,

[2] Pompey, accordingly, as soon as he set foot in Italy,[1] held an assembly of his soldiers, and after he had said what fitted the occasion, and had expressed his gratitude and affection for them,

Plutarch. Plutarch's Lives, with an English Translation by. Bernadotte Perrin. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. London. William Heinemann Ltd. 1917. 5.

http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2008.01.0123:chapter=43&highlight=e%29kkl hsi%2Fan

Pausanias (2nd century CE during Hadrian, Antonius Pius, Marcus Aurelius; a native of Lydia; he was certainly familiar with the western coast of Asia Minor, but his travels extended far beyond the limits of Ionia. Before visiting Greece, he had been to Antioch, Joppa and Jerusalem)

Pausanias uses *synagō* plus *ekklēsia* only once.

Pausanias pairs *synagō* with the unmodified phrase *eis ekklēsian* only once.

Description of Greece

book 4, chapter 5: [6]... οἱ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων βασιλεῖς τοῖς μὲν πρέσβεσιν ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι βουλευσάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ δήμου τὰ δόξαντα ἐπιστελοῦσιν ἐς Σπάρτην, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκείνων ἀπελθόντων ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς πολίτας συνῆγον.

[6]…The Messenian kings replied to the ambassadors that after deliberation with the people they would send the findings to Sparta and after their departure they themselves summoned the citizens to a meeting.

Pausanias. Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio, 3 vols. Leipzig, Teubner. 1903.

http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0159:book=4:chapter=5&highlight=e %29kklhsi%2Fan

Appendix #9: Verbs with *Eis Ekklēsian*: Josephus

I. Antiquities of the Jews

A. *Eis Ekklēsian* and No Verb

(1) book 4, section 22: (rebellion against Moses) ἀνηρέθιστο δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ βάλλειν τὸν Μωυσῆν ὡρμήκεσαν, εἴς τε ἐκκλησίαν ἀκόσμως μετὰ θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς συνελέγοντο, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ στάντες ἐβόων ἥκειν τὸν τύραννον καὶ τῆς ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δουλείας ἀπηλλάχθαι τὸ πλῆθος, τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προφάσει βίαια προστάγματα κελεύοντος

(2) book 19, section 332: (rebellion against King Agrippa) Καὶ δή τις ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος ἐξακριβάζειν δοκῶν τὰ νόμιμα, Σίμων ἦν ὄνομα τούτῳ, πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἁλίσας τηνικάδε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐκδεδημηκότος ἐτόλμησεν αὐτοῦ κατειπεῖν, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιος εἴη, δικαίως δ᾽ ἂν εἴργοιτο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς εἰσόδου προσηκούσης τοῖς ἐγγενέσιν

B. *Synagō* and *Eis Ekklēsian*

(1) book 3, section 188: (Moses) καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος

(2) book 4, section 63: (Moses) καὶ χαλεπὸν συνήγαγε τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν,

(3) book 4, section 142: (Moses) συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν λαὸν

(4) book 4, section 309: (Moses) καὶ τέκνοις εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγών,

(5) book 5, section 72: (Joshua) συναγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν Σιλοῦν ἐκκλησίαν παρήγγειλε

(6) book 5, section 93: (Joshua) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν στρατὸν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόρδανον

(7) book 8, section 368: (Ahab) [συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος ἔλεγεν,

(8) book 9, section 8: (Jehoshaphat) δείσας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνάγει τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν

(9) book 11, section 228: (Mordecai) Ἰουδαίους εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγεῖν

(10) book 13, section 114: (Ptolemy) καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν

C. Other Verbs and *Eis Ekklēsian*

Athroizō* and *Eis Ekklēsian

(1) book 3, section 300: (Moses) εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίζει τὸ πλῆθος

Dialuō* and *Eis Ekklēsian

(1) book 3, section 306: (Moses) Οἱ δὲ ἄπορον ἐξ ὧν ἠκροάσαντο τὴν κτῆσιν τῆς γῆς ὑπελάμβανον καὶ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ὀλοφυρόμενοι διῆγον, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔργῳ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθοῦντος λόγῳ δὲ μόνον ὑπισχνουμένου

Exreō* and *Eis Ekklēsian

(1) book 3, section 292: (Jehoshaphat) ἐχρῶντο τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας:

Heikō* and *Eis Ekklēsian

(1) book 4, section 24: (Moses) ἧκεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν

Parerchomai and *Eis Ekklēsian*
(1) book 9, section 10: (Jehoshaphat) τις προφήτης παρελθὼν εἰς μέσην τὴν
    ἐκκλησίαν
Proagō and *Eis Ekklēsian*
(1) book 16, section 393: (Herod) καὶ προαγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τριακοσίους
(*Syn*)*Kaleō* and *Eis Ekklēsian*
(1) book 3, section 84: (Moses) οὖν συγκαλεῖ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
(2) book 7, section 370: (King David) εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἄρχοντας
(3) book 12, section 164: (Joseph, son of Tobias, nephew of Onias the high priest)
    συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
(4) book 13, section 216: (Simon Maccabeus, high priest and ethnarch) καὶ δὴ
    τοῦτ᾽ ἔπειθεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καλέσας τὸ πλῆθος
Synerchomai and *Eis Ekklēsian*
(1) book 4, section 35: (Moses) τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ συνῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
    παρατευξόμενοι
(2) book 9, section 250: (King Pekah [implied]) ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς εἰς
    ἐκκλησίαν συνελθὼν
Syntrexō Eis Ekklēsian
(1) book 3, section 307: (rebellion against Moses and Aaron) πρωῒ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν
    ἐκκλησίαν συντρέχουσι, δι᾽ ἐννοίας ἔχοντες καταλεύσαντες τόν τε Μωυσῆν καὶ
    Ἀαρῶνα ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέφειν,

II. Jewish War

A. *Synagō* and *Eis Ekklēsian*
(11) book 1, section 666: (Queen Salome) ἤδη τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ συνῆγον αὐτοὺς εἰς
    ἐκκλησίαν

B. Other Verbs and *Eis Ekklēsian*
Proeimi and *Eis Ekklēsian*
(1) book 1, section 654: (Herod) γενόμενος πρόεισιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
Synerchomai and *Eis Ekklēsian*
(3) book 4, section 162: (Ananus) Καὶ δὴ συνελθόντος τοῦ πλήθους εἰς ἐκκλησίαν
Athroizō and *Eis Ekklēsian*
(2) book 7, section 412: (The principal men of the *gerousia*) ὁρῶντες δ᾽ αὐτῶν τὴν
    ἀπόνοιαν οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῆς γερουσίας οὐκέτ᾽ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτοῖς ἐνόμιζον
    περιορᾶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀθροίσαντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους

Appendix #10: Categorization of *Ekklēsia* Occurrences in the New Testament

<u>**Four Definitional Categories for New Testament Uses of the Word *Ekklēsia****</u>
- **(1)** = a title for the semi-public, ritual assembly or meeting of early Christ-followers;
- **(2)** = the collective sum of all Christ-followers while gathered together in assembly;
- **(3)** = a collective designation for those self-same Christ-followers even outside of their assembly times;
- **(4)** = a reference to the supra-local, or universal *ekklēsia*, of which regional *ekklēsiai* are local manifestations.
  * NRSV translates *ekklēsia* occurrences as "church" in 112 verses (114 occurrences)

<u>***Emic* or *Etic* Classification***</u>
Emic = a group designation by which the writer's referents self-identify
Etic = the writer's own group terminology, which is not also the *emic* terminology of his actual referents. The writer may use his own group terminology because it is more familiar to his reading audience than is the *emic* terminology by which the writer's referents self-identify.

Matt 16:18 (3) or (4) Emic	κἀγὼ δέ σοι λέγω ὅτι σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πύλαι ᾅδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς. "And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my *ekklēsia*, and the gates of Hell will not prevail against it."
Matt 18:17 (1)(2) or (3) Emic	ἐὰν δὲ παρακούσῃ αὐτῶν, εἰπὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρακούσῃ, ἔστω σοι ὥσπερ ὁ ἐθνικὸς καὶ ὁ τελώνης. "If the member refuses to listen to them, tell it to the *ekklēsia*; and if the member refuses to listen even to the *ekklēsia*, let such a one be to you as a Gentile and a tax collector"
Acts 5:11 (3) Etic	καὶ ἐγένετο φόβος μέγας ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας ταῦτα. "And great fear seized the whole *ekklēsia* and all who heard of these things"
Acts 7:38 (2) or (3) Emic (using LXX term)	οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐδέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ἡμῖν, Moses is referred to here. "He is the one who was in the *ekklēsia* in the wilderness with the angel who spoke to him at Mount Sinai, and with our ancestors; and he received living oracles to give to us."
Acts 8:1 (3) Etic	Σαῦλος δὲ ἦν συνευδοκῶν τῇ ἀναιρέσει αὐτοῦ. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διωγμὸς μέγας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, πάντες δὲ διεσπάρησαν κατὰ τὰς χώρας τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Σαμαρείας πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων. "A severe persecution began against the *ekklēsia* in Jerusalem."
Acts 8:3 (3) Etic	Σαῦλος δὲ ἐλυμαίνετο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τοὺς οἴκους εἰσπορευόμενος, σύρων τε ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας παρεδίδου εἰς φυλακήν. "Saul was ravaging the *ekklēsia* by entering house after house."
Acts 9:31 (3) Etic	Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Σαμαρείας εἶχεν εἰρήνην οἰκοδομουμένη καὶ πορευομένη τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῇ παρακλήσει τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπληθύνετο. "Meanwhile the *ekklēsia* throughout Judea, Galilee, and Samaria had peace and was built up"

Acts 11:22
(3)
Ἠκούσθη δὲ ὁ λόγος εἰς τὰ ὦτα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς οὔσης ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξαπέστειλαν Βαρναβᾶν [διελθεῖν] ἕως Ἀντιοχείας.
Etic
"News of this came to the ears of the *ekklēsia* in Jerusalem"

Acts 11:26
(3)
καὶ εὑρὼν ἤγαγεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον συναχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ διδάξαι ὄχλον ἱκανόν, χρηματίσαι τε πρώτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς.
Etic
"So it was that for an entire year they met with the *ekklēsia* and taught a great many people"

Acts 12:1
(3)
Κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπέβαλεν Ἡρῴδης ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς χεῖρας κακῶσαί τινας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.
Etic
"About that time King Herod laid violent hands upon some who belonged to the *ekklēsia*"

Acts 12:5
(2) or (3)
ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος ἐτηρεῖτο ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ· προσευχὴ δὲ ἦν ἐκτενῶς γινομένη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ.
Etic
"While Peter was kept in prison, the *ekklēsia* prayed fervently to God for him"

Acts 13:1
(3)
Emic
Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν προφῆται καὶ διδάσκαλοι ὅ τε Βαρναβᾶς καὶ Συμεὼν ὁ καλούμενος Νίγερ καὶ Λούκιος ὁ Κυρηναῖος, Μαναήν τε Ἡρῴδου τοῦ τετραάρχου σύντροφος καὶ Σαῦλος.
"Now in the *ekklēsia* at Antioch there were prophets and teachers"

Acts 14:23
(1)(2) or (3)
Emic
χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς κατ᾽ ἐκκλησίαν πρεσβυτέρους, προσευξάμενοι μετὰ νηστειῶν παρέθεντο αὐτοὺς τῷ κυρίῳ εἰς ὃν πεπιστεύκεισαν.
"And after they had appointed elders for them in each *ekklēsia*"

Acts 14:27
(1)(2) or (3)
Emic
παραγενόμενοι δὲ καὶ συναγαγόντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνήγγελλον ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς μετ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτι ἤνοιξεν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν θύραν πίστεως.
"When they arrived, they called the *ekklēsia* together"

Acts 15:3
(1)(2) or (3)
Emic
Οἱ μὲν οὖν προπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διήρχοντο τήν τε Φοινίκην καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἐκδιηγούμενοι τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἐποίουν χαρὰν μεγάλην πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.
"So they were sent on their way by the *ekklēsia*"

Acts 15:4
(2) or (3)
Etic
παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ παρεδέχθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἀνήγγειλάν τε ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν.
"When they came to Jerusalem, they were welcomed by the *ekklēsia* and the apostles and the elders"

Acts 15:22
(2) or (3)
Etic
Τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκλεξαμένους ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πέμψαι εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν σὺν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Βαρναβᾷ, Ἰούδαν τὸν καλούμενον Βαρσαββᾶν καὶ Σιλᾶν, ἄνδρας ἡγουμένους ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς,
"the apostles and the elders, with the consent of the whole *ekklēsia*, decided to choose men from among their members"

Acts 15:41
(3) Emic
διήρχετο δὲ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ [τὴν] Κιλικίαν ἐπιστηρίζων τὰς ἐκκλησίας.
"He went through Syria and Cilicia, strengthening the *ekklēsiai*"

Acts 16:5
(3) Emic
Αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίαι ἐστερεοῦντο τῇ πίστει καὶ ἐπερίσσευον τῷ ἀριθμῷ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν.
"So the *ekklēsiai* were strengthened in the faith"

Acts 18:22
(2) or (3)
Etic
καὶ κατελθὼν εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἀναβὰς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατέβη εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.
"he went up to Jerusalem and greeted the *ekklēsia*"

Acts 19:32
(1) or (2)
Emic
ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι ἔκραζον· ἦν γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία συγκεχυμένη καὶ οἱ πλείους οὐκ ᾔδεισαν τίνος ἕνεκα συνεληλύθεισαν.
"some were shouting one thing, some another; for the *ekklēsia* was in confusion,"

Acts 19:39
(1)
Etic
εἰ δέ τι περαιτέρω ἐπιζητεῖτε, ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπιλυθήσεται.
"If there is anything further you want to know, it must be settled in the regular *ekklēsia*."

Acts 19:40 (1) or (2) Emic	καὶ γὰρ κινδυνεύομεν ἐγκαλεῖσθαι στάσεως περὶ τῆς σήμερον, μηδενὸς αἰτίου ὑπάρχοντος περὶ οὗ [οὐ] δυνησόμεθα ἀποδοῦναι λόγον περὶ τῆς συστροφῆς ταύτης. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. "When he had said this, he dismissed the *ekklēsia*."
Acts 20:17 (2) or (3) Emic	Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου πέμψας εἰς Ἔφεσον μετεκαλέσατο τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας. "From Miletus he sent a message to Ephesus, asking the elders of the *ekklēsia* to meet him"
Acts 20:28 (3) or (4) Emic	προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου. "to shepherd the *ekklēsia* of God that he obtained with the blood of his own Son."
Rom 16:1 (3) Emic	Συνίστημι δὲ ὑμῖν Φοίβην τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν, οὖσαν [καὶ] διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς, "I commend to you our sister Phoebe, a deacon of the *ekklēsia* at Cenchreae"
Rom 16:4 (3) Emic	οἵτινες ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς μου τὸν ἑαυτῶν τράχηλον ὑπέθηκαν, οἷς οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος εὐχαριστῶ ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν ἐθνῶν, "to whom not only I give thanks, but also all the *ekklēsiai* of the Gentiles."
Rom 16:5 (2) or (3) Emic	καὶ τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαν. ἀσπάσασθε Ἐπαίνετον τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου, ὅς ἐστιν ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς Χριστόν. "[Greet] also the *ekklēsia* in their house."
Rom 16:16 (3) Emic	ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. "All the *ekklēsiai* of Christ greet you."
Rom 16:23 (3) Emic	ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Γάϊος ὁ ξένος μου καὶ ὅλης τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ἔραστος ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως καὶ Κούαρτος ὁ ἀδελφός. "Gaius, who is host to me and to the whole *ekklēsia*, greets you"
1 Cor 1:2 (3) Emic	τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις, σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμῶν· "To the *ekklēsia* of God that is in Corinth, to those who are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, together with all those who in every place call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, both their Lord and ours."
1 Cor 4:17 (1) or (3) Emic	Διὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμψα ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον, ὅς ἐστίν μου τέκνον ἀγαπητὸν καὶ πιστὸν ἐν κυρίῳ, ὃς ὑμᾶς ἀναμνήσει τὰς ὁδούς μου τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ [Ἰησοῦ], καθὼς πανταχοῦ ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ διδάσκω. "For this reason I sent you Timothy, who is my beloved and faithful child in the Lord, to remind you of my ways in Christ Jesus, as I teach them everywhere in every *ekklēsia*."
1 Cor 6:4 (1)(2) or (3) Emic	βιωτικὰ μὲν οὖν κριτήρια ἐὰν ἔχητε, τοὺς ἐξουθενημένους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τούτους καθίζετε; "If you have ordinary cases, then, do you appoint as judges those who have no standing in the *ekklēsia*?"
1 Cor 7:17 (1) or (3) Emic	Εἰ μὴ ἑκάστῳ ὡς ἐμέρισεν ὁ κύριος, ἕκαστον ὡς κέκληκεν ὁ θεός, οὕτως περιπατείτω. καὶ οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πάσαις διατάσσομαι. "However that may be, let each of you lead the life that the Lord has assigned, to which God called you. This is my rule in all the *ekklēsiai*."
1 Cor 10:32 (3) Emic	ἀπρόσκοποι καὶ Ἰουδαίοις γίνεσθε καὶ Ἕλλησιν καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, "Give no offense to Jews or to Greeks or to the *ekklēsia* of God"

1 Cor 11:16 (3) Emic	Εἰ δέ τις δοκεῖ φιλόνεικος εἶναι, ἡμεῖς τοιαύτην συνήθειαν οὐκ ἔχομεν οὐδὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ θεοῦ. "But if anyone is disposed to be contentious—we have no such custom, nor do the *ekklēsiai* of God"
1 Cor 11:18 (1) Emic	πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκούω σχίσματα ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν καὶ μέρος τι πιστεύω. "when you come together in an *ekklēsia* [NRSV; "as an *ekklēsia*"] I hear that there are divisions among you"
1 Cor 11:22 (3) Emic	μὴ γὰρ οἰκίας οὐκ ἔχετε εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν; ἢ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονεῖτε, καὶ καταισχύνετε τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας; τί εἴπω ὑμῖν; ἐπαινέσω ὑμᾶς; ἐν τούτῳ οὐκ ἐπαινῶ. "Or do you show contempt for the *ekklēsia* of God and humiliate those who have nothing?"
1 Cor 12:28 (3) Emic	Καὶ οὓς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους, ἔπειτα δυνάμεις, ἔπειτα χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων, ἀντιλήμψεις, κυβερνήσεις, γένη γλωσσῶν. "And God has appointed in the *ekklēsia* first apostles, second prophets, third teachers; then deeds of power, then gifts of healing, forms of assistance, forms of leadership, various kinds of tongues."
1 Cor 14:4 (2) or (3) Emic	ὁ λαλῶν γλώσσῃ ἑαυτὸν οἰκοδομεῖ· ὁ δὲ προφητεύων ἐκκλησίαν οἰκοδομεῖ. "but those who prophesy build up the *ekklēsia*"
1 Cor 14:5 (2) or (3) Emic	θέλω δὲ πάντας ὑμᾶς λαλεῖν γλώσσαις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα προφητεύητε· μείζων δὲ ὁ προφητεύων ἢ ὁ λαλῶν γλώσσαις ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ διερμηνεύῃ, ἵνα ἡ ἐκκλησία οἰκοδομὴν λάβῃ. "unless someone interprets, so that the *ekklēsia* may be built up"
1 Cor 14:12 (2) or (3) Emic	οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ ζηλωταί ἐστε πνευμάτων, πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ζητεῖτε ἵνα περισσεύητε. "strive to excel in them for building up the *ekklēsia*."
1 Cor 14:19 (1) Emic	ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ θέλω πέντε λόγους τῷ νοΐ μου λαλῆσαι, ἵνα καὶ ἄλλους κατηχήσω, ἢ μυρίους λόγους ἐν γλώσσῃ. "nevertheless, in an *ekklēsia* [NRSV; "in church"] I would rather speak five words with my mind, in order to instruct others also, than ten thousand words in a tongue."
1 Cor 14:23 (2) or (3) Emic	Ἐὰν οὖν συνέλθῃ ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ πάντες λαλῶσιν γλώσσαις, εἰσέλθωσιν δὲ ἰδιῶται ἢ ἄπιστοι, οὐκ ἐροῦσιν ὅτι μαίνεσθε; "If, therefore, the whole *ekklēsia* comes together and all speak in tongues,"
1 Cor 14:28 (1) Emic	ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ᾖ διερμηνευτής, σιγάτω ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἑαυτῷ δὲ λαλείτω καὶ τῷ θεῷ. "but if there is no one to interpret, let them be silent in the *ekklēsia* and speak to themselves and to God."
1 Cor 14:33 (1) Emic	οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀκαταστασίας ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ εἰρήνης. Ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων "for God is a God not of disorder but of peace. (As in all the *ekklēsiai* of the saints…)"
1 Cor 14:34 (1) Emic	αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπεται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ ὑποτασσέσθωσαν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει. "(…women should be silent in the *ekklēsiai*. For they are not permitted to speak, but should be subordinate, as the law also says…)"
1 Cor 14:35 (1) Emic	εἰ δέ τι μαθεῖν θέλουσιν, ἐν οἴκῳ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας ἐπερωτάτωσαν· αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστιν γυναικὶ λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. "If there is anything they desire to know, let them ask their husbands at home. For it is shameful for a woman to speak in the *ekklēsia*."

1 Cor 15:9 (3)	Ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ ἐλάχιστος τῶν ἀποστόλων ὃς οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος, διότι ἐδίωξα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ·
Etic	"because I persecuted the *ekklēsia* of God"
1 Cor 16:1 (3) Emic	Περὶ δὲ τῆς λογείας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους ὥσπερ διέταξα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήσατε. "Now concerning the collection for the saints: you should follow the directions I gave to the *ekklēsiai* of Galatia."
1 Cor 16:19 (2) or (3) Emic	Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Ἀσίας. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἐν κυρίῳ πολλὰ Ἀκύλας καὶ Πρίσκα σὺν τῇ κατ᾽ οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ. "The churches of Asia send greetings" "Aquila and Prisca, together with the *ekklēsia* in their house, greet you warmly in the Lord"
2 Cor 1:1 (3) Emic	Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ σὺν τοῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ, "Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, and Timothy our brother, To the *ekklēsia* of God that is in Corinth, including all the saints throughout Achaia:"
2 Cor 8:1 (3) Emic	Γνωρίζομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δεδομένην ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Μακεδονίας, "We want you to know, brothers and sisters, about the grace of God that has been granted to the *ekklēsiai* of Macedonia;"
2 Cor 8:18 (3) Emic	συνεπέμψαμεν δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, "With him we are sending the brother who is famous among all the *ekklēsiai* for his proclaiming the good news"
2 Cor 8:19 (1)(2) or (3) Emic	οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν συνέκδημος ἡμῶν σὺν τῇ χάριτι ταύτῃ τῇ διακονουμένῃ ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν πρὸς τὴν [αὐτοῦ] τοῦ κυρίου δόξαν καὶ προθυμίαν ἡμῶν, "and not only that, but he has also been appointed by the *ekklēsiai* to travel with us while we are administering this generous undertaking"
2 Cor 8:23 (1)(2) or (3) Emic	εἴτε ὑπὲρ Τίτου, κοινωνὸς ἐμὸς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς συνεργός· εἴτε ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν, ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, δόξα Χριστοῦ. "as for our brothers, they are messengers of the *ekklēsiai* for the glory of Christ"
2 Cor 8:24 (1)(2) or (3) Emic	τὴν οὖν ἔνδειξιν τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν καυχήσεως ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνδεικνύμενοι εἰς πρόσωπον τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. "Therefore openly before the *ekklēsiai*, show them the proof of your love"
2 Cor 11:8 (3) Emic	ἄλλας ἐκκλησίας ἐσύλησα λαβὼν ὀψώνιον πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν διακονίαν, "I robbed other *ekklēsiai* by accepting support from them in order to serve you"
2 Cor 11:28 (3) Emic	χωρὶς τῶν παρεκτὸς ἡ ἐπίστασίς μοι ἡ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν, ἡ μέριμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. "I am under daily pressure because of my anxiety for all the *ekklēsiai*."
2 Cor 12:13 (3) Emic	τί γάρ ἐστιν ὃ ἡσσώθητε ὑπὲρ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκκλησίας, εἰ μὴ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὐ κατενάρκησα ὑμῶν; χαρίσασθέ μοι τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύτην. "How have you been worse off than the other *ekklēsiai*"
Gal 1:2 (3) Emic	καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας, "and all the members of God's family who are with me, To the *ekklēsiai* of Galatia"
Gal 1:13 (3) Etic	Ἠκούσατε γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφήν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, ὅτι καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἐδίωκον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν, "I was violently persecuting the *ekklēsia* of God and was trying to destroy it."

Gal 1:22 (3) Emic/Etic?	ἤμην δὲ ἀγνοούμενος τῷ προσώπῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ. "and I was still unknown by sight to the *ekklēsiai* of Judea that are in Christ;"
Eph 1:22 (4) Emic	καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, "And he has put all things under his feet and has made him the head over all things for the *ekklēsia*,"
Eph 3:10 (4) Emic	ἵνα γνωρισθῇ νῦν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡ πολυποίκιλος σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ, "so that through the *ekklēsia* the wisdom of God in its rich variety might now be made known to the rulers"
Eph 3:21 (4) Emic	αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. "To him be glory in the *ekklēsia* and in Christ Jesus to all generations, forever and ever. Amen."
Eph 5:23 (4) Emic	ὅτι ἀνήρ ἐστιν κεφαλὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ὡς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς κεφαλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, αὐτὸς σωτὴρ τοῦ σώματος· "just as Christ is the head of the *ekklēsia*, the body of which he is the Savior"
Eph 5:24 (4) Emic	ἀλλὰ ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία ὑποτάσσεται τῷ Χριστῷ, οὕτως καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν παντί. "Just as the *ekklēsia* is subject to Christ"
Eph 5:25 (4) Emic	Οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγάπησεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, "just as Christ loved the *ekklēsia* and gave himself up for her,"
Eph 5:27 (4) Emic	ἵνα παραστήσῃ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἔνδοξον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, μὴ ἔχουσαν σπίλον ἢ ῥυτίδα ἤ τι τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα ᾖ ἁγία καὶ ἄμωμος. "so as to present the *ekklēsia* to himself in splendor"
Eph 5:29 (4) Emic	Οὐδεὶς γάρ ποτε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα ἐμίσησεν ἀλλὰ ἐκτρέφει καὶ θάλπει αὐτήν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, "just as Christ does for the *ekklēsia*"
Eph 5:32 (4) Emic	τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν· ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. "This is a great mystery, and I am applying it to Christ and the *ekklēsia*"
Phil 3:6 (3) Etic	κατὰ ζῆλος διώκων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν , κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενος ἄμεμπτος. "as to zeal, a persecutor of the *ekklēsia* "
Phil 4:15 (3) Emic	οἴδατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, Φιλιππήσιοι, ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία ἐκοινώνησεν εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς μόνοι, "when I left Macedonia, no *ekklēsia* shared with me in the matter of giving and receiving"
Col 1:18 (4) Emic	καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων, "He is the head of the body, the *ekklēsia*"
Col 1:24 (4) Emic	Νῦν χαίρω ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, ὅ ἐστιν ἡ ἐκκλησία, "flesh I am completing what is lacking in Christ's afflictions for the sake of his body, that is, the *ekklēsia*"
Col 4:15 (2) or (3) Emic	Ἀσπάσασθε τοὺς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ Νύμφαν καὶ τὴν κατ᾽ οἶκον αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίαν. "and to Nympha and the *ekklēsia* in her house"

Col 4:16 (1)(2) or (3) Emic	καὶ ὅταν ἀναγνωσθῇ παρ' ὑμῖν ἡ ἐπιστολή, ποιήσατε ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ Λαοδικέων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγνωσθῇ "And when this letter has been read among you, have it read also in the *ekklēsia* of the Laodiceans"
1 Thess 1:1 (3) Emic	Παῦλος καὶ Σιλουανὸς καὶ Τιμόθεος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικέων ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, "Paul and Silvanus and Timothy, to the *ekklēsia* of the Thessalonians in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ"
1 Thess 2:14 (3) Emic or Etic?	Ὑμεῖς γὰρ μιμηταὶ ἐγενήθητε, ἀδελφοί, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπάθετε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, "For you, brothers and sisters, became imitators of the *ekklēsiai* of God in Christ Jesus that are in Judea"
2 Thess 1:1 (3) Emic	Παῦλος καὶ Σιλουανὸς καὶ Τιμόθεος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικέων ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, "Paul and Silvanus and Timothy, to the *ekklēsia* of the Thessalonians in God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ"
2 Thess 1:4 (3) Emic	ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑπομονῆς ὑμῶν καὶ πίστεως, "Therefore, we ourselves boast of you among the *ekklēsiai* of God for your steadfastness and faith"
1 Tim 3:5 (3) Emic	(εἰ δέ τις τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου προστῆναι οὐκ οἶδεν, πῶς ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ἐπιμελήσεται;), "if someone does not know how to manage his own household, how can he take care of God's *ekklēsia*"
1 Tim 3:15 (4) Emic	ἐὰν δὲ βραδύνω, ἵνα εἰδῇς πῶς δεῖ ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ ἀναστρέφεσθαι, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία θεοῦ ζῶντος, στῦλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας. "you may know how one ought to behave in the household of God, which is the *ekklēsia* of the living God"
1 Tim 5:16 (3) Emic	εἴ τις πιστὴ ἔχει χήρας, ἐπαρκείτω αὐταῖς καὶ μὴ βαρείσθω ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἵνα ταῖς ὄντως χήραις ἐπαρκέσῃ. "let the *ekklēsia* not be burdened, so that it can assist those who are real widows"
Philem 2 (3) Emic	καὶ Ἀπφίᾳ τῇ ἀδελφῇ καὶ Ἀρχίππῳ τῷ συστρατιώτῃ ἡμῶν καὶ τῇ κατ' οἶκόν σου ἐκκλησίᾳ, "and to Apphia, our sister, and to Archippus, our fellow soldier, and to the *ekklēsia* which meets in your house."
Heb 2:12 (1)(2) or (3) Emic	λέγων· ἀπαγγελῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου, ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε, "in the midst of the *ekklēsia* I will praise you"
Heb 12:23 (1)(2) or (3) Emic	καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ κριτῇ θεῷ πάντων καὶ πνεύμασι δικαίων τετελειωμένων "to the *ekklēsia* of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven"
James 5:14 (1) or (2) Emic	ἀσθενεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν, προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀλείψαντες [αὐτὸν] ἐλαίῳ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου. "They should call for the elders of the *ekklēsia*"
3 John 6 (1) or (2) Emic	οἳ ἐμαρτύρησάν σου τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἐνώπιον ἐκκλησίας, οὓς καλῶς ποιήσεις προπέμψας ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ· "they have testified to your love before the *ekklēsia*"
3 John 9 (2) or (3) Emic	Ἔγραψά τι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἀλλ' ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτῶν Διοτρέφης οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται ἡμᾶς. "I have written something to the *ekklēsia*"

3 John 10 (1) or (2) Emic	διὰ τοῦτο, ἐὰν ἔλθω, ὑπομνήσω αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ποιεῖ λόγοις πονηροῖς φλυαρῶν ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ ἀρκούμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐπιδέχεται τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους κωλύει καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει. "and even prevents those who want to do so and expels them from the *ekklēsia*"
Rev 1:4 (3) Emic	Ἰωάννης ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ· χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων ἃ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ "John to the seven *ekklēsiai* that are in Asia:"
Rev 1:11 (3) Emic	λεγούσης· ὃ βλέπεις γράψον εἰς βιβλίον καὶ πέμψον ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις, εἰς Ἔφεσον καὶ εἰς Σμύρναν καὶ εἰς Πέργαμον καὶ εἰς Θυάτειρα καὶ εἰς Σάρδεις καὶ εἰς Φιλαδέλφειαν καὶ εἰς Λαοδίκειαν. "saying, 'Write in a book what you see and send it to the seven *ekklēsiai*, to Ephesus, to Smyrna, to Pergamum, to Thyatira, to Sardis, to Philadelphia, and to Laodicea'."
Rev 1:20 (3) Emic	τὸ μυστήριον τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων οὓς εἶδες ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς μου καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ λυχνίας τὰς χρυσᾶς· οἱ ἑπτὰ ἀστέρες ἄγγελοι τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησιῶν εἰσιν καὶ αἱ λυχνίαι αἱ ἑπτὰ ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαι εἰσίν. "As for the mystery of the seven stars that you saw in my right hand, and the seven golden lampstands: the seven stars are the angels of the seven *ekklēsiai*, and the seven lampstands are the seven *ekklēsiai*"
Rev 2:1 (3) Emic	Τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας γράψον· "To the angel of the *ekklēsia* in Ephesus write"
Rev 2:7 (3) Emic	Ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. "Let anyone who has an ear listen to what the Spirit is saying to the *ekklēsiai*"
Rev 2:8 (3) Emic	Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίας γράψον· "To the angel of the *ekklēsia* in Smyrna write"
Rev 2:11 (3) Emic	Ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. "Let anyone who has an ear listen to what the Spirit is saying to the *ekklēsiai*"
Rev 2:12 (3) Emic	Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Περγάμῳ ἐκκλησίας γράψον· "To the angel of the *ekklēsia* in Pergamum write"
Rev 2:17 (3) Emic	Ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. "Let anyone who has an ear listen to what the Spirit is saying to the *ekklēsiai*"
Rev 2:18 (3) Emic	Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Θυατείροις ἐκκλησίας γράψον· "To the angel of the *ekklēsia* in Thyatira write"
Rev 2:23 (3) Emic	καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς ἀποκτενῶ ἐν θανάτῳ. καὶ γνώσονται πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐραυνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας, "and I will strike her children dead. And all the *ekklēsiai* will know that I am the one who searches minds and hearts"
Rev 2:29 (3) Emic	Ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. "Let anyone who has an ear listen to what the Spirit is saying to the *ekklēsiai*"
Rev 3:1 (3) Emic	Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἐκκλησίας γράψον· "And to the angel of the *ekklēsia* in Sardis write"

Rev 3:6 (3) Emic	Ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. "Let anyone who has an ear listen to what the Spirit is saying to the *ekklēsiai*"
Rev 3:7 (3) Emic	Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ ἐκκλησίας γράψον· "And to the angel of the *ekklēsia* in Philadelphia write"
Rev 3:13 (3) Emic	Ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. "Let anyone who has an ear listen to what the Spirit is saying to the *ekklēsiai*"
Rev 3:14 (3) Emic	Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἐκκλησίας γράψον· "And to the angel of the *ekklēsia* in Laodicea write"
Rev 3:22 (3) Emic	Ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. "Let anyone who has an ear listen to what the Spirit is saying to the *ekklēsiai*"
Rev 22:16 (3) Emic	Ἐγὼ Ἰησοῦς ἔπεμψα τὸν ἄγγελόν μου μαρτυρῆσαι ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ῥίζα καὶ τὸ γένος Δαυίδ, ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ λαμπρὸς ὁ πρωϊνός. "It is I, Jesus, who sent my angel to you with this testimony for the *ekklēsiai*. I am the root and the descendant of David, the bright morning star"

Appendix #11: *Ekklēsia* **Occurrences Not Yet Listed by PHI (as of Feb. 2014)**

(1) *LSCG* **150A (2x) (Cos, Cos; late 5th cent. BCE)**, αἴ κα μὴ ἐκκλησίαι δόξει ἐς δαμόσιον ἔργον ["unless the assemblies decide (that the work was carried out) for public work"]; φαινόντω δὲ τοὶ ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ τεμένος ... ἐς τὰν ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τὸν ἰαρὸν νόμον καὶ τὸν μαστρικόν

(2) *LSCG* **150B (2x) (Cos, Cos; late 5th cent. BCE)**, ἐξέστω − − −[αἴ κα μὴ] ἐκκλησίαι [δόξηι καταχρῆσθαι] εἴς τι τῶν ἱερῶν; ἐπὶ τᾶι ἐκκλησίαι ἐπικυρωθῆ

(3) *Agora* **I 6524 (Sculpture) (Athens, agora; 337/6 BCE)** (I could not locate the Greek text): "The secretary of the Council shall inscribe this law on two stelai of stone and set one of them by the entrance into the Areopagus, that entrance, namely, near where one goes into the Bouleuterion, and the other in the Ekklesia."

(4) *SEG* **38.1462.B lines 6–46 (Oinoanda, Lycia; 124–125/6 BCE)**, Ἀρτεμεισίου σεβα[στῆι] ἀγὼν σαλπικτῶν καὶ κηρύκων, ὧν τοῖς ν[εική]σασιν δοθήσεται ἄθλου ἀνὰ * ν΄, εἶτα μετὰ τὰς βουλὰς καὶ τὴν ἐκλησίαν τῆ ε΄ ἀγὼν λογ[ι] 40 κῶν ἐνκωμιογράφων, ὧν τῶ νεικήσαντ[ι δοθ]ήσεται * οε΄, ἕκτη διάλοιπος διὰ τὴν ἀγομένην ἀγοράν, ζ΄ ἀγὼν ποιητῶν;

(5) *SEG* **38.1462.C lines 47–102 (Oinoanda, Lycia; 124–125/6 BCE)**, Γενέσθαι δὲ 96 δου κạὶ ṭαύṭην ṭεθῆναι ἐν τῆ πρὸ τῆς βιω[τικῆς στοᾶ] πρὸς τῶ ἐστῶτι ἀνδριάντι γραφῆναι τάς τε ἐπαγγελίας καὶ τὴν ἱερ[ωτάτην τοῦ] κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος Νέρο[τολὴν καὶ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐκλησίας π[ερὶ τῆς πανηγ]ύρεως ψηφίσματα, εἰς ἣν ξατο ποιήσασθαι Ἰούλιος Δημοσθένης ἐ[κ τῶν ἰδίων·

(6) *PAPPADAKIS* **1920.1 (Erateine, Boeotia, Central Greece; post-185 BCE)**, a manumission inscription (I could not locate the Greek text): "(Being agonothete Lykon of Physkos), in (month seven)(on the fifteenth), through the lawful assembly (*ennomos ekklēsia*[?]) of the city of the Euantheians, he handed over,... for freedom at a price in silver of five minas"

(7) *McCabe 1986*, **no. 119/***Samos* **119 (Samos, Ionia, n.d.)** ἐπὶ Λευκίππου· Ληναιῶνος ζ΄· ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἀλειφομένοις ἐν τῆι γεροντικῆι παλαίστραι, συναχθεῖσιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν· ἐπειδὴ Ἱστιόδωρος Ἡρώιδου, φιλοδόξως διακείμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς,;

(8) *IGLAM* **1381–1382 (Aspendus, Pamphylia; 153/2 BCE)** εἰ]ς εὔφημον ἐκκλησ[ίαν ἐχαρίσατο κήπους πρὸς τῶ ἱπποδ[ρόμω...] and εἰς εὔφημον ἐκκλησ[ίαν ἐχαρίσα]μενον κήπους π[ρὸς τῶ] ἱπποδρόμω...

(9) *OGIS* **4** ἐγ κυ[ρ]ία ἐκ[λ‖ησί]α

(10) *OGIS* **58** ἐκκλησία]ς κυρίας γενομένης

(11) *OGIS* **193** καὶ ἀπο]καταστήσας τήν τε πρό[[τερον ἐκκ]λησίαν τῶι δήμωι καὶ τοὺς νόμους,

(12) *OGIS* **480** κατ᾽ ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῶ θεάτρω

(13) *OGIS* **727** [κ]υρί[ας ἐκ]κλησίας γενομ[έν]ης.

(14) *OGIS* **771** ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι.