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Unevolved: A Study in Diverse Christian Social Organization

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UNEVOLVED: A Study in Diverse Christian Social Organization

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Abstract

Unevolved: A Study in Diverse Christian Social Organization By John H. Boyles

Despite an increased acceptance of diverse theological views among earliest Christians after Walter Bauer's *Orthodoxy and Heresy* early in the 20th century, the general model that lurks in the background of most discussions around the organization of early Christian communities remains monolithic. Though scholars show an increased willingness to discuss pockets of individual communities, such as the Johannine community or the Pauline communities, and so display a willingness to engage the texts on their own terms, when the large-scale portrait of Christian origins comes into view, the model scholarship falls back on remains that of the era of Adolf Harnack and Rudolph Sohm. There is an original egalitarian organization that has its origins in the Jesus movement and continues into the early Pauline communities. Gradually, this egalitarianism ossifies into proto-catholic hierarchy before becoming the full on institutionalism of the three-fold ministry.

This dissertation questions this viewpoint, proposing instead that the earliest Christian communities shaped their communities by drawing upon their own experiences and resources in their world to outline and fulfill the functions they found to be necessary and important in their lives. For this reason, their community organization was diverse from the beginning rather than monolithic as their contexts and needs were diverse.

The first chapter reviews the problem and its history. The second chapter utilizes literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence to paint the broader picture of social groups in the ancient Mediterranean world, such as religious, cultural, immigrant, and political groups, as well as social clubs and even the Roman military. This picture clearly evinces that human social forms in the ancient world were quite fluid. Then, each of the third, fourth, and fifth chapters situates an early Christian texts (1 Corinthians, the Gospel of Matthew, and the *Didache*) within the ancient Mediterranean world by reading them with careful attention to their social functions and the forms they utilize in accomplishing these functions. As first and second-generation texts, 1 Corinthians and Matthew indicate alternative manifestations of Christian community. The *Didache*, a later text, displays that these varied earlier forms have not elided into a uniform phenomenon but rather varied occasions have summoned various forms and functions. These three texts, then, show that a single line of evolutionary development cannot be drawn and a monolithic view of early Christian social organization cannot be held.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AGRW Ascough, Richard S. Philip A. Harland, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds. *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook*. Waco, TX: De Gruyter, 2012.
- CIL *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Consilio et Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae editum. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1863-1974.
- EpThess Nigdelis, Pantelis M. Ἐπιγραφικὰ Θεσσαλονίκεια. Συμβολὴ στὴν πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινωνικὴ ἱστορία τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2006.
- IBeroia Gounaropoulou, L., and M. B. Hatzopoulos. *Inscriptiones Macedoniae Inferioris I: Inscriptiones Beroiae* (in Greek). Athens: Hypourgeio Politismou, 1998.
- IEph Engelmann, H., H. Wankel, and R. Merkelbach. *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. IGSK 11-17. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1979-1984.
- IG II² Kirchner, Johannes, ed. *Inscriptiones Atticae Eulidis anno anteriores*. 4 vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1913-1940.
- IG VII Dittenberger, W., ed. *Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae*. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1892.
- PH Packard Humanities Institute numbers for Greek inscriptions. The Greek texts may be found online at <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions>
- SEG *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1923-.

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CHAPTER 1 THE PROBLEM OF A UNIFORM,
DEVELOPMENTAL MODEL FOR EARLY CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES

Problems in Popular and Scholarly Understandings

In a recent article titled “Early Women Leaders: From Heads of House Churches to Presbyters”, the *National Catholic Reporter* drew on what has become a standard reconstruction of Christian origins.¹ Beginning with the references to ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in Phil 1 and Rom 16, the authors take us on a tour through four centuries from the rather free and undefined egalitarianism of earliest Christian communities through the threefold ministry of a monarchical bishop with his assisting presbyters and deacons. In this model two mainstays of scholarship stand out. First, the early Christian communities are assumed to be uniform in their structure and development. Any source, particularly canonical sources, can be assigned a place in this developmental model because the presupposition is a single, straight line of development rather than diverse contemporary structures. The sources themselves are

¹ NCR Staff, “Early women leaders: from heads of house churches to presbyters,” *National Catholic Reporter* (January 8, 2013): no pages. Cited 10 January 2013. Online: <http://ncronline.org/news/theology/heads-house-churches-presbyters>.

a seamless chronological road map of a church that developed from a 'simple' group gathering to a highly structured institution. Second, church leadership roles clearly develop from an undefined, general capacity to highly specific functions.

The general state of scholarship on Christian origins maintains almost univocally this former proposition of a developmental model and the latter proposition remains a prevailing view. But if we read the *Didache* without fitting it onto these pre-established models,² its distinctive features that have puzzled scholars since its discovery present a possible challenge to this position.

A Challenge From The *Didache*

Though the *Didache* is a relatively early Christian text, the latter half of this document is concerned with the central elements of a genre that will come to be known as a church order. In these sections, the text shows concern for both a transient authority figure (or possibly transient authority figures), the προφήτης and/or ἀπόστολος, and a more permanent local authority, the ἐπίσκοπος and the διάκονος. This combination does not arise contemporaneously in the developmental model of Christian origins because the itinerant leadership authority of the προφήτης and

² The most common way of fitting the *Didache* into the model is through source critical readings that divide up the text itself into an archaeological dig. Thus, segments of this one text fit into different places on the chronological road map and the assumed model is preserved.

ἀπόστολος appears in the primal church whereas the local leadership of the ἐπίσκοπος and the διάκονος represents the institutionalization of proto-catholicism.

Obscuring Interpretations of the *Didache*

Adolf Harnack first explained this unusual combination by assigning the *Didache* to be the missing piece that exhibited the transitional moment from charismatic egalitarianism to institutional hierarchy.³ In essence, the *Didache* presented him with a representation of a time period during which both of these forms of authorized leadership existed simultaneously.⁴ His main opponent, Rudolph Sohm, criticized him, claiming that the two models had not in fact existed simultaneously.⁵ Scholarship on the *Didache* in general has followed suit oscillating between these two positions, mainly siding with Sohm, and explaining the presence of both forms of leadership in the one document through source and redaction criticism. The arguments claim that the sections mentioning itinerant and charismatic leadership are older pieces and chapter

³ For a more in-depth discussion of Harnack's views, see below in the section on "Adolf Harnack, Rudolf Sohm, and the *Didache*."

⁴ See Adolf Harnack and Oscar von Gebhardt, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel: nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts* (J. C. Hinrichs, 1884).

⁵ Rudolph Sohm, *Kirchenrecht I: die geschichtlichen Grundlagen* (Leipzig: J.C. Henrich, 1892). For a more nuanced discussion of Sohm's views, see below in the section "Adolf Harnack, Rudolf Sohm, and the *Didache*."

15, which provides instruction concerning the appointment of ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι, is the latest layer of the document.⁶

As a result, the *Didache* has become a virtual archaeological site whose redactional layers function like the strata of a dig, providing evidence for the uniform development of early Christianity from egalitarian communities, who display a haphazard relationship to wandering charismatic authorities, to established communities, who appoint their own local leadership with defined roles. The problem with this is that the *Didache* does not follow the pattern of uniform development. To give one significant example, the text discusses the transient roles to a much greater extent than it discusses the overseers and deacons.⁷ Why would such extensive portions be preserved if they were treating an extinct office while the currently functioning office received so little treatment? Further, the latter are elevated on the basis of shared work with the former (15.1). If the former offices were no longer present, there would be no need to elevate the latter offices alongside them, much less draw on those former offices' work to do this. Thus, rather than take the *Didache* to be a

⁶ See e.g. Kurt Niederwimmer, *The Didache*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 42-52 and Jonathan Draper, "The *Didache* in Modern Research: an Overview," in *The Didache in Modern Research*, ed. Jonathan Draper (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1-41.

⁷ Itinerant leadership roles are discussed in 10.7, all of 11, all of 12, and all of 13 while the local established roles are only discussed in the half chapter 15.1-2. In addition, the Two Ways section (1-6) has itinerant authority in view.

witness to uniform development, it is just as easy, and perhaps more exact, to understand this text as marking a more complex constellation within the milieu of early Christianity.

Does Harnack's view, then, recommend itself once more? No, it cannot, for a fundamental element in Harnack's model of development remains the idea that the charismatic and wandering figures work as a glue to ensure the uniformity of earliest Christianity.⁸ In Harnack's view, apostles, prophets, and teachers derive their authority not from a local community as an *ἐπίσκοπος*, *πρεσβύτερος*, or *διάκονος* would, but rather from the Spirit; their office is catholic. Through this device, Harnack preserved the uniformity and orthodoxy of the apostolic church and the succeeding generations.

Rather than falling back on the assumption of uniformity as Harnack's position does, there is a fundamental need to re-examine the texts of earliest Christianity. The intertwining nature of the various offices reflected in the *Didache* (*προφήτης*, *ἀπόστολος*, *διδάσκαλος*, *ἐπίσκοπος*, *πρεσβύτερος*) and the expectation of continued itinerancy in the opening of the second century serve as a warning to us that we should consider once more the other texts of earliest Christianity without the presupposition of uniformity and linear chronological development.

⁸ Adolf Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, trans. James Moffatt, 2 vols. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1907), 327-66.

The Goals of This Dissertation

This dissertation pursues the first step of this exact re-examination of early Christian texts. I consider several sets of representative texts through critical exegesis and comparative work with one another and within the ancient Mediterranean milieu. This allows us to discern a new, and more adequate narrative for Christian origins, one that allows for variation and plurality and is not predetermined by a theoretical commitment to an evolutionary model of history or social structures. Besides the *Didache* itself, I examine 1 Corinthians and Matthew. The Gospel of Matthew's strong connection to the *Didache* makes it a good candidate for this initial step.⁹ Because the Pauline material is the earliest evidence we have, it has provided the initial staple of the developmental model of Christian origins. For this reason, we will begin with 1 Corinthians, whose concern for order in worship provides a window into communal life.

The Story Of Orthodoxy: Christian Origin Myths

With the publication of Walter Bauer's *Orthodoxy and Heresy* in 1934, the study of Christian origins experienced a renaissance. Bauer had put forward a convincing

⁹ The two ways material found in *Did* 1-6 aligns closely with Matthew and thus varying degrees of relationship and/or dependence have been posited.

argument questioning one of the fundamental presuppositions of the study of Christianity. He claimed that, rather than an original orthodoxy from which heresy would spring, earliest Christianity was diverse in its thought and practices.¹⁰ This view quickly took hold in the scholarship, such that, less than four decades later in 1971, the same year in which the first English translation of Bauer's work appeared, Robert Wilkens could write, "We know that the early Christian communities embraced a wide spectrum of beliefs and teachings."¹¹ Nevertheless, despite this recognition of the diversity of earliest Christianity, a hold-over from the pre-Bauer picture remains: The earliest Christian communities are still thought to have been organized uniformly and to have developed according to a linear pattern.

¹⁰ Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, trans. Robert Kraft, et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), xxi-xxv. Bauer claimed that different geographical centers witnessed to different sets of theological beliefs. In many of these geographical centers, orthodoxy took time to take precedence over a more original heretical form of Christianity. Though Bauer was criticized by many, his main point that Christianity was originally diverse in its theology and doctrine has won the day.

¹¹ Robert Wilken, "Collegia, Philosophical Schools, and Theology" in *The Catacombs and the Coliseum*, ed. Stephen Benko and John J. O'Rourke (Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 1971), 268-91.

Patristic Interpretation

The root of this position is quite old, going back to the question of the origins of the episcopacy, argued already in the patristic period.¹² Jerome first argued that the titles of ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος were interchangeable in the earliest church. He thought that a monarchical episcopacy developed later.¹³ Theodore of Mopsuestia, however, argued that there was an original monarchical episcopacy first occupied by the Twelve and later by appointees who were distinct from the πρεσβύτεροι (a view later taken by Thomas Aquinas).¹⁴ After Aquinas argued for the view championed by Theodore, this view was proclaimed as the orthodoxy of the church and reigned for centuries within Roman Catholicism.¹⁵

¹² During the pre-critical period, we should be aware the interpretation was not always practiced in the same mode as the historical-critical methods more common to this debate today. For these interpreters, an eye is always focused on how the interpretation informs contemporary practice. This means that the debates are not necessarily about origins. Further, because they are often debating among one another about that contemporary practice, their sources and evidence is not exclusively the text.

¹³ Jerome, *Comm. Tit. 1:3*; Jerome, *Epist. 146*.

¹⁴ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Ep. ad Tim. I 3:8*.

¹⁵ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* II,2 quaest. 184, art. 6.

The Reformation and The Establishment of Two Origins Myths

It was Martin Luther who revived the position originally staked out by Jerome in his argument against the Roman Catholic strict hierarchy.¹⁶ The final stroke in the sharp division between the Reformers and the Roman Church came at the Council of Trent when the Magisterium declared that any who argued for an original equivalency between ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος were “anathema”.¹⁷ With that, the two sides of the debate were established for what, over the next three centuries, would be an intragroup discussion.

Moreover, the two broad origins myths of the earliest church were constructed (and virtually controlled) by this major division of the Western church. The Roman Catholic origins myth claimed that hierarchy was the rule from the start of the church: a monarchical episcopacy had always been and thus should always be. The Protestant origins myth, on the other hand, held that an original equivalency of the ἐπίσκοπος and the πρεσβύτερος existed and only later devolved into a monarchical episcopacy, and so departed from the original pattern and function of leadership. This paved the way for

¹⁶ Martin Luther, *Smaldike Articles* (1547); Martin Luther, *Tractatus de potestate et primatu papae*.

¹⁷ Council of Trent, Sess. XXIII canon 7.

understanding the early Church as an original democratic and egalitarian church that would become hierarchical with the onset of decline and ossification.

The arguments were not restricted to the Continent. Within British circles, Puritans were dissatisfied with the nature of the episcopal structure as it concerned the ideals of the Reformation. Thus, a debate raged over the course of the 17th and 18th century between authors such as Milton,¹⁸ Blondel,¹⁹ Saumaise,²⁰ Vitringa²¹ and Daillé,²² who argued for an original identity of the ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος, and others such as Hall,²³ Hammond,²⁴ Pearson²⁵ and Bingham,²⁶ who agreed with the view of an original hierarchy and thought that the church should reflect such a monarchical state.

¹⁸ John Milton, *Of Prelatical Episcopacy and whither it may be deduced from the Apostolical time by virtue of those Testimonies which are alleged to that Purpose in some late Treatises* (London, 1641).

¹⁹ David Blondel, *Apologia pro Sententia Hieronymi de Episcopis et Presbyteris* (Amsterdam, 1646).

²⁰ Claude de Saumaise, *De Episcopis et Presbyteris* (Lyons, 1641) and Claude de Saumaise, *Liborum de Primatu Papae* (no place specified, 1645).

²¹ Campegii Vitringa, *De Synagoga Vetere Libri Tres* (no place specified, 1696). English translation: Campegii Vitringa, *The Synagogue and the Church. Condensed from the original Latin works by Vitringa by Joshua L. Bernard* (London, 1842).

²² Jean Daillé, “Exposition de la Première Èpître de l’Apôtre Saint Paul à Timothée” in *En Quarante-Huit Sermons* (Geneva, 1661).

²³ Joseph Hall, *The Olde Religion: A Treatise wherein is Laid Downe the True State of the Difference Between the Reformed and the Roman Church* (London, 1628); idem, *Episcopacie by Divine Right Asserted* (London, 1640); and idem, *The Apostolical Institutions of Episcopacy* (Oxford, 1644).

A major element in this debate concerned the proper reading of Ignatius's letters, namely whether his portrait of the church hierarchy was an accurate description or an idealized position. During the course of this argument, the standard lines between Roman Catholics and Protestants were upheld on the continent and the same debate then continued into the 18th century so that Böhmer²⁷ would cite Blondel and Saumaise in arguing for an original equivalency and Thomassin would defend the position of the Magisterium.²⁸

Attempts to Move Beyond the Two Origins Myths and

F. C. Baur's Revival of the Protestant Myth

With the advent of the nineteenth century came many attempts to move beyond this well-worn divide. D.G.F. Planck opened the century with his argument that, while ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος originally represented distinct figures, they were equal

²⁴ Henry Hammond, *Dissertationes quatuor, quibus Episcopatus Jura ex Sacred Scripturis et Antiquitate adstruuntur, Contra sententiam, D. Blondelli et aliorum* (London, 1651).

²⁵ John Pearson, *Vindiciae Epistolarum S. Ignati* (Cambridge, 1672).

²⁶ Joseph Bingham, *Origenes Ecclesiasticae or, the Antiquities of the Christian Church* (London, 1708).

²⁷ Justus Henning Böhmer, *Dissertationes Iuris Ecclesiastici Antiqui ad Plinium Secundum et Tertullianum* (Lipsiae, 1711).

²⁸ D. Louis Thomassin, *Traité Dogmatique et Historique des Edits... pour Maintenir l'Unité de l'église Catholique* (3 vols.; Paris, 1703).

positions and thus without hierarchy.²⁹ Further, in 1837 Richard Rothe, a Lutheran, claimed that those remaining from the Twelve founded a new order of monarchical episcopacies in differing imperial provinces after the destruction of Jerusalem.³⁰

Vitringa's argument, which had looked to the synagogue for the origins of Christian offices and structure, found favor once again among many scholars as well. For instance, F.C. Baur's model of early Christianity, based in the conflict between a Jewish-Petrine Christian “thesis” and a Pauline-Gentile Christian “antithesis” and the eventual synthesis in a second century proto-Catholic hierarchy, assumed that the earliest forms of church organization originated in Judaism.³¹ Thus, for Baur, the derivation of the *πρεσβύτερος* lay in the Jewish synagogue and the natural push toward theocratic hierarchy resident in the *ἐπίσκοπος* lay in the theocratic nature of Judaism itself. Paul and Paulinism, with its original universalism, tempered the hierarchical tendencies of Jewish Christianity, thus setting up a thesis (Petrine) and antithesis

²⁹ D.G.F. Planck, *Geschichte der christlich-kirchlichen Gesellschafts-Verfassung* (vol. 1; Hannover: Hahn 1803), 24-33.

³⁰ Richard Rothe, *Die Anfangs der christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung* (vol. 1; Wittenberg 1837), 351-392. Rothe was followed by Bunsen, Lightfoot, and even Telfer in 1962. C.C.J. Bunsen, *Ignatius von Antiochien und seine Zeit* (Hamburg: Brockhaus, 1847); J.B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* (London: Macmillan, 1888); W. Telfer, *The Office of a Bishop* (London: Darton, Longman, & Todd, 1962).

³¹ F. C. Baur, *The Church History of the First Three Centuries*, 3rd edition, trans. Allan Menzies, (London: Williams and Norgate, 1879), 1:112-13.

(Pauline) which continues in the debate concerning the church between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Petrine-Jewish Christianity took on all of the Catholic drive toward hierarchy and Pauline-Hellenistic Christianity took on the evangelical democracy of Protestantism.³²

It is necessary to pause here and make note of the significance of Baur's model. Until this point, the debate had centered on offices, but Baur, concentrating on Pauline universalism, claimed that both the particularity of Messianic thought in Judaism and the universalism present in Hellenistic thought both resided in Jesus himself. He thus brought to the forefront a new dimension of the debate: hierarchy vs. egalitarian community. Because Baur's synthesis model maintained that the earliest forms of organization originated in Petrine-Jewish Christianity, he was able to place the entire Roman Catholic origins myth (i.e., the original monarchical episcopacy) underneath the Petrine category and the new evangelical Protestant myth of origins with Paulinism so that he could underscore the validity of the universal scope of the church and the egalitarian stream of tradition within the church that the Reformers had revived.

Baur's pupil Ritschl nuanced his teacher's model differently by arguing for original, separate Jewish-Christian and Gentile-Christian episcopacies. Baur's two

³² Baur, *History*, 113-114. See also, F. C. Baur, *Die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe des Apostel Paulus* (Tübingen: Gotta, 1835) and F. C. Baur, *Über den Ursprung des Episcopats: Prüfung der neuesten von Hr. Dr. Rother Aufgestellten Ansicht* (Tübingen: Fues, 1838).

streams remained, but for his student they were identical in form and organization.³³

Shortly thereafter, Holtzmann argued in his commentary on the Pastoral epistles for a model much closer to Baur's: an original Pauline charismatic church order gradually gave way to a legalistic hierarchical structure derived from the Synagogue.³⁴

Holtzmann's model has remained the favorite for many German scholars through the twentieth century.³⁵

Arguments From the Ancient Mediterranean Milieu

In France by contrast, Ernst Renan proposed an understanding of the earliest church by suggesting an analogy with the social forms in the surrounding milieu of the ancient Mediterranean world.³⁶ Weingarten and Heinrici followed him in this, arguing that these associations provided a pattern that the early Christian communities followed because the evidence connecting the Christian organization to the early

³³ Albrecht Ritschl, *Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, 2nd ed. (Bonn: Marcus, 1857).

³⁴ Heinrich Julius Holtzmann, *Die Pastoralbriefe: kritisch und exegetisch bearbeit* (Leipzig: J. C. Heinrichs, 1880).

³⁵ Hans F. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries*, trans. J.A. Baker (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1969); Eduard Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1961); Ernst Käsemann, *Essays on New Testament Themes* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1965); *idem*, *New Testament Questions of Today*, trans. W. J. Montague (London: SCM Press, 1969).

³⁶ Ernst Renan, *Les Apôtres. Histoire des Origines du Christianisme*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1866).

synagogue forms of authority was insufficient to maintain the claim that the church derived its understanding of the presbyter from the synagogue.³⁷ Renan would go on to propose an understanding based on parallels between the ancient Mediterranean household, the *collegia*, and the Christian house church,³⁸ a proposal that has also been echoed in some twentieth century scholarship. Emil Schürer, for instance, repeated the argument that there is insufficient evidence for the presbyter to be derived from the synagogue³⁹ and A.E. Harvey followed suit.⁴⁰

In Britain, Edwin Hatch argued similarly, claiming that the titles and functions of the officials in the earliest Christian communities must be read with their counterparts in the associations.⁴¹ In this model of the church, the ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος have distinct duties, rank and qualifications. The ἐπίσκοπος exercised

³⁷ Hermann Weingarten, “Die Umwandlung der ursprünglichen christlichen Gemeindeorganisation zur katholischen Kirche,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 9 (1881): 441-467; Georg Heinrici, *Das zweite Sendschreiben des Apostel Paulus und die Korinther* (Berlin: Hertz, 1887), esp. 556ff.

³⁸ Ernst Renan, *Paulus* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1869), 257 and Liebenman's similar model Wilhelm Liebenman, *Zur Geschichte und Organisation römischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig: J.C. Heinrichs, 1890).

³⁹ Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. - A.D. 135)*, trans., rev., ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, Matthew Black, and Martin Goodman, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973), esp. 427-39.

⁴⁰ A.E. Harvey, “Elders” *JTS* 23 (1974): 318-32.

⁴¹ Edwin Hatch, *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, 3rd ed. (London: Longmans and Green, 1880).

financial oversight and authority and participated in the leadership of the community's meetings along with the *διάκονοι*, while the *πρεσβύτεροι* held authority in matters of daily discipline and in matters of dispute among the community. Loenig and Lietzmann criticized Hatch's model, particularly with regard to the claim that the *ἐπίσκοπος* always held financial authority.⁴² Later twentieth century scholarship has pointed to the Roman *collegia* and the broader associations as a probable analogy for the church, but has resisted the direct genealogical model earlier scholars suggested.⁴³

Adolf Harnack, Rudolph Sohm, and the *Didache*

Adolf Harnack embraced Hatch's theory at first, but after his work on the *Didache*, he thickened his description of the early church's organization by analyzing ancient Judaism and the ancient Mediterranean cultural context to propose a two layer

⁴² Edgar Loenig, *Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristentums: Eine kirchenrechtliche Untersuchung* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1889) and Hans Lietzmann, "Zur altchristlichen Verfassungsgeschichte" *ZNW* 55 (1914): 97-153.

⁴³ Wilken, "Collegia", 268ff.; William Countryman, "Patrons and Officers in Club and Church," *SBLSP* 11 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 135ff.; Wayne Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale, 1983), 77-80; Abraham J. Malherbe, *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 89-91; and Philip A. Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003). Meeks, for example, points to the household, the *collegia*, the synagogue and the philosophical and rhetorical schools all as possible analogues. He notes that the household is the primary location for the Pauline assembly and so perhaps provides the strongest analogue, though he admits none of these is sufficient to explain the Pauline assembly *in toto*.

model of leadership for the earliest church. One layer was itinerant and universal in authority and scope while the other was local. His landmark work *Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* solidified his original view of the *Didache*, namely that this document represented a missing piece in the puzzle of the development of the originally charismatic Pauline communities into the proto-Catholic hierarchy of the second century.⁴⁴ As the first to study this document, Harnack proposed views that have had long-term staying power, especially his view of the *Didache* as a missing piece in the developmental model. He ultimately understood the *Didache* to exhibit a three-fold teaching ministry ordained for the entire church by the Spirit in apostles, prophets, and teachers alongside the rise of a local episcopacy from which regional and global leadership structures would eventually arise.⁴⁵ The teaching ministry discharged the duties given by the Spirit and so became the mechanism for an established cohesion and unity among a homogenously developing early church.⁴⁶ In Harnack's model, the charismatic, universal teaching ministry ultimately faded out and the locally elected leadership took over these duties. This became the distinction of the ἐπίσκοποι from the other locally elected leadership as they took over the teaching

⁴⁴ Harnack, *Mission*, esp. 334-46.

⁴⁵ Harnack and Gebhardt, *Die Lehre*, 61-63.

⁴⁶ See the above discussion on "Obscuring Interpretations of the *Didache*."

ministry function. Thus, the three-fold ministry of bishop-presbyter-deacon, familiar from Ignatius' letters, developed.

Rudolph Sohm became Harnack's main critic. Sohm did not concern himself with the overall trajectory of development or the basic model. Rather, contrary to Harnack, Sohm argued that the primitive church was *entirely* charismatic in its leadership, with offices of apostle, teacher, and prophet. As the apostolic generation died out, the local institutional leadership that eventually became the three-fold ministry of bishop, deacon, and elder replaced this charismatic leadership, but the two forms of leadership never coexisted. Sohm saw this primarily happening in Rome where, based on his reading of *1 Clement*, he argued that a special priesthood replaced the priesthood of all believers of the primitive church for the first time. Despite this distinction, Sohm's critique did not radically change Harnack's outline or for that matter the generally accepted Protestant origins myth.

This basic narrative, which has only slightly transformed F.C. Baur's model by removing an early hierarchy and institution, has been the controlling narrative throughout the scholarship of the twentieth century. With few exceptions, a highly localized, primitive charismatic and democratic or egalitarian church has been understood to develop into the proto-Catholic hierarchical model of the second

century, often with the suggestion that this was a devolution of the Church or a deviation from its fundamental dynamic and identity.⁴⁷

Outliers to the New Consensus and Recent Proposals

One of the outliers to this consensus was B.H. Streeter, who claimed in 1929 that the New Testament does not present a monolithic church organization. Rather, in arguing that the New Testament displays prototypical polities of episcopalian, presbyterian, and independent types, Streeter claimed a picture of the organization of the church that was somewhat analogous to Walter Bauer's claim of the church's teaching and theology.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, Streeter's model failed to leave a lasting impact in the field and has yet to be taken up again.

⁴⁷ This is especially true of German scholarship: see Rudolf Buttmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols. (New York: Scribner's, 1951); Heinrich Greeven, *Das Hauptproblem der Sozialethik in der neueren Stoa und im Urchristentum* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1935); Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority*; Schweitzer, *Church Order*; Käsemann, *Essays*; W.G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, trans. Howard Kee (London: SCM Press, 1975); Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: de Gruyter, 1995) and Udo Schnelle, *The History and Theology of the New Testament Writings*, trans. M. Eugene Boring (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998). British scholarship reached a somewhat similar consensus in the 20th century, though the institutionalized hierarchy is seen as a very early development out of the Jerusalem church and the offices themselves derive from the church's overlap with the synagogue. See Lightfoot, *Philippians* (who argued that the churches were originally synagogues), Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, first published 1945; repr. New York (Continuum, 2007), who argued that the connection was a shared liturgical practice, Kenneth E. Kirk, *The Apostolic Ministry: Essays on the History and Doctrine of Episcopacy* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1946) and W.H. C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1984).

⁴⁸ B.H. Streeter, *The Primitive Church: Studied with Special Reference to the Origins of the Christian Ministry* (New York: Macmillan, 1929).

In the previous five or six decades any number of seemingly new models have been put forward, but upon examination, most turn out to be variations on a prior theme. John Knox, for example, claimed that though the church has never been truly united, it still maintained a basic unity among the diversity. Knox's work, however, was influenced far more by an interest in a contemporary ecumenical claim about ecclesiology than in a rigorous historical study of the primitive church. In Knox's model, the early egalitarianism took forms in which no one ecclesial structure dominates, yet by the end of the first century, early Catholicism has taken hold, especially with regards to ecclesial form.⁴⁹

James D. G. Dunn similarly wants to advocate for a certain amount of diversity, but he falls back unwittingly onto F. C. Baur's model of the church by positing a substratum of a charismatic and egalitarian community that developed into a more formal institution. He sets up the two main patterns of ministry, hierarchical and egalitarian, in both Jerusalem's Jewish Christianity and in Paul's Hellenistic Christianity and finds the synthesis of the patterns of ministry and the diverse theologies in the Pastoral epistles' proto-catholicity. Jerusalem and Jewish Christianity, however,

⁴⁹ John Knox, *The Early Church and the Coming Great Church* (New York: Abingdon, 1955). Further, we can point to the shared theological claim between Knox and Harnack that it is the Spirit that is the bond of unity among the primitive church.

followed the general Protestant origin myth. The only difference is that in Dunn's model they originated a few years before the Pauline communities. In other words, both strands of Christianity started out egalitarian and become hierarchical with time.⁵⁰

In analogous fashion, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza's feminist reconstruction of Christian origins, *In Memory of Her*, draws on the earlier German model, but radicalizes it.⁵¹ According to Schüssler Fiorenza, Jesus himself instituted a radical equality of disciples. The Pauline literature continues the tradition as is best displayed in the baptismal formula of Gal 3:28. Yet, Paul's writings also admit the compromising forces that eventually come to dominate Christianity in the second century. The clearest instance of this is Paul's use of patriarchal authority structures and his commands that wives be silent in the church.⁵² Thus, it is no wonder that the post-Pauline material drew on ancient Mediterranean household customs to subordinate women and increase the institutionalization of the church.⁵³

⁵⁰ James D.G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament*, 3rd ed. (London: SCM, 2005), esp. 112-34.

⁵¹ E.g. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her* (New York: Crossroads, 1983), 162-168.

⁵² See e.g. Schüssler Fiorenza, *Memory*, 218-220 where she discusses "Pauline modifications" of the original egalitarianism seen in the baptismal formula in Gal 3:28 present in texts such as 1 Cor 7, 11-14, Phlm 10, Phil 2:22, 1 Cor 4:17, and 2 Cor 11:2-5 and the Pauline tradition in 1 Tim 2:13ff.

⁵³ Schüssler Fiorenza, *Memory*, 251-259 and 288-94.

Not surprisingly, some scholars have revived the Roman Catholic origins myth in the twentieth century as well. For example, Berger Gerhardsson, in a study that patterned early Christianity on the development of Judaism, put forward a model strikingly similar to the Roman Catholic origin myth of original monarchical episcopacy and hierarchy. Here, the Jerusalem council serves as the highest doctrinal authority and Paul received his traditions and teaching directly from Cephas.⁵⁴

In the latter half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, explanations of Christian history that avail themselves of social-scientific models have appeared. We have mentioned some of these above when we noted the suggestion that the early Church was best understood by means of an analogy with the forms of the ancient Mediterranean milieu.⁵⁵ Further, Gerd Theissen has become the touchpoint for a particular school of thought concerning Christian origins that posits a group of wandering charismatic prophets as the natural successors of Jesus.⁵⁶ A school of interpretation especially focused on the *Didache* has taken this model and combined it

⁵⁴ Birger Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity*, trans. Eric J. Sharpe (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961, esp. 262-280.

⁵⁵ See above n. 37.

⁵⁶ Gerd Theissen, *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), esp. 7-16.

with a Weberian sociological model and found in the *Didache* the redactional remains of a community that developed from a charismatic model of leadership to a traditional institutionalized leadership model.⁵⁷ Thus, the *Didache* illustrates the general fate of Christianity and the Protestant origins myth is proven. Finally, some sociologically-oriented scholars have chosen to focus on a particular text or set of texts and apply social-scientific methods and models to understand the community behind the text. Specifically, scholars have found sociological models of sectarianism to be useful in such endeavors.⁵⁸ Harry O. Maier's dissertation employed sociological models of sectarianism and the ancient Mediterranean household to outline the development of Pauline charismatic models into the institutional hierarchy found in *Hermas*, *1 Clement*, and Ignatius' Letters.⁵⁹ Maier describes his work as a study of one trajectory of earliest

⁵⁷ An exemplar of this is Niederwimmer's commentary. See Niederwimmer, *Didache*. For a survey of this research, see Draper, *Modern Research*. Draper did point out that this particular school of interpretation functions on an extended circular argument since Weber based some of his sociological model of charisma on Adolf Harnack's interpretations of the *Didache*. For this argument, see Jonathan Draper, "Weber, Theissen, and "Wandering Charismatics" in the *Didache*" *J ECS* 6 (1998): 541-76.

⁵⁸ The Johannine corpus has specifically been studied at length with this perspective. For example, see K. Fuglseth, *Johannine Sectarianism in Perspective: a Sociological, Historical, and Comparative Analysis of Temple and Social Relationships in the Gospel of John, Philo, and Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

⁵⁹ Harry O. Maier, *The Social Setting of the Ministry as Reflected in the Writings of Hermas, Clement, and Ignatius* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991).

Christianity, reflecting the increasing desire to recognize Walter Bauer's point that we should talk about earliest Christianities rather than Christianity.

Most recently, Alistair C. Stewart published a monograph in which he condemns both the Roman Catholic origins myth and the Protestant origins myth: "Both the Protestant position of presbyteral leadership of churches and the Catholic position of apostolically ordained episcopal leadership are shown... to be dogmatic positions without foundation in history."⁶⁰ Stewart argues that the earliest churches had a ministry of an ἐπίσκοπος and διάκονοι that was economic in nature. Stewart theorizes that these earliest churches had independent leadership, but as leaders (namely those called ἐπίσκοποι by their congregations) from various congregations gathered, they came to call themselves and to be known as πρεσβύτεροι. Stewart's thesis is that this is the landscape that leads up the rise of the moniscopacy rather than one of the two origins myths. Despite variations on the myths, though, he still works with the same basic presuppositions of those myths so we will see if his arguments gain traction.

The State of the Field Today

Generally, though, despite a continuing acceptance of the basic Protestant myth of origins, scholars have become increasingly willing to remark upon a basic diversity

⁶⁰ Alistair C. Stewart, *The Original Bishops: Office and Order in the First Century Christian Communities* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014), 354.

in the form and organization of the primitive church. For example, Paul Bradshaw states that the assumption of uniformity in the primitive church has been increasingly called into question by scholarship. Significant, however, is that he does not provide a reference for such a view.⁶¹ Perhaps he is thinking of the trend in scholarship that tends to postulate such diversity without pursuing a rigorous historical study of the matter. While studies have been undertaken concerning particular communities within the New Testament, none has yet appeared to outline a comparison of these community organizations and structures to test if they can actually be upheld simultaneously. Rather, when working with the broad terms of the development of early Christianity, the model scholars tend to fall back on remains an original Jerusalem community in which Peter and the Twelve were either dominant or functional in some capacity, an emerging Pauline or Hellenistic charismatic egalitarianism that quickly took exclusive dominance of the primitive church and finally developed in the second century into a proto-catholic hierarchical church.

In this manner, the old models still dominate the field of New Testament interpretation and an often unspoken assumption of uniformity in structure and linear

⁶¹ Paul Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford, 2002), 192-94.

development still persists.⁶² Whether it is in the background of a study or a motivating principle for ordering the materials, the assumption of uniformity remains as a controlling paradigm for these constructions of early Christian church structure . The time is ripe therefore, for undertaking a study that will take a different starting point and through a careful exegetical analysis of representative texts reconstruct the social organization and structure present in them in such a way that we can reconsider the nature of early Church organization free from prefashioned notions of evolution, of devolution, and of loaded evaluations of that early history.

An Outline of the Dissertation

We began this study by exploring the explanations of Christian origins current in the field as they have been identified above. After parsing these models sufficiently, we saw that they generally share the presuppositions of a uniform, linear development and leadership roles that over time become more specialized. We proposed to take a fresh look at the evidence without these established presuppositions and particularly to

⁶² Note that in many standard introductions to the New Testament, this model remains the assumed outline: Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Doubleday, 1997); Bart Ehrman, *The New Testament: An Historical Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Oxford, 2004); Kümmel, *Introduction*; Koester, *Introduction*; Russell Pregeant, *Encounter with the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009); Schnelle, *History*.

select three early Christian texts to compare and contrast so that we could determine if portraits based on these presuppositions could hold up.

The second chapter analyzes a database of evidence from the ancient Mediterranean milieu to build a functional model for analysis to be used throughout the remaining chapters. This database is summarized in tabular form in the appendix and consists of representative inscriptional, architectural and literary evidence. After reviewing the state of study on ancient Mediterranean associations, we show that four primary functions are common to all associations in this context: membership management, regular meetings, resource management, and public relations. We then test and confirm this functional model using Lee Levine's recent definitive study of the ancient synagogue.

Each of the next three chapters will follow a set pattern. Chapter three focuses on 1 Corinthians, four on Matthew, and five on the *Didache*. We open each chapter with a framing issue for the text under examination that leads into an exploration of the critical issues for the text. For the purposes of the final conclusion, it is important that we establish the relative dating for each text. We also want to familiarize ourselves with the particular character of the text and its provenance if possible to better position our analysis. The second section of each chapter uses the four function model

to analyze the text. This helps to surface some of the bare bones we need for the third and final section of each chapter when we craft a sketch of communal life from that text.

Finally, we conclude by bringing all of this material together to show that we cannot place these three texts on a single line of evolutionary development. In the course of arriving at this conclusion, we see some interesting and important aspects of life in the context of each of our texts. We also learn quite a bit about the limits of the evidence each text provides and what it can tell us on its own terms about its communal life without the imposition of external data.

CHAPTER 2
THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN MILIEU

The Fluidity of Ancient Mediterranean Associations

A sketch of the earliest Christian communities requires us to understand the milieu in which these communities defined themselves and existed, especially the social phenomena analogous to them. However, because the picture of the ancient social world remains obscure due to the nature of the extant evidence, this is not easily achieved. This chapter takes an initial step toward sketching these Christian groups by examining the extant evidence for the analogous phenomena: ancient Mediterranean associations.

Modern Study of the Association¹

There have been three major moments of scholarly study of the ancient association in the past 120 years connected to biblical scholarship. The first began near

¹ For a wonderfully detailed treatment of the modern study of associations, see Margaret Dissen, *Römischen Kollegien und deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Historia Einzelschriften 209. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2009) and Thomas Schmeller, “Zum exegetischen Interesse an antiken Vereinen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert” in *Vereine, Synagogen und Gemeinden im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, ed.

the end of the 19th century with Jean-Pierre Waltzing's four-volume work on the professional associations in the Roman West, the second in the context of a renewed interest in social history in the middle of the twentieth century, and the third at the end of the twentieth century with a group of North American scholars.

Jean Pierre Waltzing's Collection of Inscriptions

Waltzing collected just under 2,500 Greek and Latin inscriptions, commenting on each of them and indexing them. He then discussed the legal status of associations and parsed them into a three-part taxonomy: occupational associations, funerary associations, and cultic associations. Finally, he discussed the organization and structure of each type in this taxonomy. Waltzing drew his models and descriptions from the city, claiming that the associations imitated its political structures.²

Shortly before Waltzing published his first volume, Edwin Hatch had argued that the early church patterned its organization and structure on the Greek and Roman associations.³ Hatch thought the structures of the early church must have pre-existed in human society, which was not an unusual logical claim to make in his time. Jean-

² Waltzing, Jean Pierre. *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'empire d'occident* (4 vols. Louvain: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1895-1900).

³ Edwin D. Hatch, *The Organization of the Early Church: Eight Lectures* (Bampton Lectures. London: Rivingtons, 1881).

Pierre Waltzing's four-volume work on associations, then, made a vast collection of new comparative data available to scholars of the early church. Though few scholars of Christianity took up Hatch's project right away, Waltzing's work has had enduring impact as almost all who work on the question of the early church's organization today turn to Waltzing at some point to consider the implications his massive data set has for their inquiry.

Social History and Questioning the Evidence

A second major moment arrived in the work of social historians Ramsay MacMullen and Géza Alföldy, who focused on the common life of the people of the ancient Mediterranean. They argued that by using literary accounts and some archaeological evidence of dining facilities, one could read behind the epigraphic evidence to formulate an understanding of the function of associations in the life of commoners that was closer to the truth than reading the literary and epigraphic evidence alone. For example, despite the almost exclusively economic nature of the epigraphic evidence, MacMullen and Alföldy argue against a primarily economic purpose for associations. Rather they claim this very characteristic of the evidence

indicates something about the evidence itself instead of the associations.⁴ Their techniques of reading pieces of evidence against each other and of reading behind the epigraphic evidence continue to influence the study of associations, particularly with respect to exposing absences of material and inherent biases in the evidence record.

Emic Description, Etic Categories, and a Return to Taxonomy

Most recently, a group of North American scholars have reopened many of the questions concerning the study of associations and have attempted to provide a comprehensive system of classifying them in hopes of developing a thick descriptive background for the emergence of Christian communities.⁵ In the introductory essay to the 1996 collection of essays *Voluntary Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, S. G. Wilson defines their term “voluntary association” as an umbrella for a wide variety of phenomena. Their methodology results in this etic category because these scholars are

⁴ See e.g. Ramsay MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations* (New Haven: Yale, 1974), 16-26 and Géza Alföldy, *The Social History of Rome* (trans. John Wood. Beckenham, Kent: Croom Helm, 1985). They focused especially on the professional associations in their studies.

⁵ Jinyu Liu observed in her revised dissertation that recent scholarship on the Roman *collegia* has been dominated by a synthetic approach that aims to look at the phenomena as a whole. I admit that my approach is similar to this. Though Liu’s own work critiques this approach some for the ways that it prevents us from seeing some details about particular types of phenomena, our approach as outlined below will help to get at some of these shortcomings for the particular instances. See Jinyu Liu, *The Collegia Centonariorum: The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 5.

performing analogous analysis rather than pursuing genetic relationships.⁶ So, where Waltzing outlined a genetic relationship between the political structures of the city and the associations as a major component of his study, these scholars bracketed genetic questions entirely and instead built a term from the phenomena themselves. Then they crafted subcategories based on the characteristics shared by some of the phenomena but not all of them so that the various subcategories could be profitably compared and contrasted and conclusions drawn by analogy.

For example, J.S. Kloppenborg began with the emic categories of Roman law (*collegia tenuiorum* and *collegia sodalisca*) and moved outward to include analogous phenomena that do not share any particular term and were not recognized legally (see his taxonomy in figure 1 below). As he moved away from Roman law, he also moved backward historically and outward geographically to include the Greek associations. His inclusion of religious associations underneath the two geographic-temporal subcategories results from his analogous analysis.⁷ Roman law specified two categories of

⁶ S.G. Wilson, "Voluntary Associations: An Overview" in *Voluntary Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. John S. Kloppenborg and S.G. Wilson (London: Routledge, 1996), 1-3. Wilson claims justification for bringing together the varied phenomena under the etic heading "voluntary association" because "the boundaries and the terminology [of these groups] were fluid."

⁷ I call this distinction of Greek and Roman that he makes a geographic-temporal distinction because it contains both elements. It is complicated by the fact that both the temporal periods and the geographic regions overlap to some extent and therefore we should question the utility of this

association: religious (*sodalisca*) and funerary (*tenuiorum*). In the Greek period and region, he identified analogous religious phenomena that did not share any single term, but he did not identify anything analogously similar enough to the funerary associations to warrant this sub-category. Kloppenborg retained the pre-existent scholarly category of the professional association as the final component of his model. From here, he is able to make comparative and contrastive arguments about association life in general and life within each sub-category in particular.

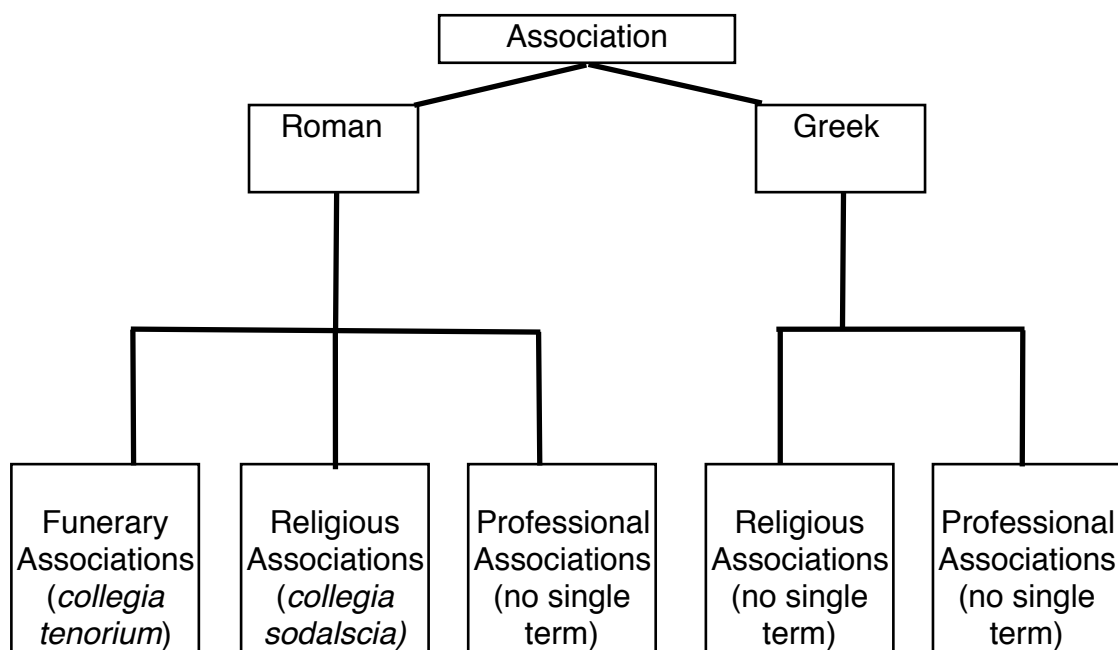


Figure 1

Quickly, however, a challenge manifests itself: the picture of any given association or sub-type of association remains incomplete and too complicated for the

distinction. It is based in his beginning with Roman law, but may not play out as well as he originally anticipated.

neat classification in any taxonomy because the evidence for any single social group does not allow a holistic view of the phenomenon itself. What we possess remains only fragments, traces of what was.⁸ So, this lumping of such various phenomena under one heading allows for the easy filling in of the evidence by analogy and this work does yield useful results. However, these results may not be an accurate re-creation.

This is particularly true for building a picture of Christian communities. For if one set of assumptions is false, bringing those assumptions into another recreation of an ancient social phenomena could take us even further from the truth. If we had communal minutes or sets of individual's log entries, perhaps the reconstruction of

⁸ For example, note how the scholarly trend for many years was to assume that the “voluntary associations” were primarily burial groups. Part of the legacy of Ramsay MacMullen and Géza Alföldy is their challenge to this portrait. See MacMullen, *Social Relations* and Alföldy, *Social History*. Further, see Frank M. Ausbüttel, *Untersuchungen zu den Vereinen im Westen des römischen Reiches* (FAS 11. Kallmünz: Michael Laßleben, 1982) and John S. Kloppenborg, “Collegia and *Thiasoi*: Issues in function, taxonomy and membership” 16-30 in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. John S. Kloppenborg and S. G. Wilson (London: Routledge, 1996), 20-23 for a summary of how associations were labelled primarily burial associations and how that label was challenged.

A further analogous challenge can be seen in the collection of essays presented in Fröhlich, Pierre and Patrice Hamon, *Groupes et association dans les cités grecques (IIIe siècle av. J.-C.-IIe siècle ap. J.-C)*, *Actes de la ronde de Paris, INHA, 19-20 juin 2009, Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 49* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2013). These essays draw attention to a wide variety of lesser studied geographic areas and their epigraphic sources, but also complicate the idea of the “voluntary” piece of the association. Many of the essays show us a picture of “voluntary” associations very much wrapped up in the life of the *polis*. These studies span the temporal period under examination here as well as go beyond it and so part of their use is pointing to times when their object of study were not voluntary and times when those very same associations become more voluntary in nature. Thus, the complication of the term “voluntary”.

social phenomena could be complete. The types of evidence we do possess, however, simply do not permit this.

Summary

In broad terms, Hatch pointed to the importance of the context of the ancient Mediterranean world for the study of ancient Christianity and Waltzing's monumental contribution of data continues to be useful today. However, their instinct to look for genetic relationship between Christian communities and ancient Mediterranean social structures continue to plague the study of ancient Christian social phenomena. The social historians showed us that evidence cannot be naively examined, but they too shared the historiographical assumptions that genetic relationships may and should be connected between social phenomena, relying on such webs for the basic fabric of their narratives. Finally, the etic taxonomy of the contemporary North American group of scholars cannot account for the complexities of the social phenomena themselves. Though, these scholars helpfully brought together a large grouping of ancient social phenomena under one etic grouping, their return to the old taxonomical project, similar to Waltzing leaves us unable to progress. Each of these moments in the modern study of associations contributed vital insights and also showed us potential pitfalls on account of the nature of the evidence we have for these historical phenomena.

The Nature of the Evidence

We have three distinct types of evidence: first, we have literary sources.⁹ Because these sources generally have an elite perspective, their interest is not generally in describing associations and they rarely speak from insider experience. Thus, information about associations must be carefully mined from them. Second, we have a wealth of inscriptions, most of which were commissioned by individual associations and some of which are multiple inscriptions witnessing to the same group. Like the literary data, these inscriptions are neither disinterested nor do they intend to provide us with a complete record or picture.¹⁰ Rather, many of these inscriptions are self-consciously public presentations of an association and thus are posturing in a particular manner for space and recognition in the public square.¹¹ Finally, we have architectural evidence. This is perhaps the most challenging evidence to evaluate and use. Before a building can become evidence, we must establish that it was a meeting place for an association or was otherwise connected to association life. Then we must properly adduce what the

⁹ See appendix for a chart select literary sources.

¹⁰ See appendix for a discussion of some of the epigraphic evidence.

¹¹ See Philip A. Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis: Ausburg, 2003), esp. 137-160.

building can tell us about association life. These various aspects of our evidence record show that many opportunities for a mistake exist in the process of evaluating and using our evidence. Thus the nature of the evidence prevents our questions from finding a satisfactory answer because it does not speak directly to them.

Examples of Each Type of Evidence

Let us consider an example of each of these three types of evidence to better understand these limitations and the care with which each must be handled.

Literary Evidence - Polybius, Histories, XX.6.1, 5-6

Within the literary record,¹² consider Polybius' mention of associations and their activities in his discussion of the decline of Boeotia during the late third century

BCE:

Social life in Boeotia had fallen into such a bad state of being that for nearly twenty-five years neither civil nor criminal justice had been administered by them... In similar fashion to these things was another unsavoury zeal: when men died without children they did not leave their property to their nearest relatives, as was their former habit (*ethos*), but arranged for feasting and drinking and made it the common property of their friends. Even many who had families distributed the greater part of their property

¹² A particularly important subset of the literary evidence is the legal literature. For example, see John S. Kloppenborg's discussion of Marcianus' coining of the term *collegia tenuiorum* (*Digesta* 47.22.3.2) to describe the particular type of group he has encountered based around a primary reason why a slave may desire to join an association in Kloppenborg, "Collegia", 20-23.

among the clubs (*sysstioi*), so that there were many Boeotians who were attending more monthly dinners than there were days appointed for the month!¹³

τὰ δὲ κοινὰ τῶν Βοιωτῶν εἰς τοσαύτην παραγεγόνει καχεξίαν ὥστε σχεδὸν ἕικοσι καὶ πέντ' ἑτῶν τὸ δίκαιον μὴ διεξῆχθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς μήτε περὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν συμβολαίων μήτε περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐγκλημάτων... τούτοις δ' ἠκολούθησε καὶ ἕτερος ζῆλος οὐκ εὐτυχής. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄτεκνοι τὰς οὐσίας οὐ τοῖς κατὰ γένος ἐπιγενομένοις τελευτῶντες ἀπέλειπον, ὅπερ ἦν ἔθος παρ' αὐτοῖς πρότερον, ἀλλ' εἰς εὐωχίας καὶ μέθας διετίθεντο καὶ κοινὰς τοῖς φίλοις ἐποίουν· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐχόντων γενεὰς ἀπεμέριζον τοῖς συσσιτίοις τὸ πλεῖον μέρους τῆς οὐσίας, ὥστε πολλοὺς εἶναι Βοιωτῶν οἷς ὑπῆρχε δεῖπνα τοῦ μηνὸς πλείω τῶν εἰς τὸν μῆνα διατεταυμένων ἡμερῶν.¹⁴

Polybius provides a reason for the decline of a particular social order in the rising prominence of association life. This citation shows that in Boeotia a man would will his wealth to an association rather than support his family.

We should, however, read the particular details Polybius provides with some measure of suspicion. The statement that these men had more monthly dinners than days in the month reeks of satirical exaggeration. Shortly before this passage, Polybius recounted for us how the Boeotians' character reversed from strength and nobility to weak and self-indulgent,¹⁵ suggesting that this post-mortem practice provides an aetiological explanation to prove his point. Further, this passage is just one instance of an overarching moral and social decay. The political officials ceased properly executing

¹³ English translation quoted from Richard S. Ascough, Philip A. Harland, and John S. Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: a sourcebook* (Waco: Baylor, 2012), 242.

¹⁴ Polybius, *Histories*, XX.6.1, 5-6.

¹⁵ Polybius, *Histories*, XX.4.

the public wealth just as individuals ceased properly executing their own wealth.¹⁶ Both of these constituted offenses against the ancient order because they reflected a reversal of the values and character of Boeotia. Finally, Polybius has an inherently conservative and elite perspective on all of it, which the increasing power of associations could threaten. These factors show us that we should not read this account as a neutral and factual account, but rather must handle it carefully.

Also, we may desire to know quite a bit about the nature of these particular groups, which Polybius calls *συσσιτίοι* (e.g. Who constituted their membership? Did they have any activity other than dining? When and how did they originate as they do not seem to be a new phenomenon and how did they function before this time when such vast amounts of wealth were coming their way?), but the evidence provides us with no answers to these questions, so our ability to bring this account to bear on associations as a whole is limited because we have no basis for comparison unless we can impose some distinguishing characteristics on to the evidence for the purpose of comparison.

¹⁶ See Polybius, *Histories*, XX.6.2-4. The fact that the editors removed this selection from their sourcebook on associations indicates a manner in which blind spots can be created in the use of this evidence.

Epigraphic Evidence - PH265198 and PH63956

The epigraphic data must also be treated carefully. As MacMullen and Alföldy showed us, the wealth of inscriptions attesting to associations performing funerals should not deceive us into thinking this exclusively comprises their *raison d'être*.¹⁷ Analogously, inscriptions attesting to honors given to political officials should neither be read as informing us of that person's involvement in the association, or even knowledge of the honors.¹⁸ Rather, these often tell us more about the association's own aspirations and/or growth and development than the person being honored.¹⁹ As Jinyu Liu notes, these sources often leave the picture incomplete and they are "often succinct, featuring highly formulaic languages" which means they can be difficult to interpret. Further, their public nature "means that they are more likely to suffer from

¹⁷ See above n. 6. A few inscriptions exemplifying the prominence of funerals in the evidence record are *AGRW* 31 = *IG VII* 685-88 and *SEG* 32 (1982), no. 488 = *GRA I* 57 and 58; *AGRW* 37 = *IBeroia* 372 = *GRA I* 64 = PH149851; and *AGRW* 214 = *KilikiaBM I* 34 + *KilikiaBM II* 172n38 (for lines 1-6) + *IKilikiaBM II* 175n41 (for line 17) = PH285154.

¹⁸ Consider e.g. *SEG I* (1923), no. 282 = *GRA I* 62 = PH152541 which is a white marble inscription wherein an association of Roman merchants honors Augustus in Macedonia and *CIL III* 1174, the dedication of a new meeting hall by a textile guild who claim to have built it for the welfare of the Emperors Septimius Severus and Marcus Aurelius.

¹⁹ E.g. *AGRW* 222 = *IJO I Ach* 66 and 67 = *SEG* 32 (1982), 810 and 809 = *NewDocs VIII* 12b and 12a = PH215712 and PH215711 which tells us of a group of Israelites who lives on Delos, had a financial connection to the Temple on Gerizim and that they received some amount of financial beneficence from foreigners who quite possibly were involved in their cultic life.

the law of ‘publication bias’ than the papyrological materials are.”²⁰ So, the inscriptions are more likely to tell us only the stories the authors want us to know in the terms they want us to know them.

Although some inscriptions do not provide any information at all other than the fact that an association was providing honors,²¹ many of these inscriptions tell us minute details that provide interesting nuance to the pictures of a variety of types of associations. An inscription in Asia Minor from the imperial period indicates that the προστάτης of a guild of shippers was appointed to the post for life and that this appointment had something to do with his virtue, but it does not tell us what his role as προστάτης entailed nor what virtue qualified him for this appointment.²² We could import information from a political context, where a post of προστάτης is also attested and more fully described, and impose that information on this particular individual or we could attempt to argue from etymological grounds what his role could be. Neither of these approaches changes the fact that the inscription does not provide the information and so they must remain hypotheses.

²⁰ Liu, *Collegia*, 24-25.

²¹ E.g. AGRW 35 = *IBeroia* 22 = SEG 48 (1998), no. 751 = PH149497 and AGRW 53 = *EpThess* II.12= GRA I 78.

²² AGRW 94 = *BCH* 25 (1901) 36,184 = PH265198.

An inscription from Delos dated to the mid-second century BCE tells us of a group of merchants, shippers, and warehouse workers who moved to the island from Phoenicia. They successfully recruited a Roman banker as their patron when their own resources in erecting a common οἶκος fell short.²³ This banker, Marcus Minatius, received the opportunity for significant privilege in participation of the association's regular life as well as its celebrations of festivals, whether or not he partook in such extravagances. The inscription states its motivation as the public notice of this honoring in order to encourage more benefaction from others. The extravagance here seems to indicate a wealthy association, but because we cannot be certain that Marcus ever partook of the honors, we should not assume this. We do learn, though, that this association regularly dined together, celebrated particular festival occasions, and practiced a well-outlined form of judicial proceedings because there are some regulations tacked on that discuss how the group handled violations of internal regulations by their members.

The inscription tells us very little about Marcus Minatius and thus the portrait of benefaction remains necessarily incomplete. We may want to know what type of person would provide such wealth to the association. Would such a benefactor be a member? How would such a group of immigrants recruit someone from outside their

²³ AGRW 224 = *IDelos* 1520 = PH63956.

own geographical origins to be so generous? Did Marcus even live on Delos? Would he ever participate in the festivities or were they not even actual expenses the association would need to endure? Was Marcus' benefaction an enactment of a Boeotian-type proclivity so strongly critiqued by Polybius in his *Histories*? These questions only pursue one aspect of association life that is missing from the evidence record here. There are many more we may ask without hope of answer.

Architectural Evidence - The Delos Complex

Luckily for us, though, this particular association built a large complex which has survived in a significant fashion so that there are multiple inscriptions and some additional archaeological evidence for the group. Here is where the interpretation of the architectural data can be particularly enlightening. First, the complex has sanctuaries to deities other than Poseidon, the main deity mentioned in the inscriptional evidence.²⁴ There are inscriptions that mention these deities as a group are called the θεοὶ πατροί. Second, a number of rooms large enough to accommodate residents or storage line the south side of the complex.²⁵ Finally, the presence of three

²⁴ The shrine to the goddess Roma has two inscriptions indicating her identity.

²⁵ See Monika Trümper, "Das Sanktuarium des 'Établissement des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos' in Delos. Zur Baugeschichte eines griechischen Vereinsheiligtums," *BCH* 126 (2002): 265-330 for a discussion of these rooms and the site as a whole.

courtyards and the indication of a major renovation in the archaeological record provide us with a glimpse that the wealthy economic portrait we may wish to assume from the inscription could be accurate. Thus, architectural evidence may assist us when it is read in conjunction with the epigraphic evidence present on site.²⁶ It is when these two types of evidence are paired that they each become even more useful.

Unanswered Questions

Yet even with such a wealth of evidence, many questions remain unanswered. Who were the other deities to whom the additional shrines to the θεοὶ πατροί were built? How common was the participation of others not originating from Phoenicia? What other judicial matters could this group handle privately besides the violation of its own decrees? Because of this judicial material, could we use an analogy to political organization to fill in missing data concerning the structure and functionality of this group of immigrants even though they do not speak of themselves as a πολίτευμα or in other explicitly political language? Further, the Roman household would execute its own judicial matters independently as well so why would this not be our closest

²⁶ For additional discussion about how architectural evidence can provide us with important information about the social past, see L. Michael White, *The Social Origins of Christian Architecture* (2 vols. HTS 42. Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996) and Beate Bollman, *Römische Vereinhäuser: Untersuchungen zu den Scholae der römischen Berufs-, Kult-, und Augustalen-Kollegien in Italien* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998).

analogy? For this matter, the group seems to have considered its cultic activity as a major element, so why not compare it to cult and temple social groups?

It is the nature of our evidence for associations to leave open many questions and require careful treatment. Unfortunately, often in the quest for a full portrait of these associations, scholars have failed to treat the evidence with this needed care and thus fallen prey to a manifestation of the genetic and genealogical accounts that they may intend to avoid. The situation is similar in the study of New Testament texts and early Christianity. The evidence itself has gaps and scholars are tempted to fill in these gaps through the imposition of data. This may come through a methodological argument such as sociological models where the model fills in the gaps or through an historical argument where genetic and/or genealogical accounts lead the scholar to line up various sources along a timeline in order to fill out an evidence record for a phenomenon.

On Genetic Relationships and the Imposition of Missing Data

Jonathan Z. Smith pointed to the scholarly preoccupation with the study of genealogical relationships and the genetics of phenomena in *Drudgery Divine*. Smith rightly recognized the polemical nature of many of these studies as originating from a

Protestant debate over and against Roman Catholic tradition.²⁷ Unfortunately, from its modern inception, the study of Greek and Roman associations has been contaminated by this same preoccupation. Hatch's Bampton lectures initiated the most recent contamination when he argued for existing patterns in ancient Mediterranean society as genetic precursors to Christian communal organization.²⁸ Hatch's work was polemical because he intended it to instruct the contemporary church, thus linking the battleground within the church to the study of ancient Mediterranean associations.

The historical instinct to establish genealogical accounts and genetic relationships between various phenomena, however, has misled the conclusions on these social groups. On account of the missing information within the evidence record,²⁹ scholars have filled in data in order to provide a fulsome account of these phenomena. This has combined with the desire for a genealogical account in such a way that the resulting creation may appear to be the historical phenomenon in question, but is fundamentally distinct from the actual historical phenomenon; it is something mutated, entirely new and not quite true to its original historical nature.³⁰

²⁷ Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990).

²⁸ See above in ch 1.

²⁹ See above in the section "The Nature of the Evidence."

For example, Vincent Gabrielsen filled in the gaps with the political structures of Greek and Roman cities. Thus, the associations in his studies (mainly religious organizations) look similar to the various other associations, but fundamentally they are most like the political type.³¹ A particular genealogical account motivates his claim: the private associations of the Hellenistic period replaced the more public and political associations that dominated the prior era.³² On the contrary, Kinuko Hasegawa, in his study on a select group of prominent households, found that the associations formed for the slaves and freedmen of these wealthy families have their genetic and

³⁰ This can be likened to the scientific recreation of dinosaurs in *Jurassic Park*. In Michael Crichton's novel, the innovative entrepreneur John Hammond enlists the help of scientists to extract genetic material from mosquitoes trapped in tree sap that crystalized long ago. The blood in these mosquitoes' digestive systems came from dinosaurs and so allowed a particular window into the genetic past. However, much like our own evidence record, the genetic code was incomplete. In order, therefore, to provide the necessary genetic account for the production of dinosaurs in their own time, Hammond's scientists fill in the missing genetic sequences with a close match: the DNA of modern day amphibians. The resulting dinosaurs created by Hammond's company look and seem to act like the dinosaurs of the past, however they are fundamentally distinct from those dinosaurs in that their amphibian DNA allows them to change sexes in a single sex population for the propagation of the species. Much like scholars at some times, these scientists' mastery and control over the historical phenomena is illusory.

³¹ Similarly, Ilias Arnaoutoglou traces the genetics of his associations through political structures. See Ilias Arnaoutoglou, *Thysias Heneka kai Synousias: Private Religious Associations in Hellenistic Athens* (Academy of Athens. Yearbook of the Research Centre for the History of Greek Law, Supplement 37/4. Athens: Academy of Athens, 2003).

³² Note, however, that these political landscapes are much more complex than just one model that can be used to fill in the gaps of the association evidence record, especially as we enter the Imperial period. See Arjan Zuiderhoek, "On the Political Sociology of the Imperial Greek City," *GRBS* 48 (2008): 417-445.

genealogical connections with the family.³³ These associations are the very “funerary associations” that MacMullen and Alföldy argued had their primary locus in social interchange rather than burial practices, the professional associations of various trade groups, and even religious and cultic associations. Thus, because of a genetic account beginning in the household,³⁴ Hasegawa inserts data from the standard ideas of the Roman household to compensate for the lacking evidence and creates an entirely different portrait of ostensibly the same phenomena Gabrielsen studied.

These two portraits of associations leave us with distinct ideas because they have assumed different genetic accounts of association life which predetermined the analogical nature of the studies. On the one hand the objectives and arenas of associations are inevitably political because they developed out of a political context. Consequently, we find ourselves unsurprised at the theses of scholars like Wendy Cotter that associations were dangerous and threatening for the imperial political

³³ Kinuko Hasegawa, *The Familia Urbana during the Early Empire: a Study of Columbaria Inscriptions* (BAR International Series 1440. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005).

³⁴ As a side note, genetic accounts that place the development of the early church within the context of the household structure have also been a favorite among recent scholarship. See above in ch. 1 for more.

order and thus outlawed.³⁵ On the other hand, the association as genetically linked to the household has its function and orientation towards social solidarity. Here we find the natural conclusions of other scholars, that such an association could not be a threat to the empire because it is an instrument of stability.³⁶ How is one to decide the truer genetic connection and thus the more accurate historical portrayal? Further, the consequences are nothing less than opposing realities of the social role of such a group.

The genetic puzzle quickly becomes one of Darwinian proportions comparable to the search for all the necessary connections between single-celled organisms and *homo sapiens*. The household and the broader political structures are also somehow linked, but the type and number of mutations between household and political structure in the Greek *polis* or the Roman Republic or Empire can neither be fully accounted nor parsed.³⁷ Perhaps somewhere in this progression and mutation the truth

³⁵ See Wendy Cotter, “The Collegia and Roman Law: State Restrictions on Voluntary Associations, 64 BCE-200CE” pp 74-89 in *Voluntary Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. John S. Kloppenborg and S.G. Wilson (London: Routledge), 1996.

³⁶ See e.g. Andreas Gutsfeld, “Das Vereinigungswesen und die Städte in der römischen Kaiserzeit” pp 13-33 in *Gesellschaften im Vergleich: Forschungen aus Sozial- und Geschichtswissenschaften* (ed. Hartmut Kaelble and Jürgen Schriewer. Komparatistische Bibliothek 9. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998) and Max Radin, *Legislation of the Greeks and Romans on Corporations* (New York: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor, 1910) where both authors argue that the sanctions against associations were against particular associations, not associations in general. In general associations were positive instruments of social cohesion.

³⁷ For example, Aristotle locates the city within the context of the household in his *Politics*, claiming that the *polis* functions as a household and looks like a household.

of these associations may lay, but they are also part of the puzzle. Their own existence plays into the complex genetic relationship between the domestic and the political.³⁸

Again, we could navigate some of these complexities if a taxonomy or set of subgenera of the broader category “association” would indicate for us which terms should be properly employed in the analogy. Each of the proposals, though, fails to provide this. Kloppenborg’s proposed taxonomy was based on Roman law and the characteristics of the members.³⁹ Similarly, Philip A. Harland proposed five subgroups of associations based around household connections, ethnic or geographic connections, neighbourhood or local connections, occupational connections, and cult or temple connections.⁴⁰ These taxonomies fall apart quickly because the membership and functions of the associations are more complex and intertwined than they allow.

³⁸ Consider for example the manner in which the Greek *φρατρία* play into the political structure or the Roman imperial title *pater patriae*, which draws on the imagery of the empire as a household.

³⁹ “...those associated with a household, those of a common trade, and those formed around the cult of a deity.” John S. Kloppenborg, “Collegia,” 26.

⁴⁰ Philip A. Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 2003), 25-53.

The Breakdown of Taxonomies

Consider PH229685, a dedication to the Egyptian gods in Athens from the end of the second century or beginning of the first century BCE:

To Isis, Sarapis, Anubis, and Harpokrates. Megallis daughter of Magas of Marathon set this up on behalf of her daughter Demarion and her sons, in accordance with a command, during the priesthood of Menandros son of Artemon of Alopeke, when Asopokleus of Phyla was temple guardian, Sosikratos of Laodikea was the attendant, and Dionysios of Antioch was judge of the spectacles (or: interpreter of visions).⁴¹

Ἰσιδι Σαράπιδι Ἀνούβιδι Ἄρποκράτη Μεγαλλίς Μάγα Μαραθωνίου θυγατρὸς Δημαρίου καὶ τ[[ῶν ὑῶν]] κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἐπὶ ἱερέως Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρτέμωνος Ἄλωπεκῆθεν κλεδουχοῦντος Ἀσωποκλέους Φλυέως ζακορεύοντος Σωσικράτου Λαοδικέως κρίνοντος τὰ δάματα Διονυσίου Ἀντιοχέως

This group has both Athenian citizens and resident aliens among its leadership in its devotion to foreign deities. Further, the inscription itself is set firmly within a household context. Where shall we place it within these taxonomies? We may say that because it is devoted to deities that the membership has cultic or temple connections, but the deities themselves are associated with a particular geographical location. Alternatively, it accounts a particular household's connection to these deities. Finally, its location has to do with a local shrine of Sarapis in a particular neighbourhood.⁴²

Thus, these taxonomies work easily for some of the evidence – otherwise they would not have been created - but they cannot account for all of the complexities. The

⁴¹ Ascough, et. al., *Associations*, 11.

⁴² See Sterling Dow, "The Egyptian Cults in Athens" *HTR* 30 (1937): 208-212.

end of the matter is closer to the observation of John M.G. Barclay, “The greater our knowledge of ancient ‘associations’, the harder it proves to identify their ‘essential’ characteristics, since the evidence, scattered over several centuries and over a wide geographical area, points to an incredible variety of names, forms, memberships, and purposes.”⁴³ This variety in the evidence record belies both easy taxonomies and easy genetic connections. Genealogical accounts, therefore, may not be written and the full development of portraits of the associations based on analogy is misguided.

Should we then discard the category association entirely? No, for despite the truth of Barclay’s observation and his denial of the ability of rough taxonomies to yield a satisfactory parsing of the diverse phenomena, he still pursues the comparison between these ‘associations’ and Diaspora synagogues as well as Christian

⁴³ John M.G. Barclay, “Money and Meetings: Group Formation among Diaspora Jews and Early Christians” in *Vereine, Synagogen und Gemeinden im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, ed. Andreas Gutsfeld and Dietrich-Alex Koch (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 114. Consider also S.G. Wilson’s similar point: “...eventually some kind of formal structure was assumed. This was no doubt in part a result of the almost inevitable tendency of human groups to bureaucratize as they become established and grow, but it was also in part a love of ranks and titles for their own sake – for in many instances these appear to have proliferated artificially and bore little relationship to power or responsibility. It is impossible to generalize further about the precise functions, titles, and roles of the leaders, since the variety within and among the different types of associations was almost without limit.” (S.G. Wilson, “Voluntary Associations: an overview” in *Voluntary Associations in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. John S. Kloppenborg and S.G. Wilson (London: Routledge, 1996), 10.) On the diversity of Associations, see further Imogen Dittmann-Schöne, *Der Berufsvereinen in den Städten des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasiens* (Theorie und Forschung 690; Geschichte 10. Regensburg: S. Roderer, 2001) and Ilias N. Arnaoutoglou, “ΑΡΧΕΠΑΝΙΣΤΗΣ and its Meaning in Inscriptions” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 104 (1994): 107-10.

congregations. Barclay affirms the broad category of association on two loci: management of wealth and regular gatherings. His observations prove helpful for important interpretive issues in the study of Jewish Diaspora and early Christian communities that we would not otherwise adduce without the comparison.

Thus, we find ourselves at an impasse. There are some useful shared characteristics among these ancient phenomena, but they are not consistent enough to allow an easy schematization. The evidence record is extensive, but the holes in it cause us to search for proper terms with which to fill it out. This search inevitably leads us into genetic and genealogical accounts of associations and thus we create our own historical phenomena that may or not match the actual phenomena of history.

Summary: The Understanding and Misunderstanding of Associations

We fail in our scholarly pursuit of the ancient association because we misunderstand the nature of human social groups in our work. We imagine that social groups are stable entities that exist in one fashion for generations at a time. This lack of fluidity makes them easy to classify and relate in our minds. Essential characteristics from one piece of evidence may be combined with another separated by a few decades easily and utilized in the pursuit of a full portrait. However, only one generation is required for a radical shift in the character of an association. One person or one small group's agenda

can cause fundamental shifts or even direct reversals in policy or activity. We saw the impact earlier of one individual Roman banker's financing of a group of immigrants from Phoenicia. Without his contributions, the extensive complex we saw would not have been completed. We also saw it in Polybius' discussion of συσσιτίοι in Boeotia where it only took one generation of financial contributions to elevate the importance of various associations and multiply their means.

We see this most clearly, however, in IG II² 1328, a set of inscriptions in Piraeus, the port of Athens, which are separated by less than a decade in the early second century BCE. The first inscription provides a regulation that a priestess may only serve as attendant (ζάκορον) for one year and only for one term until all the priestesses have fulfilled the role. In the second inscription, however, the priestess Metrodora is appointed to this same role of attendant to the goddess for life (ζάκορον τεῖ θεῶι).⁴⁴ We can imagine that someone such as Marcus Minatius may have the political power to achieve such a radical policy reversal. Perhaps Kleippos of Aixone, who is mentioned in the second of this pair of inscriptions, was just such a person. Perhaps the star of Kleippos had risen just as the star of Simon of Poros, who proposed the original

⁴⁴ Nicholas Jones, *The Associations of Classical Athens: The Response to Democracy* (New York: Oxford, 1999), 265.

regulation, had fallen. Whatever the reason for the change, this exhibits the fluid nature of social groups in general and of associations in the ancient world in particular.

If such a fundamental reversal can happen within the span of one decade, how can we reasonably give an evolutionary account of development? The answer must be that we cannot. Without a reasonable account of development, how can we profitably use our evidence? Further, if we cannot use the evidence profitably, what can we have to do with associations at all and what use can they be in our study of the ancient Mediterranean? We must revise our expectations for the study of human social groups in history. Rather than imagining that their organization and function is permanent or semi-permanent, even though at times it may be written in stone, we must remember that they did not view it as unchangeable. If we imagine that these groups are more malleable and flexible, we will be able to understand them better and relate them properly to their contexts. The changing and fluid circumstances of history are the exact circumstances against which these groups reacted and inhabited. Some influential persons within the groups may have reacted in conservative fashions and so we may see some groups with remarkable consistency, but others may have nursed a more liberal spirit, freeing themselves and their associations from static ways of being.

Association, Function, and a Way Forward

How can we profitably move forward, then, in better understanding associations and thus have a better basis for the study of earliest Christian communities? John M. G. Barclay suggested a way in his article and even pursued it with respect to money and meetings. Barclay affirms the productivity of a functional analytical framework based on ancient associations in “identify[ing] those social forms and social processes which helped to determine the character and social significance of [Diaspora synagogues and Christian churches].”⁴⁵ By identifying money management and meeting together as social processes, he was able to usefully analyse some of what he found in the evidence record for Diaspora synagogues and Christian communities. Taking our cue from him, then, we will pursue a functional account of representative evidence from the ancient Mediterranean and use this as an analytical framework for the study of three early Christian communities.

Function Over Taxonomy

In at least one sense of the word, the modern study of the association has been formal in its nature. When the evidence record is filled out by genetic assumption related to the city or household, the scholar has performed a formal assumption. The association

⁴⁵ Barclay, “Money”, 115.

must take a particular form because it is a descendant of another antecedent form. Similarly, the social historical study of associations concerned itself with overthrowing one form in favour of a different form. Finally, taxonomies by their very nature are formal because they place phenomena in formal categories. Barclay's turn to social process distinguishes his study from these others. Functions (or processes) are inherently connected to forms in that the function manifests in a particular form at a particular time in a particular place. Yet, studying function allows us access to something that varied forms may mask from us and thus provides a different type of analytical framework. It is not that form is irrelevant; on the contrary, the varied manifest forms often prove most interesting. Rather, a functional analysis will open possibilities for identifying connections between forms that may otherwise be masked.

A survey of representative epigraphic, architectural and literary evidence yields the following general functional bank for ancient Mediterranean associations: resource management, regular meetings, membership management, public relations, worship, burials, leadership duties, and record keeping. These eight broad functions serve as an etic analytical framework for an examination of association life broadly and for the specific study of earliest Christian communities. Not every one of these functions will

be present in a single given association, but each association will display some conglomeration of them.

The evidence laid out in the appendix yields these categories both in its content and by its nature. In other words, some of the functions are explicitly displayed in the evidence, such as *IEph* 3801 where the inscription specifically states that visible exhibitions of piety will take place each year, and some of them, such as record keeping, are implicit due to the nature of the evidence, such as the fact that any given epigraphic evidence would have required someone literate to be able to provide the text for the inscription. This analytical framework, then, sets up a wide net in each of these eight broad functions so as to describe thickly the social processes of these associations. Instead of seeking taxonomy so as to provide the closest term of analogy, this framework opens up avenues for comparison and distinction within the entire evidence record for these phenomena.

Functions as Building Blocks

Each of the eight functions acts as a building block in crafting a sketch of an ancient association. Just as red bricks are building blocks as much as pieces of limestone are building blocks, these blocks have something in common but may not look anything like one another in their specific manifestation. However, they comprise the basic

elements of association life. When Barclay names the difficulty in identifying essential characteristics of associations in the ancient world, it is because the type of essential characteristics he has in mind are social forms (names, forms themselves, memberships and purposes).⁴⁶ However, these eight functions provide a broad enough base that they can label essential characteristics of associations. What makes an association an association? It is a matter fundamentally of function.

By definition, an association is a social construction of some kind. All of the phenomena we have in mind require more than one person because these are entities formed either expressly for the purpose of socialization or because of some advantage to bonding together with others. These two intentions require regular meeting together. Further, it is inevitable that some sort of non-human resources enter the picture. Most commonly, these resources are monetary because the association participates in the economics of the ancient Mediterranean world.⁴⁷ Two other essential functions round out this picture: some form of membership management and public relations. At some point the question arises of who is in and who is out of the social group. Often money or other economic considerations serve as a catalyst for this

⁴⁶ See above in the sections “The Breakdown of Taxonomies” and “Association, Function, and a Way Forward.”

⁴⁷ As Barclay observes, even the earliest Christian communities who do not directly display any “institutional structures concerning money” still dealt with money. Barclay, “Money”, 120.

mechanism. Finally, when there is awareness in some sense of a member/non-member dynamic, then public presentation becomes a matter of fact.⁴⁸ This public presentation is both a matter of presenting to the insider public and the outsider public. These four functions are the primary functions for associations in the ancient Mediterranean world.⁴⁹ They are primary because we can say that it would be the exception rather than the rule if an association abdicated one of them.⁵⁰ These primary functions will serve as the basis for analysis in this project as we look at the three ancient Christian texts and build a framework from each text.

⁴⁸ As Philip Harland has shown, individuals and groups actively cultivated this public presentation in the ancient Mediterranean. See Philip A. Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis: Fortress), 2003.

⁴⁹ Barclay identified money and meetings as two profitable angles of analysis, but stopped short of claiming them as essential to an association. Rather he listed a number of social processes and forms that could be profitable avenues of analysis. His pursuit of this analysis for the Diaspora synagogue and the Christian communities stops short of any comparative component, but rather simply takes these two areas as avenues for thinking about and describing how they may inform social development in these two groups.

⁵⁰ So also Jinyu Liu defined the *collegia* as follows: “a full-fledged *collegium* should have at least the following features: the minimum size was three, it had structural features such as magistrates, a name, by-laws, membership requirements, and/or some sort of common treasury (*pecuniae communes*), and a *collegium* could formally take a patron or patrons.” (Liu, *Collegia*, 10.) The only one of our primary functions missing from this list of Liu’s more particular subset of the phenomenon is regular meetings. I would suspect that were we to ask her, the reason would be that the meeting is such an obvious feature that it is a given.

Primary Functions⁵¹

Regular Meetings

The regular meetings of an association could follow a wide variety of timelines and a wide variety of formats. On account of its prominence in Roman legal documents, the monthly meeting for a meal sits most prominently among the various examples.⁵²

These documents formally define a Roman *collegia* with the limit of a monthly meeting because *collegia* had proven troublesome in Rome on several occasions and been forbidden.⁵³ However, meetings may not always have involved dining and they may have happened with more or less frequency than monthly. As two immediate examples, Diaspora synagogues often held weekly meetings on the Sabbath and Acts 2 recounts that the Christians met together daily.

Resource Management

Resource management has at its most basic level currency. Again, this arises in part from Roman legal definitions of these groups so as to better manage them. The other

⁵¹ The following are based on and distilled from the appendix.

⁵² See e.g. Marcianus, *Institutes* 3.

⁵³ See e.g. Livy, *History*, 39.8-18 and Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, 32.1.

part, however, originates from the increased social and economic power to be found in coming together as a group. Associations primarily (or at least initially) interested in building social strength found fellowship to be an important ingredient. Such fellowship often took the form of eating together, festivals, and other group gatherings. These gatherings required some resources; after all, the food and drink must come from somewhere. The so-called funerary associations provide an example of this, but it is with an important variation. These groups were often formed or joined by people in such economic straits that they could not afford the necessary expenses for a funeral independent of the association. Thus, their concern lay with the increased economic power of bonding with others.

Resources do not end with currency, however. Some groups entered into contracts, bought and managed slaves, held stores of materials, and even rented or built buildings. Their contracts would have needed to be fulfilled, their slaves cared for, and their physical property must have been managed. So resource management often increased in its prominence as the wealth of the association increased.

Membership Management

The management of a membership was closely linked with the management of resources because the resources of an association often arose directly from the

individual members. A monthly donation to a common fund was included with the monthly meetings as defined and allowable under Roman law for the *collegia*.⁵⁴ For many associations, management of the membership thus included the collection of dues.⁵⁵ Such collection, though, required keeping an account of who owed dues and who paid dues. An alternative version would be recording who voluntarily contributed where a regular dues payment was not required. So, membership management regularly required a record of the membership. Along with this record, some associations would keep voting records or active lists of service by their members so as to honor their benefactions.

The last major component of membership management is how people become members. For some associations, as in AGRW 11, a person may join through the payment of dues, but for many some form of initiation was required. Initiation is an example of one function that has a particular lexical connection. There are only two extant meanings for μύστης and one for the associated verb μυέω. The first has to do

⁵⁴ Marcianus, *Institutes* 3.

⁵⁵ See e.g. AGRW 11 = IG II² 1361 = LSCG 45 = GRA I 4 = PH3577, AGRW 69 = ILS 7215a⁵⁵ = CIL IX 924-927, no. 1, and AGRW 295 = PLond VII 2193 = NewDocs I 5.

with initiation or instruction.⁵⁶ The second meaning of μύστης is as a name for Dionysus, whose cult was one of the most prominent with respect to intricate initiation practices. This means that whenever one of these two lexemes appears, one should immediately think of initiation practices. Related lexemes should also raise a flag. However, this does not mean that every time initiation is at issue one of these two words will be used. In fact, initiation practices were more common than the occurrences of these lexemes and some groups may even have consciously chosen different vocabulary so as to avoid association with the Dionysian traditions, who widely used this language.

Public Relations

Membership creates a subset of a broader society and thus necessitates an interaction with the broader social milieu, even if that interaction is complete withdrawal from and/or willful ignorance of the surrounding society. For this reason, public relations constitutes the final primary function. This function appears most visibly when associations wish to honor someone, whether a member or an outsider. They may seek to raise their own prominence by pointing to one of their members who has also

⁵⁶ “μύστης,” *LSJ*, 1156 and “μυέω,” *LSJ*, 1150. Although there are two major classes of definition for μυέω, since the secondary meaning is “to teach or instruct”, it has a synonymous relationship to the definition “to initiate.”

performed great service for the broader society or to garner favor from outsiders. They often hope this favor will end in further economic donations, or they may even seek to nurture a better relationship with the government.⁵⁷ Further, they may need public relations because of their very nature. Guilds of skilled craftsmen, for example, would want to advertise their offerings and would seek prime real estate in the marketplace. They may also seek contracts from large entities such as the government.

Another avenue available to associations for the pursuit of better economic circumstances was development. Much of the public relations of associations centered upon properly honoring their current benefactors, whether members or not. Thus their PR served as one of their primary tools in developing more benefactors. Since this development could sometimes be directed internally, it shows that public relations at times could be as much a matter of internal bolstering as external advertising. The public relations function, therefore, can at times be sub-divided by the audience to whom it was directed, whether an internal audience or an external one.

⁵⁷ As was mentioned above, associations often had a tenuous relationship at best with the Roman government in particular. At times certain politicians would use associations for political gain and if that politician was unsuccessful, the associations supporting him may have taken some measures that then required punishment or vengeance from the victor. In any case, erecting statues and *stelae* in honor of the emperor would be one tactic an association may have taken in order to prove themselves loyal citizens of the empire.

Finally, many associations would inevitably interact with other associations. Whether they were sharing a meeting and/or dining space, partnering for a festival, or building a network of like associations, inter-association relations potentially required a lot of resources and quite a bit of careful public relations.

Summary

These four functions, regular meetings, resource management, membership management, and public relations, prove to be primary in that the very nature of all associations requires some amount of each one. Without these, the phenomenon in question would cease to properly belong within the category of association. However, they do not fully define an association any more than the basic building materials used for a building define it. It is their particular combinations and manifestations that enliven a particular association and give it its own distinctive nature.

Secondary Functions

Some of these combinations and manifestations have resulted in some additional common functions. The other four functions should be considered secondary because they are not basic to associations, though they occur commonly, especially in particular subsets of associations. For example, *collegia tenuiorum* as a category from Roman law

have built into their existence the performance of burials. This does not mean that associations outside of this legal category do not perform burials, but associations of this type in particular do. However, it would not be exceptional for any given association outside of the *collegia tenuiorum* to present no evidence of burials. A similar situation exists for worship, leadership duties and record keeping.

Burial

Burial as a function opens up into two main manifestations. First is the actual performance of the burial rites such as would happen in the *collegia tenuiorum*. This includes the burial itself, any accompanying meals and events for family and other members of the association, and especially fees associated with burials.⁵⁸ The other manifestation is guardianship over a grave. Associations would often be charged with the protection of a grave against violators or robbers. In this case if the grave were to be violated, the offender would pay a fee and the association would be the beneficiary.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ This type of arrangement is well studied and well known in the ancient world. Interestingly, we even have papyri where family members request government intervention when associations fail to properly perform the funeral duties as in e.g. AGRW 292 = *PEnteuxeis* 21.

⁵⁹ See e.g. AGRW 154 = *IHierapJ* 195 = PH271809 where the guild of dyers are given the guardianship over a grave and AGRW 158 = *IHierapJ* 133 = PH271749 where a fail safe is built in: if one group fails to adequately perform their duties, the guardianship is passed on to another group.

Worship

In many associations a cultic dimension exists where the members perform some type of worship of a deity or deities. This function is particularly elusive at times because of the nature of religion in the ancient world. Since it infused most aspects of life, it should not surprise us to find it regularly among associations. This function belongs in the secondary classification, however, because it is unexceptional to find no mention of worship or deity at all in the evidence record for a given association. The most common forms of this worship are festivals and processions or other public events such as games or contests, sacrifices, the fulfillment of commands given by the deity or the fulfillment of vows made to the deity. Less commonly, associations hosted the performance of a variety of other sacred activities such as the reading of sacred texts, the performance in persona of important events in a deity's life, and the interpretation of oracular utterances and prophecy.

Leadership Duties

Leadership duties muddies the waters a bit on account of its obscure manifestations in the evidence record. From the perspective of the legal sources, the representation of the collective interests either in legal/judicial scenarios or contractual/civic

obligations serves as the most prominent manifestation.⁶⁰ Yet, within the epigraphic and papyrological record, oversight/appointment and rule enforcement are much more prominent. In these latter cases, a certain individual or individuals would necessarily oversee projects or special events put on by an association or even a team of functionaries needed for the regular activities of the association. This could involve the appointment of certain functionaries required for the proper performance of these oversight duties. Further, such oversight could take the particular form of enforcing the policies of an association, especially as concerns particularities of treatment of fellow members. Finally, at times the evidence record explicitly mentions a particular functionary responsible for managing the meetings of an association, but even such specificity is lacking, there must be some mechanism for managing such meetings, even if it is a form of group leadership such as exists in meetings of the Religious Society of Friends today.

Record Keeping

Finally, record keeping takes on its own distinct category even outside of membership management. For despite the fact that one manifestation of membership management entails the keeping of membership records, the full extent of record keeping in this

⁶⁰ See e.g. Gaius, *Institutiones* 3 and Callistratus, *On Judicial Inquiries* 4.

sense is an entirely different matter. In some sense most associations represented in our epigraphic and papyrological record have some fulfillment of this function because they have left a record for us to find. Yet, we can only imagine how many more associations did not leave a record. Therefore, we have no way of ascertaining the exact nature of this function. For this reason, it must remain secondary because we can easily theorize an association that exists without such a function – just imagine the various early Christian communities whose records we can only wish we had. Nonetheless, we do see records of votes, contributions, bylaws and activities.

These secondary functions will not serve as primary bases for analysis in the dissertation, but we may encounter them in our texts.

Summary - Functions as Building Blocks

This concludes our description of these functional building blocks of ancient Mediterranean associations. The analytical framework they provide opens up an avenue of inquiry for us to examine how particular associations fulfill these four primary functions. Even more so, it can open our eyes to ways in which associations fulfill similar functions through different mechanisms or functionaries, which is of

particular interest for our main study of early Christian communities. But first, let us test this analytical framework.

The Ancient Synagogue: a Test Case

Lee Levine's recent extensive treatment of the ancient synagogue provides an important portrait for the background of earliest Christian communities.⁶¹ The synagogue properly belongs among the ranks of the broader ancient Mediterranean association and thus it serves a two-fold purpose for us here. First, the synagogue itself confirms what we have already said about ancient Mediterranean associations above. Second, it gives us an important comparative term for the early church as these two bodies developed side-by-side in the first few centuries CE and in conversation with one another, in opposition to one another, or in some combination of these two.

Functions of the Synagogue

Levine outlines seven functions of the Jewish Synagogue: meeting place, court, charity, place of study, library, place of residence, and place of individual recourse. While his titles do not match up with those outlined in this chapter, they do line-up nicely within the basic analytical framework our functions provide.

⁶¹ Lee Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale, 2005).

The synagogue as a meeting place has its basis in the communal function of the building.⁶² This meets our initial primary function of regular meetings, for firstly, official meetings happened weekly on the Sabbath. So we have an official gathering of the association and a regular basis for it. In the synagogue particularly, these meetings were a time for discussion over all manner of issues of import to the community. Officially, this community that met consisted of the Jewish population of an area. However, as Levine notes, synagogues may have been used for subsets of this population or even other types of groups such as guilds as a meeting place as well. Regardless, the synagogue as building and as entity hosted regular meetings.

Secondly, the building itself provides an easy example of resource management. Where there were buildings for the ancient synagogue, they had to be maintained.⁶³ Even without that, though, Levine's function of charity exhibits clearly the resource management necessary to ensure proper care for those economically disadvantaged.⁶⁴

Membership management is a bit trickier in this case because the membership group for the synagogue has often been tacitly assumed, both by the evidence and by

⁶² See Levine, *Synagogue*, 391-395.

⁶³ On the synagogue as building and whether or not there was a building, see Levine, *Synagogue*, 81-173 and 313-380.

⁶⁴ See Levine, *Synagogue*, 396-398.

scholars. However, as Levine noted in the section on charity, awareness of who constituted the community existed. Otherwise, how would the community have been able to care for its impoverished? Further, the synagogue as a place of study fulfills this function, particularly in the post-70 period for Torah study becomes more prominent as a duty of a member of the community and education of the young becomes more organized. This education of the young begins to look like initiation because of the manner in which it prepared Jewish youth for full status in the community at large. Further, the future sages who would ensure the continuity of the community would emerge from this group and so the educational process also formed future leaders.⁶⁵

The public relations of the synagogue most visibly appeared in its function as a hostel, part of its function as a place of residence in Levine's terms.⁶⁶ As a hostel members of other Jewish communities had a place to stay when traveling. A display of Torah knowledge would regularly be required so as to display one's *bona fides*. So the hostel function is an example of inter-association relations. Moreover, the court

⁶⁵ On the synagogue as place of study and the education of children/production of future sages, see Levine, *Synagogue*, 398-404.

⁶⁶ See Levine, *Synagogue*, 405-406.

function of the synagogue would regularly require government relations and synagogues just as any other association would honor its benefactors.⁶⁷

So we see that Levine's broad brushstrokes picturing the ancient synagogue across time and geography match up well with our primary functions. What about the secondary functions? Will they account for the remainder of Levine's functions?

Absolutely. The synagogue as court itself falls directly in the category of leadership duties with its particular brand of rule enforcement⁶⁸ and the synagogue as a place of study, a public library and a place of individual recourse also find their un-discussed aspects under the function of worship, record keeping, and burials.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ On the synagogue as court, see Levine, *Synagogue*, 395-396. On the honoring of benefactors, see Levine, *Synagogue*, 387-388 where Levine discusses epigraphic evidence for large individual gifts that built the synagogue.

⁶⁸ Levine, *Synagogue*, 395-396. The synagogue as a court is the place where ruptured relationships are mended. We have seen how many associations had some sort of judicial function with respect to their members: under the category of leadership duties, often there was some need for rule enforcement, which dealt both with relationships among society members and also ruptured relationship to deities. The synagogue's court function follows this same pattern nicely.

⁶⁹ See Levine, *Synagogue*, 398-411. By place of individual recourse, Levine means both the celebration/commemoration of major life events such as marriage, childbirth and death as well as a place for the making and fulfillment of vows or of individual petition. The latter of course falls under worship and the former under worship and burials. As Torah study became more and more associated with worship of YHWH, the synagogue both as place of study and as public library became more and more fixed under the worship function. Finally, the synagogue as a public library meant that records were stored there.

Functionaries of the Synagogue

How did the synagogue go about fulfilling these functions, though? What were the particular nuances and can our analytical framework help us understand them better? Levine clearly details the reasons for varied scholarly claims about the functionaries of the synagogue. Not only do the biases of the evidence come into play here, but also he notes that contrary to the traditional consensus concerning a monolithic and static model of Jewish communities, their organizational forms and communal practices were actually quite varied across geography and time.⁷⁰ These complexities thus make the synagogue a perfect candidate for our analytical framework, especially with respect to functionaries with a similar title yet a varied role.

Archisynagogue

The archisynagogue is the most common functionary across the evidence record for a synagogue. This does not mean, however, that every synagogue had one, especially as some synagogues were called προσευχή rather than συναγωγή. Levine's portrait of the archisynagogue is more functional than formal. This functionary fulfills religious and

⁷⁰ See above for the similar point about geographic-temporal variance of associations in general. For Levine's discussion, see Levine, *Synagogue*, 389-390.

financial functions as well as political and administrative functions.⁷¹ Ultimately, the “archisynagogue was looked upon by Jews and non-Jews alike as a leader and representative of his community.”⁷² So, the archisynagogue potentially facilitated or fulfilled the functions of worship, resource management, regular meetings, public relations and leadership duties, or, in Levine’s terms, he partially facilitated the institutional functions of charity, place of study, place of individual recourse, meeting place and place of study.

Not accidentally Levine does not bring these terms into the actual conversation. His description of the functions of the synagogue claim more specificity than our analytical framework in some ways, but because our framework derives from a broader database of phenomena, they are able to better account for this functionary’s duties. In our terms, the archisynagogue fully functions as the manager of financial resources and, under leadership duties, as the manager of meetings and the representative of the community. As representative of the community, he further fulfilled at least the active part of the public relations, regardless of whether he himself participated in shaping

⁷¹ Levine posits this portrait as a middle road solution to a debate that has increasingly given more weight to inscriptional evidence over literary evidence, claiming to give equal weight to both. See Levine, *Synagogue*, 412-427.

⁷² Levine, *Synagogue*, 426.

the public relations agenda. He facilitated the regular meetings through his administrative duties.

Archon

Evidence for an archon definitively connected to a synagogue is limited to Rome. At times, it is difficult to distinguish the community at large from the synagogue in particular and this accounts for some of this variance. For Levine, this is a make or break it issue as his only concern is the synagogue. For our analytical framework, however, this hazy boundary poses no problem. If the archon is a functionary for the full community, this is no different than if the archon is a functionary for the synagogue because the community could just as easily constitute the association as the synagogue could.

Levine ultimately finds this difficulty of exactly locating this functionary in the synagogue or in the broader community to be an insurmountable one. The best he can provide is that in general scholarly opinion remains divided over whether the archon was a community leader or the head of a synagogue board, that in Berenice (where synagogue and community were perhaps one unit) the archons initiated communal decisions and granted awards, and that in some literary sources the archon and the archisynagogue were depicted as functioning side-by-side.

Pater Synagogue and Mater Synagogue

Levine wrestles with these two positions because they each seem to be prominently honorific in nature.⁷³ The *pater* is more difficult for him because it is included in the Theodosian Code among the archisynagogue, priests and others who serve as exempted from public liturgies. He reasons that this must indicate “a position of responsibility for the *patres*.”⁷⁴ Levine’s frustration arises from the fact that he still focuses on form in particular rather than function overall. Even if both of these positions are entirely honorific in nature, our analytical framework allows us to understand them better. As honorees of the community, they play an important part in the public relations of the community. On the one hand, they are the examples held up to the public both of what a good member of the association is and, on the other, of what will be done for those who benefit the association. So they function to define the association in the broader world and to recruit additional benefactors both from inside and outside the association itself. It is natural that such important figures would have an active role in the association of some kind, whether limited to a financial benefactor or as prominent as having served or destined to serve as archisynagogue.

⁷³ Levine, *Synagogue*, 429-432.

⁷⁴ Levine, *Synagogue*, 430.

Presbyter/Elder

The presbyter represents a further advantage of our analytical framework. Levine asserts the unquestionable presence of presbyters in the synagogue, but notes the specifics of the role cannot be pinned down, varying regionally and temporally within administrative, financial, and religious-liturgical roles.⁷⁵ Because of the common nature of the role, we can expect the presence of a presbyter, but would need to attend to the particularity of the functions of a particular synagogue before we could approximate a more definite role for the presbyter.

Ḥazzan and Priests

Most prominent among the Palestinian synagogues, perhaps especially indicated in its Hebrew language title, is the *ḥazzan*. Levine's portrait of the *ḥazzan* finally fills in one of the major functional missing pieces.⁷⁶ The *ḥazzan* serves basically as the worship attendant, ensuring that anything from the proper timing of reading of Torah and Haftorah to prayers and blessings to timing in particular festivals. The *ḥazzan* does not fulfill any of the actual worship functions, but rather facilitates them. Any male

⁷⁵ Levine, *Synagogue*, 432-434.

⁷⁶ Levine, *Synagogue*, 435-445.

member could fulfill some of the particular functions, but as Levine notes some are left for a particular individual, the priest. Despite this fact, Levine does not discuss the priest as a distinct functionary, rather mentioning him incidentally along with some of these other functionaries. Our analytical framework, however, helps us see the importance of the priest as a distinctive functionary.

Grammateus and Phrontistes

The *grammateus* and *phrontistes* each fit nicely into our necessary functions, even though Levine's own functions obscure their particular roles.⁷⁷ The *grammateus* records anything needed from official decisions to correspondence to membership lists and even management of archives. As far as primary functions go, membership management necessitates this functionary. On the secondary level, a *grammateus* fulfills completely the record keeping. The *phrontistes* on the other hand serves as the manager of buildings or of particular building projects, a role necessary for resource management. How do these two functionaries fit within Levine's functions of the synagogue? This answer must be more complex because of the nature of Levine's functions.

⁷⁷ Levine, *Synagogue*, 434-435.

Teachers

Teachers fulfill Levine's function of the synagogue as place of study completely.⁷⁸ They are those charged with the education of the youth. As mentioned above, in our framework, teachers would fulfill a function of membership management, particularly the component of initiation.

Summary – Functions and the Synagogue

We have surveyed briefly Lee Levine's portrait of the synagogue, both its functions and functionaries, and found that not only does the analytic framework of four primary and four secondary functions work with respect to this test case, but it in fact sharpens our view on some of the functions of the synagogue and the particulars of the role of functionaries in fulfilling these functions. Among the most helpful results are a sharper understanding of the important function *pater synagogue* and *mater synagogue* played in the public relations of the synagogue, both with respect to its general self-presentation and with respect to its development of benefactors, and the utility with which our framework allows for flexibility in how a functionary with the same title could fulfill different roles in different places and times. What matters is not the title, but the

⁷⁸ Levine, *Synagogue*, 445-446.

manner in which an association goes about fulfilling its primary and secondary functions.

Conclusions – A Functional Analysis of Associations

Ancient Mediterranean associations pose a number of difficulties to anyone who desires to study them. The fluidity of their nature as human social groups is primary among these difficulties. Because their forms can change quickly and unpredictably, formal studies such as those based on lexemes or static models cannot properly account for this difficulty. A functional analysis, however, retains enough flexibility to allow for these geographical and temporal variances. Often these variances are due to the surrounding environment. Lee Levine observed that some of the great difficulties in properly defining the functionalities of the synagogue came in that those synagogues found in Hellenized areas (and often urban areas) appeared to have more in common with Greek and Roman associations than with the synagogues in non-Hellenized (and often rural areas).⁷⁹ All human social groups tend to present themselves in formal terms that are influenced by their environment, whether consciously or unconsciously. The advantage of a functional analysis, however, is that it allows form to come in variable

⁷⁹ Levine, *Synagogue*, 446-451.

manifestations and so can expose these variances of the synagogue rather than become frustrated by them.⁸⁰

Our analytical framework for functional analysis has its advantage in its derivation from representative evidence across a wide span of geographical and temporal variation. Therefore, it is well served for opening our eyes to the possible formal manifestations of functions that are shared by any variety of association. One additional lens, however, will sharpen our view even more. As we consider these various functions, we must also caution ourselves not to be ignorant of the ancient perspective on deity. As we can see from *IG II² 1328* (see above), associations were regularly concerned not only with the relationships between humans, but also with the relationship between humans and deity. Our four primary functions, therefore, should be considered both with respect to how they maintain and nurture relationships among humans and how they maintain and nurture relationship with the divine. After all, one's public relations with a deity could be just as important if not more important than that with the local magistrate.⁸¹ Public relations may more easily open up this

⁸⁰ This explains why Levine's account of the synagogues institutional functions can be delivered with greater alacrity and clarity than his treatment of the officials.

⁸¹ Consider for example, the various dedications exclusively to gods such as *AGRW 84* and *104*. Such dedications, though, also have to do with the association's broader public image among humans. I am not arguing we should lose sight of this human element either, but rather that we should take

avenue of thought, but we must also consider how regular meetings, membership management, and resource management contribute to this goal as well. By keeping an eye on both these dimensions of the primary functions in our analytical framework, we will be well-positioned to provide a useful account and analysis of the three earliest Christian communities represented by First Corinthians, the Gospel of Matthew, and the *Didache*.

seriously that these associations were motivated at least in part by the maintenance of their relationship to the deity.

CHAPTER 3 FIRST CORINTHIANS

“Historically, the church at Corinth may never have been an actual unity before Paul wrote this letter, but it may have been a collection of disparate house churches from its very inception.”

Margaret Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: an Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of First Corinthians* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1991), 1n1.

“The existence of several house churches in one city goes far to explain the tendency to party strife in the apostolic age. Much has been written to show the deep doctrinal differences which divided one group from another in Corinth and other centers. We need not deny the importance of such factors. Nevertheless the proneness to division we mark in the apostolic churches was not unconnected with the division of Christians of a city into house churches... Such a physically divided church tended almost inevitably to become a mentally divided church.”

Floyd V. Filson, “The Significance of the Early House Churches,” *JBL* 58 (1939), 110.

“Was in Korinth sichtbar wird, ist dies: der schließlich erreichte Zustand des Nebeneinanders von Ortsgemeinde und Hausgemeinde bringt erste Schwierigkeiten mit sich... Eine Hausgemeinde konnte sich um eine dominierende Einzelpersonlichkeit scharen, ihr eigenes theologisches Profil entwickeln und sich ein bestimmtes Etikett geben, auf Kosten der Gesamtheit und in bewußtem Gegensatz zu anderen Gruppierungen.”

Hans-Josef Klauck, *Hausgemeinde und Hauskirche im frühen Christentum*, SBS (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1981), 39.

First Corinthians serves as a good first text for our model because many of its most critical issues have widespread scholarly agreement to provide us with a useful base from which to read the text and analyze its social functions. Further, the occasional nature of the letter and the epistolary genre in general both lend themselves to this type of work in a more immediate manner than a text like the Gospel of Matthew or the mysterious *Didache*. First Corinthians has an audience and an author. Both are identified in the letter itself. There are immediate issues at hand, some of which have to do with the functions we are examining. This does not mean, however, that this text does not come with its own pitfalls and a need to proceed clearly and honestly methodologically. It is, after all, a Pauline epistle, and therefore positions us in the center of a host of methodological debates from the outset.

A Methodological Note

I begin from a conviction that one must at least ask the question whether or not Paul was a consistent and uniform leader throughout his entire life and whether he provided uniform instruction to each and every one of the locales where he had influence. Beginning from such an uncertainty means that we cannot treat the Pauline evidence as pieces of a mosaic puzzle to be used to fill in gaps and to create one picture of Paul without some substantial methodological legwork. Rather, each locale and each

letter must be taken on its own terms and we must work with each as best we are able, noting where evidence is lacking or leaves holes, without employing other pieces of the Pauline corpus to fill in these gaps. For this reason, in this chapter we consider only First Corinthians as we turn to apply the four primary functions.

First Corinthians is the earliest extant evidence we have for the Jesus/Christ group in Corinth.¹ Any information from 2 Corinthians would need to be considered as a separate testimony and carefully considered on its own terms for how events may have progressed in the community itself and for how Paul's own views and/or communication may have shifted or changed. In the same way, information from the remaining Pauline letters must be considered first on their own terms in isolation

¹ What I mean by the term Jesus/Christ group is the group whom Paul addresses in the letter. It is difficult to establish a proper term here as Paul writes of various groups in 1 Cor 1:12. Various scholars have debated the existence or lack thereof concerning each of these four possible groups and a Christ party has been one of the possible groups based on the phrase ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ at the end of the verse. In an effort to avoid confusion with this term, therefore, I introduced the additional Jesus at the beginning so that we would be clear we are discussing the whole group to whom Paul addresses the letter and not some partition of the group in a theorized factional discussion. On the problem of this verse and the divisions in Corinth, see Gordon Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (rev. ed.; NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014) for a sustained argument that there are not actual factions in Corinth. Alternatively, Margaret Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: an Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of First Corinthians* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1991) argued that the rhetoric of the letter shows the need for a real reconciliation between divided groups. For another sustained reading of First Corinthians with divided groups, see Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: a Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGCT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000).

It was F.C. Baur's work *Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde* from 1831 that first introduced the term "Christ party" to this discussion. Baur's work considered the divisions along doctrinal lines. After Baur, others suggested the division to be something more like personality cults. Finally, Mitchell and others suggested that Paul's rhetoric has a political edge to it and a definite relation to the general public sphere.

before they can be compared and contrasted with the evidence of First Corinthians. Finally, the evidence from the book of Acts should be considered secondary at best and subjected to the primacy of Paul's own letters.² These latter three tasks, of 2 Corinthians, the other Pauline letters, and the evidence from Acts, are beyond the scope of this current project. For the argument of the dissertation, we limit ourselves to First Corinthians, and any mention of the other texts with respect to this main argument will be confined to the footnotes and arguments from the secondary literature. Of course, with respect to the kinds of critical questions that frame the text such as the date, provenance, and other background information, these other texts remain key considerations, but will not serve as overly determinative.

Critical Questions

Authorship

There is widespread consensus on the authorship, date, and provenance of First Corinthians.³ Paul serves as the major author, though a coworker, Sosthenes, joins him

² Although there are points upon which the evidence from Paul's letters and that of Acts converges, there are also significant points that show considerable contrast. See e.g. the discussion in Meeks, *Urban*, 26-32.

³ As Fee notes, "In general First Corinthians is remarkably free of the kinds of questions that fit under [the critical questions] rubric." Fee, *Epistle*, 16.

as others joined him in epistles such as 1 Thessalonians, in writing to the Corinthians from Ephesus sometime between 53-55 CE. The letter was penned in response both to some concerns reported to Paul and to some questions the Corinthians asked Paul. Though some have questioned the integrity of the letter, I stand with Margaret Mitchell in affirming the text as a single letter.⁴

The text opens with a greeting from Paul and his coauthor Sosthenes. The only other mention of any Sosthenes in the New Testament is Acts 18:17, where we hear of a Sosthenes the ἀρχισυνάγωγος who was beaten in Corinth during a conflict between the Jewish community and Paul's mission there. The Acts text is unclear on whether this Sosthenes is associated with Paul at the time, but he could have become later associated with Paul.⁵ In either case, as a figure, Sosthenes does not receive another mention in this letter or any other Pauline letter. As to Paul's own authorship of First Corinthians, even F.C. Baur, who would only account four of the canonical epistles as genuine, did not doubt the authenticity of First Corinthians and, though some have excerpted portions of the letter as later interpolations, the scholarly consensus has long held that Paul's authorship is genuine.⁶

⁴ See Margaret Mitchell, *Rhetoric*, 1, where the thesis is first announced.

⁵ So Fee, *Epistle*, 27 suggests.

Date

The dating of the letter depends on when Paul's ministry in Corinth was, as he must have written it after he had already spent time there (1 Cor 1:14-16, 15:1). Paul himself provides little clue in the letter itself as to when his ministry took place or any of the events during his time in Corinth. The account in Acts 18, therefore, usually serves to anchor the dating of Paul's ministry in Corinth.⁷ Because Acts 18 provides the all important information of the Roman official, Gallio, Paul's initial time in Corinth can be reasonably dated to either 50-51 or 51-52 CE.⁸ After Paul left Corinth, he went to

⁶ See F.C. Baur, *Paul, The Apostle of Jesus Christ : His Life and Work, His Epistles and His Doctrine*, trans. Eduard Zeller, vol 1 of 3, 2nd ed., rev. Rev. A. Menzies, (London: Williams and Norgate, 1876), 245-46: "The foregoing inquiry shows what a false picture of the personality of the Apostle Paul we should form if the Acts of the Apostles were the only source we had to draw from. The Epistles of the Apostle are thus the only authentic documents for the history of his apostolic labours... Yet on this ground also we find that double of the Apostle making his appearance at his side, who in the Acts completely supplanted him. That all these thirteen Pauline Epistles, which Christian antiquity unanimously recognised, and handed down as the Epistles of the Apostle, cannot make equal claim to authenticity, and that several of them labour under an overwhelming suspicion of unauthenticity, is a result of recent criticism, which is steadily making its way to general acceptance... there can only be reckoned the four great Epistles of the Apostle, which take precedence of the rest in every respect, namely, the Epistle to the Galatians, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Romans. There has never been the slightest suspicion of unauthenticity cast on these four Epistles, and they bear so incontestably the character of Pauline originality that there is no conceivable ground for the assertion of critical doubts in their case."

⁷ Baur exemplifies a kind of skepticism (see n 6 above) that is less common in the most recent scholarship and commentaries on First Corinthians with many willing to accept the Acts data of Gallio's consulship in Corinth while Paul was present there. See e.g. Thiselton, , 29-32; Fee, *Epistle*, 16; Joseph Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New Haven: Yale, 2008), 48, dates it to the end of 56 CE, a little later than the previous two, but still a date anchored by the consulship of Gallio.

Ephesus, where, according to Acts, he spent about three years. While he was in Ephesus (1 Cor 16:8), some visitors from Corinth brought him news (1 Cor 1:11 and 5:1) and possibly these visitors or perhaps other visitors brought a letter and some inquiries Paul answered in First Corinthians (1 Cor 7:1).

The Compositional Integrity of First Corinthians⁹

Throughout the twentieth century scholars debated the compositional integrity of First Corinthians. Though we only have two letters from Paul to the Corinthians, within those two letters lie references to an additional two letters. This has spurred scholars to consider whether the missing letters may actually be hidden within what we already have. Further, they took note that First and Second Corinthians are both generally much longer than letters in the ancient Mediterranean world and than our other Pauline letters (besides Romans). Thus, some would partition the letter into multiple pieces of correspondence while others defended the unity of the text. Challenges to the compositional integrity arose from three main types of concerns: topical, stylistic, and theological. Defenses of the unity and integrity of the letter have been based in

⁸ Dio Cassius, *History*, 57.14.5 indicates that Roman officials during the reign of Tiberius had begun to linger in office and so Tiberius declared that officials should vacate their offices and successors should take office by June 1.

⁹ For a more detailed recent example of a survey of this history, see the unpublished dissertation by Edward Dixon: Edward P. Dixon, "Forming the Mind of Christ: The Protreptic Unity of First Corinthians 8:1-11:1," (PhD diss., Emory University, 2013), 3-29.

historical reconstruction, socio-historical study, and rhetorical analysis. Though it would be an overstatement to claim consensus on the matter, these defenses have at least settled the matter to what we could call a stalemate where most acknowledge the arguments of the other side before stating the author's own position and moving forward from that basis.¹⁰

Johannes Weiss's Partition Theory

Johannes Weiss posited two letters preserved in First Corinthians before revising his theory into a three letter partition.¹¹ Weiss's concerns arose from all three arenas. For example, topically, he thought that the arrangement and flow of First Corinthians did not entirely work in its present form. He thought the present state of First Corinthians betrays a hand that wove together disparate letters around common themes and topics, despite the fact that the actual reasoning and logic around those themes and topics were disparate. So, for Weiss, the logic around fornication in 1 Cor 6:12-20 flows parallel to the logic on idolatry in 1 Cor 10:1-23, but rather than the two being together, they

¹⁰ See e.g. Gordon Fee, *Epistle*, 16; Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 49-51; Thiselton, *Epistle*, 36-41.

¹¹ See Johannes Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, 2nd rev. ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910), esp. xl-xliii and Johannes Weiss, *Earliest Christianity*, 2 vols., trans. Frederick C. Grant (New York: Harper, 1959), esp. 1:323-41. According to Fitzmyer, the first published proposal that First Corinthians in fact preserved more than one letter was H. Hagge, "Die beiden überlieferten Sendchreiben des Apostels Paulus an die Gemeinde zu Korinth" *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* 2 (1876): 481-531. See Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 49.

are arranged to be with similar topics despite the fact that theologically, this topical arrangement puts them in contradictory stances (e.g. 1 Cor 8 vs. 1 Cor 10). On the stylistic front, Weiss thought Paul's tone and mood in the current state of First Corinthians to be eclectic and therefore unexplainable. First Corinthians 11 begins with a note of commendation/praise, something inexplicable to Weiss after 10 chapters of occasionally severe reproof and so a sign that this section should be removed as part of the first letter. Finally, theologically he found certain elements of First Corinthians to be disturbing for it seemed to him that at times Paul's thought reflected a particular Jewishness that could only be attributed to a relatively early time in the apostle's career.¹² Thus, those sections of the letter must be tied to the earliest "lost" letter Paul had sent the Corinthians (referenced in 1 Cor 5:9). Many scholars followed these

¹² Weiss, *Earliest Christianity*, 1: 326 "Here [1 Cor 10:21] Paul comes very close to the standpoint of the Jewish dread of demons... Does not this sound like an echo of Jewish or Jewish Christian remonstrances? And does not Paul here abandon that liberal attitude and that confident certainty of salvation which at other times he maintained? Has he not here fallen back into that scrupulousness which elsewhere he has to call a 'defect' in believers (Rom. 14:1); but is not he himself here weak in faith? We cannot get rid of the idea that Paul at this point allowed a greater weight to Jewish and Jewish Christian scruples than he felt granting at other times... Thus... the section 1 Cor. 10:1-23 was written at a time when Paul was still firmly convinced that the reins of discipleship must be drawn tighter in order to meet the criticism of the Jewish Christians... and anyone who considers First Corinthians a unity must assume that [Paul] wavered in his judgment from chapter to chapter, for in chapter 8 and in 10:24-11:1, his outlook is fundamentally different."

arguments with some variations and/or corrections,¹³ though, as scholars are wont to do, others have rejected his proposals entirely in lieu of their own.¹⁴

The attack on the compositional integrity of First Corinthians sparked a need to look again at Paul's writing for ways to understand what others could not reconcile as a single letter. Thus arose various ways of understanding the letter and addressing the concerns Weiss and others brought to light. Historical study continues in many ways to form the backbone of much biblical scholarship, but here I mean particularly the attempt to reconstruct an historical scenario that would account for a single letter in the current format of First Corinthians. Gordon Fee's commentary serves as an excellent example of this mode of defending the compositional integrity of our text.¹⁵ Fee argued that Paul did not actually face an historical context of a divided Corinthian

¹³ e.g. Walter Schmithals, "Der Korintherbriefe als Briefsammlung," ZNW 64 (1973), 263-88. Schmithals develops Weiss's earlier theory into a proposal where First Corinthians is divided into nine distinct letters.

¹⁴ e.g. Jean Héring, *The First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, trans. Heathcote and Allcock (London: Epworth Press, 1962).

¹⁵ Fee, *Epistle*. John C. Hurd, *The Origin of First Corinthians* (London: SPCK, 1965) influenced Fee in his claims as Hurd put forward a fully sustained argument of an historical reconstruction for the background of First Corinthians as a unified letter.

An additional example of the kind of historical reconstruction defense would be Clarence E. Glad, *Paul and Philodemus: Adaptability in Epicurean and Early Christian Psychagogy* (Leiden: Brill, 1995). Glad proposes the analog of the Epicurean philosophical school as a reconstructive context for understanding the scenario behind First Corinthians and explaining why Paul's writing may seem to be varied and confused on some topics.

community, but that he used the convention of division as a stand-in to move the Corinthians towards resolution with respect to the real divide: that between them and himself. This historical lens allowed Fee to read sections such as 1 Cor 8-10 not as a series of topically related logical inconsistencies as Weiss would have it, but rather as a single statement addressing a single problem.¹⁶ This is the case because Paul does not address an ongoing conflicted community of weak vs. strong in Corinth arguing over whether or not they are able to eat idol food, but a community of people in which some people are actually eating food at ancient Mediterranean temples and festivals. For Paul, that means they are committing idolatry and, for Fee, that means there is no inconsistency between 1 Cor 8 and 1 Cor 10.

Gerd Theissen's Sociological Explanation

In a further step of this historical reconstruction process, Gerd Theissen proposed a particular understanding of the letter using sociological models to better understand the social dynamics at play in the historical situation.¹⁷ Theissen's Corinth was home to a severe socio-economic divide and the Pauline Christianity represented in First Corinthians exhibited that divide well. Thus, many of the problems Paul sought to

¹⁶ On this section, see esp. Fee, *Epistle*, 394-541.

¹⁷ Gerd Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth* by Gerd Theissen, ed. and trans. John H. Schütz (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982).

redress in his letter could be understood if they were properly placed within this social matrix. So, Paul's stylistic schizophrenia, for example, had to do not with the weaving together of multiple letters, but with the collision of vastly different socio-economic worlds in one community hearing one letter from Paul. In essence there were two tones because there were two audiences.

Margaret Mitchell's Rhetorical Analysis

Finally, Margaret Mitchell used rhetorical analysis to defend the compositional integrity of First Corinthians by arguing that Paul used deliberative rhetoric throughout the letter to move an actually divided association of Corinthian groups (against e.g. Fee) to a decision to become one united community. Mitchell's careful grammatical work addressed stylistic concerns such as the repeated use of *περὶ δέ* (some had argued this formula introduced new topics in a way that betrayed seams from the combination process), showing that the formula itself is a mainstay in deliberative rhetoric. As another example, Mitchell argues that Paul was not reverting to some Jewish form of Christianity or old habit in 1 Cor 10:21, but rather that as a rhetorician he was addressing very carefully each faction in turn and moving them all towards the goal of unity. For Mitchell, First Corinthians is political speech because it is deliberative rhetoric. Thus it functions according to specific patterns and rules. These

rules and patterns can help us understand the types of problems Weiss and others identified with the text that led them to propose dissecting it. Therefore we do not need to dissect the letter.

I do not propose here to solve the problem of the compositional integrity of the letter, much less to have even provided a thorough overview of the history of the problem. Rather, the goal has been to be representative of the general issues at play so that we may move forward with some degree of confidence among colleagues such as Fee, Theissen, and Mitchell in considering the text as it now stands to have compositional integrity.¹⁸

The Communities of Corinth

The community at Corinth was not really one community and this in itself causes some of the problems Paul seeks to address in First Corinthians. We see an example of this in Rom 16:1 when Paul lists Phoebe as a deacon for the ἐκκλησία in Cenchreae, the Eastern

¹⁸ This position is also shared by Fitzmyer and Thistleton in their above referenced commentaries. In fact the most recent proposal to divide the text came from Martinus C. De Boer in a rather modest revision whereby the letter was written in stages, but still in response to generally the same circumstances. See Martinus C. De Boer, "The Composition of First Corinthians" *NTS* 40 (1994): 229-45. It would be of interest to know if Robert Jewett stands by his proposed six letter division from his 1978 article, since so few among North American scholars today support a division. See Robert Jewett, "The Redaction of First Corinthians and the Trajectory of the Pauline School" *JAAR Sup.* 46 (1978): 398-444.

seaport of Corinth.¹⁹ Strabo tells us that Cenchreae was about 70 stadia from Corinth, which is a little over 8 miles. Thus, though Cenchreae had its own identity as village, it was not really independent of Corinth's urban sphere. If there was another congregation so close at hand, why would we not expect multiple congregations within Corinth in general?

On the ground, then, there are multiple groups of people meeting in various locations around a large metropolitan area.²⁰ Each of these groups has its own dynamics at play and then the groups also have dynamics at play between them.²¹ Further, we can

¹⁹ James D.G. Dunn and Arland J. Hultgren both argue for Phoebe as hosting the congregation in her home based on the title Paul gives her of προστάτις. See James D.G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, WBC 38B (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1988), 888, and Arland J. Hultgren, *Paul's Letter to the Romans: A commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 571-72.

²⁰ With Margaret Mitchell, Hans-Josef Klauck, and Floyd V. Filson. See e.g. Margaret Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: an Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of First Corinthians* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1991), 1 n1, 75 n62, Klauck, *Hausgemeinde*; Filson, "House Churches".

Fitzmyer is not very interested in the question, never addressing it directly in his commentary, but rather regularly employing the singular, perhaps in imitation of the Pauline greeting from the letter itself, when he discusses the "church" or "community" at Corinth. He suggests as an aside that Chloe may have supervised a house church and does admit that 1:16 could be translated "house church" but maintains "household" as far more likely. See Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, esp. 141-42 and 147.

Fee's general thesis rests on Corinthian division being minimal and so he tends to speak even more clearly of one community, one church. Chloe is a wealthy Asian with business contacts in Corinth and Stephanas is a leader in a single church. He emphasizes in 1 Cor 11:18 the phrase ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ as a singular, though he does not explicitly postulate that everyone gathers in a single place together. So, in some ways he leaves the matter similarly to Fitzmyer, not directly addressed. See Fee, *Epistle*, esp. 5-16, 51-68, 587-603, 919-927.

²¹ For now, I eschew the familiar language of "house church" because though Paul does mention the οἶκος Στεφᾶνᾶ both at the beginning and end of the letter, for example, and so as Meeks (*The First Urban Christians*) and others have well shown there is reason to think that there were groups who did

imagine that there may be interplay between whether some people attend one group at one time and then go to another one of the groups at another time. Such a complicated situation would easily arise in a city as large as Corinth and would entail many necessary functions and strategies for community life. We can see how this could complicate a situation and lead to some varied thoughts on important matters such as those that arise in First Corinthians, but it would also lead to some important social realities that we must address to be able to move forward and use our social framework to analyze this text.

With multiple groups in view, which one or ones do we mean when we look at Paul's letter and begin to read it for information about the Corinthian Jesus group? With varied views and practices ongoing, some of which Paul himself may be unaware, will we even be able to establish a workable analysis of this text? Finally, what may we judiciously say about these groups that holds for a majority of them if not all of them?

First, let us be clear that we must walk a careful line in this analysis as we cannot with certainty say what the groups would look like prior to Paul's letter. Our

meet in the homes of wealthier individuals in Corinth, we should not be misled into thinking that all the groups would only have met in such homes. Perhaps the language of Meeks has become too familiar so that the current commentaries say without pause "house church" as do many essays. See e.g. Margaret M. Mitchell, "The Birth of Pauline Hermeneutics," in *Paul and the Corinthians*, eds. Trevor J. Burke and J. Keith Elliott (Leuven: Brill, 2003), 17 and Stephen C. Barton, "Paul's Sense of Place: an Anthropological Approach to Community Formation in Corinth," *NTS* 32 (1986): 225-246.

aim, then, is to describe what Paul hopes to address and what would result from following the instructions Paul gives. We would be unable to actually say with certainty what each of these various groups looked like because we lack the evidence, but we can say what picture would result from Paul's instructions in this letter. Further, the advantage of the functional model is that it was built from representative evidence of a wide survey of ancient Mediterranean groups and so will capture the categories of primary functions each of these various groups would display as ancient Mediterranean associations. Paul speaks to them all on the same level because they would all be able to comprehend what he was writing and practice it. For this reason, we can look at them all and analyze them all similarly, with the understanding that there probably was some variation and disagreement on the specifics of how to go about the exact performance and maintenance of communal life and day to day tasks. Since Paul aimed to unify these various groups,²² the results of our analysis when applied to this text will inevitably yield a unity of results. Finally, since the focus of 2 Corinthians has moved from this unifying agenda to a different type of reconciliation between Paul and a single community, in some sense Paul's own aim in First Corinthians succeeded. Thus, either one community did result or Paul had completely given up on that agenda. The latter seems unlikely given the character of the overall Pauline correspondence and so

²² See Mitchell, *Rhetoric*, 1: "1 Corinthians is throughout an argument for ecclesial unity..."

it is reasonable to consider that Paul had succeeded in his aim to bring some amount of unity to the Corinthian believers, especially considering his specific celebration of their obedience to his particular instruction in 1 Cor 6 (2 Cor 2:5-11).

Thus, we may move confidently into an analysis of First Corinthians using the functional model from chapter 2.

Applying the Four Functions

Regular Meetings

On the one hand, out of all four functions, First Corinthians most clearly attests the fact that the groups in Corinth met regularly, but on the other hand, the exact nature of these meetings remains elusive. Gordon Fee states, “Given [Paul’s overarching concern with the church], therefore, it is of some interest that there is no teaching on church order as such... Moreover, there is no hint as to the nature, times, and leadership of their gatherings for worship.”²³ Fee is overly pessimistic in his estimation of the evidence. A casual reading of First Corinthians may not provide easy answers to all of the questions he lists, but when we finish an initial reading, we know that these people gathered often. We also at least know that they gathered once a week on Sunday (1 Cor

²³ Fee, *First Epistle*, 20.

16:2).²⁴ Where they gathered and who was present (i.e. how many people in each gathering and whether this number shifted) is difficult to ascertain, though. We finish the letter knowing that some gatherings entailed eating while some gatherings entailed speech and hymns, but were these stages of the same gathering or different gatherings altogether? The letter does not explicitly answer these questions, but does provide us with indirect evidence that assists us in answering them.

The Meal

Paul indicates the regularity of the Corinthian group gatherings as he attempts to correct the problems he sees in those gatherings. He uses the word *συνέρχομαι* seven times (1 Cor 11:17, 18, 20, 33, 34, 14:23, 26)²⁵ and *συνάγω* once (1 Cor 5:4).²⁶ First Corinthians 11 concerns the meal that the Corinthian groups shared while First Corinthians 14 concerns gatherings where different types of spiritual gifts were

²⁴ For this discussion, see below on “Meeting Day and Frequency.”

²⁵ So Carl Holladay, *The First Letter of Paul to the Corinthians*, The Living Word Commentary (Austin, Texas: Sweet Publishing Company, 1979, 138 on 1 Cor 11: “To this point in the epistle, the meetings of the Corinthian church have not been addressed, at least not directly (cf. 1 Cor. 5:4; 10:14ff., esp. vs. 21). To be sure, their corporate behavior has been addressed, but the primary focus has been their responsibility to each other... With chapter 11, the focus shifts.”

²⁶ So Fee, *Epistle*, 594: “The verb “gather together,” repeated five times in the two “A” sections (vv. 17-22 and 33-34), is one of the key words that holds it all together. Given its similar usage later in the letter (14:23 and 26), it had probably become a semi technical term for the “gathering together” of the people of God for worship.”

enacted and on display. In ch 11 Paul expresses displeasure over the inequities of the meal itself and the spirit in which the meal was happening while he instructs the Corinthians as to the true purpose of the meal. In ch 14 Paul instructs the Corinthians on the true purpose of the gifts and how they both should understand and exercise those gifts.

Paul's discussion of the meal indicates it as a substantive meal both because he can berate some of his hearers for their excesses in eating and drinking (v 21)²⁷ and also because we would expect the community to gather for a real meal based on the social context of the ancient Mediterranean world.²⁸

As we saw above in ch 2, a regular activity of ancient Mediterranean association meetings was a meal. These meals were for the benefits of social intercourse and fellowship so we would expect the same benefits here. Further, we are reminded by Ramsay MacMullen that there are both horizontal elements of fellowship among the

²⁷ So Conzelmann can assert, "It is plain that we have here not merely a sacramental proceeding, but real meal." Hans Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, Hermeneia, trans. James W. Leitch (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 195.

²⁸ Even if Paul's statement in 1 Cor 11:21 is an exaggeration, the point remains that the exaggeration only becomes understandable in the context of a meal. Fee, *Epistle*, 601 argues that it is exaggeration and meant along with the other statement of one going hungry to cover two extremes and both parts of the meal. However, Holladay, *Corinthians*, 148, after noting the contrasting nature of the two extreme statements here, sees "no reason not to take both of them literally especially in view of earlier references (cf. 5:11; 6:10)."

human membership and vertical elements of fellowship between the human membership and the deity at play in this type of a meal setting.²⁹ Paul displays his concern for the horizontal element of human fellowship when he critiques the threat to the collective values of the group that the individual practices pose.³⁰ The vertical element with the deity is on display in Paul's discussion of the consequences of eating and drinking in connection with a broader cultic context in 1 Cor 10:14-22.³¹ So, one type of gathering involved this type of ritual meal for human social intercourse and fellowship with the deity.

Excursus 1: First Corinthians 10:14-22

First Corinthians 10:14-22 displays a distinctive part of Paul's perspective on the ritual meal because of the foils he uses in both Israel's sacrificial system and the broader ancient Mediterranean sacrificial systems. In general, many groups of early Christians, especially where Gentiles were present, discussed concerns with eating meat sacrificed to idols. Corinth was no different, and Paul spends significant portions of First Corinthians on the topic, namely, chs 8-10. Because this section of the letter (1 Cor 10:14-22) can be read as contrasting with statements Paul made in 1 Cor 8, it is one of

²⁹ MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, 57.

³⁰ For this reading, see below on John S. Kloppenborg's recent interpretation of the passage.

³¹ See Excursus 1 on 1 Cor 10:14-22.

those instances that has led scholars to propose partition theories.³² However, when we understand the meals Paul is discussing as having not only horizontal fellowship aspects, but also vertical fellowship consequences,³³ we can begin to understand how he arrives at his conclusions in 10:14-22 and perhaps get a view into how he imagined this function of communal life taking shape.

Paul began this series of instructions in terms of knowledge, the nonexistence of idols, and the weak and the strong among them (ch 8). His initial phrasing in 1 Cor 8:1 indicates that this most recent episode of instruction is probably following up on some back and forth disagreement the apostle has had with his addressees over the course of their relationship.³⁴ In chapter 8, his conclusions focus on the consequences of another human witnessing someone eating food from a ritual meal or sacrifice in an ancient Mediterranean temple. Paul's conclusion is a personal statement that he could eat that meat, but he would not because of the consequences for the one seeing him. In chapter 9, he goes on to discuss in more detail the types of claims he could make in various arenas but has not on account of the addressees (9:1-2) and on account of the Gospel (9:23). Finally, chapter 10 opens with a scene from Exodus to return to the question of

³² On the partition theories, see above. For an example of partitioning 1 Cor 8-10, see O Lamar Cope, "First Corinthians 8-10: Continuity or Contradiction?" *ATHR* 11 (1990): 114-123. For arguments that reconcile the disjunction between 1 Cor 8 and 1 Cor 10, see e.g. Mitchell, *Rhetoric*, esp. 126ff. and Dixon, "Forming," and Joop F. M. Smit, "Do Not Be Idolaters: Paul's Rhetoric in First Corinthians 10:1-22," *NovTest* 39 (1997): 40-53.

³³ So e.g. Smit, "Idolaters", 42. Smit posits that 1 Cor 10: 1-22 deals exclusively with the "theological aspect" of the eating of ritual meals outside the Christian community, meaning "the effect it has on the relationship with God."

³⁴ So Fee, *Epistle*, 394-435. Note further Thistleton, *Epistle*, 616-658, who notes that though the Greek does not require that Paul is responding to a topic raised by the Corinthians' own missive to him, "here, it does serve as such a signal."

idolatry, but the topic is no longer exclusively the consequences of another human seeing someone eating the food. Rather, Paul draws out the consequences for the individual and the group of idolatry. The shift is present in the language (εἰδωλόθυτος in 8:1 vs. εἰδωλολάτρης in 10:7). Thus, Paul has drawn out some consequences in his arguments: eating in these meals leads to idolatry.³⁵

This is the case because in the ancient Mediterranean context meals of this variety were not simply social human gatherings.³⁶ The connections in these meals were both horizontal among humans and vertical in maintaining a relationship with a deity (or deities). For this reason, κοινωνία is a key concept and a key term in this passage³⁷ and we especially must ask what Paul intends when he instructs the Corinthians concerning their own κοινωνία with the body and blood of Christ (v 16).³⁸

Campbell outlines that κοινωνία could mean participation and/or association and that the genitive of thing, the case of both body and blood here, is regularly what is

³⁵ So Dixon, “Forming”, 222: “If the incarnation of Christ is the model of thought for contexts in which idol meat is *adiaphora*, participation in Christ’s body is the model of thought for questions of idolatry. Paul teaches them to discern the types of meals that are idolatrous on the basis of the body-forming practices of community meals.”

³⁶ See ch 2 again. Or, e.g. Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 8.54.1 “in sacrificing to this god [Sarapsis] alone, men keenly share a vivid feeling of oneness, while summoning him to their hearth and seating him at their head as guest and diner... [He is] the fulfilling participant in all cult associations, who ranks as leader of toasts (*symposiarch*) among them whenever they assemble.” Cited in MacMullen, *Paganism*, 38.

³⁷ J.Y. Campbell, “KOINΩNIA and its Cognates in the New Testament,” *JBL* 51 (1932): 352-80 remains a standard on this word in the literature.

³⁸ Fee concludes that the *koinonia* was the shared relationship between the believers and that the deity was present so that the human fellowship may worship the deity effectively. Thus, the *koinonia* was not something shared with the deity. So, he falls in the camp that would emphasize more the horizontal relationship between the human fellowship. See Fee, *Epistle*, esp. 514-15. Campbell, however, argues for a stronger relationship between the Lord and the gathered humans. He would place all on the same plane of *koinonia* in this passage. See Campbell, “KOINΩNIA,” esp. 376-78.

shared among those participating.³⁹ In this case, then, the Corinthians share the body and blood of Christ. Campbell also points out that this phrase is not balanced with the remainder of the argument as Paul moves through his two foils: Israel and the surrounding Gentile cultures.⁴⁰ For these two illustrations he uses the phrases *κοινωνοὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου* and *κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων*. The problems here are the shift from *κοινωνία* to *κοινωνός* and subsequently the shift from a genitive of thing, with the body and blood in v 16, as well as the altar (*θυσιαστηρίου*) in v 18, to a genitive of entity/person with the demons (*δαιμονίων*).⁴¹ Paul uses the imagery of Israel, however, to make the movement from one context without sacrifice or an altar to a context with sacrifice and an altar. So he moves his addressees through an intermediate term that shares something with each of the first and final terms, much like grammatically it shares something with each of the first and final terms. Paul draws on the heritage of Israel in his exposition of the Gospel to explain this: Israel's altar and the Exodus account. Israel had an altar and sacrifices, something which the ritual meal in the Corinthian Jesus groups' regular meetings did not have. Since their new experience did not entail sacrifices, as Paul's own writing in ch 8 exposes, they could very easily begin to rise above such mundane matters of this world (8:4-8). By transitioning them through the heritage of Israel, Paul reconnects them to something about their own previous experiences as well and transitions them into the reality of their participation in ritual meals where the food came from a cultic setting in the ancient Mediterranean

³⁹ Campbell, "KOINONIA," 356-58, 375.

⁴⁰ Campbell, "KOINONIA," 375-77.

⁴¹ Unless we were to somehow argue that the demons were the thing in which the addressees were participating. An improbable argument to be sure, but not impossible. It's improbability means we will not pursue it here, however.

world: it has real consequences. By virtue of the fact that their own meals have consequences and Israel's meals had consequences, so too these meals have consequences. Such eating means that they become κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων, companions/fellows of demons. The real threat here is not necessarily the demons, but the fact that they would willingly offer themselves to someone other than to Christ and so Paul concludes not with a warning about the destructive power of demons, but with a warning about the power of the Christ.⁴²

The threat in 1 Cor 10:14-22 becomes clear when we understand that the ritual meal has real consequences in Paul's teaching for the relationship between the individuals and the community and the deity. The proper maintenance of that relationship requires the proper setting and maintaining of boundaries and the proper performance of the ritual meal.

The Prevailing Socio-Economic Interpretation of First Corinthians 11

Paul terms this meal the Lord's Supper (κυριακὸν δεῖπνον) when he critiques the Corinthians in their own practices (1 Cor 11:20), a fitting term given the element of fellowship between the deity and the community, as well as the distinctive social intercourse that this particular meal allows the community to share.⁴³ Why exactly Paul

⁴² Note Fee, *Epistle*, 521: v 21 is the strongest prohibitive language where Paul expresses his prohibition on the mixing of the two participations.

⁴³ So, a stronger claim than e.g. Thistleton who says Paul is using the language of κυριακὸς δεῖπνον to reorient the Corinthians away from thinking it is their own supper and toward understanding it as something more. See Thistleton, *Epistle*, 757, 864.

says they practice their own suppers and not the Lord's supper has been a settled matter in recent scholarship. Most have considered it disparities in what various individuals have to eat and drink, a case made forcefully by Gerd Theissen.⁴⁴ Theissen argued, based on the ancient Mediterranean social context, that the issue in Corinth was one of the wealthy few who provided the meal not providing the same quality of food for all or the same quantities of food for all. A wealthy individual or a wealthy few supplied the majority of the meal for the entire community and therefore could exercise control over its distribution and the practices surrounding the meal such as when people received their food and where they sat. These wealthy providers of the community allowed the practices and standards of their own social context to determine how they acted in their new community context, but Paul would not abide such practices because they often worked according to social norms that would keep people divided based on their social and economic standing. Thus, Paul wrote to correct these practices and break down some of these divisions.⁴⁵ An alternative picture was a

⁴⁴ Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity*. Most of the recent commentators follow Theissen's basic outline, even if they disagree on some of the fine points of the argument. See e.g. Thistleton, *Epistle*, 860-71; Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 426-32; Fee, *Epistle*, 587-617. The shift provoked by Theissen's work can be seen by comparing these commentators' work to Conzelmann's work. See Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, 192ff. where the social conditions are not under examination or discussion, but rather the major concerns are doctrinal concerns over the sacramental understanding of what the Lord's Supper was understood or believed to be by the Corinthians.

⁴⁵ Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity*, esp. 147-74.

potluck. Everyone brought their own food and the disparity came in the type of food that people were able to afford and contribute. In this picture, the wealthy would reserve the better food that they brought for themselves and their peers.⁴⁶ In both of these theories, the wealthier individuals would eat before the poor had a chance to arrive and so there also would not be enough food for the poor by the time they arrived. This disparity in arrival time was due to work schedules. Thus, the picture that emerged from both theories and stands in scholarship today is one where socioeconomic concerns dominate the meal portion of the regular meeting.

John S. Kloppenborg's Challenge to the Established Interpretation

John S. Kloppenborg recently challenged this established vision of the Corinthian meal.⁴⁷ Kloppenborg argues that there is no evidence in First Corinthians for either a peer benefaction model (where one or a few wealthy persons provided the meal on a regular basis) or an eranic model (where the group members brought food and together contributed to make the meal). Based on the evidence from ancient

⁴⁶ Johannes Weiss first proposed this interpretation. See Weiss, *Erste Korintherbrief*. Recently, Hans-Josef Klauck and Peter Lampe have advocated the model. See Hans-Josef Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Ersten Korintherbrief*, 2nd ed., NTAbh 15 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1986) and Peter Lampe, "The Eucharist: Identifying with Christ on the Cross," *Int* 48 1 (1994): 36-49. Joseph Fitzmyer also endorsed this solution. See Fitzmyer, *Epistle*, 426-48.

⁴⁷ John S. Kloppenborg, "Precedence at the Communal Meal in Corinth," *NovTest* 58 (2016): 167-203.

Mediterranean associations, he shows that the peer benefaction model was an occasional practice and not the regular manner of financing banquets while the eranic practice is not commonly attested in the epigraphic or literary evidence.⁴⁸ Kloppenborg concludes that in order to hold on to the peer benefaction model, we would have to imagine the Corinthians to be extraordinarily well endowed and well connected while to hold on to the eranic model we would have to imagine them to be virtually unique among the other attested associations. Thus, Kloppenborg proposes that the meal was provisioned similarly to any other association: either regular dues paid for it, various leadership roles had particular liturgies associated with those who provisioned the meal, or some combination of these two practices existed.

The challenge of Kloppenborg's proposal, which he admits, is that First Corinthians does not witness to either the regular dues model or a rotating leadership structure that entailed liturgies. However, he also cautions that Paul's letters are hardly the type of media where we would expect such evidence.⁴⁹ Regular dues are a likely model and Kloppenborg's argument that honor rather than money was the true

⁴⁸ Kloppenborg, "Precedence," 171-84.

⁴⁹ "There is no direct evidence from Pauline letters as to the existence of rotating liturgies or monthly contributions, although it must be pointed out that Paul's letters are not the kind of media in which one would expect such practices to be mentioned unless there were abuses." Kloppenborg, "Precedence," 189.

currency of the ancient Mediterranean makes it clear that even if the more traditional assumption of the relatively low-income status of early Christians is true, dues would still be a workable model for these groups.⁵⁰ The more questionable component, then, is the rotating offices with accompanying liturgies. Unless these offices truly had no other duty besides the liturgies, we would expect them to be mentioned in the Pauline letters at some point. If Kloppenborg is correct in his final evaluation of 1 Cor 11, then the problem is the threat to collective values from individual preferences running amok. This reading does comport with the rest of the letter, but what we miss is the argument Paul could make from the rotating “flat hierarchy” (as Kloppenborg calls it) of positions with their liturgies. Further, with these rotating offices in view, we lack an explanation for Paul’s instruction in 1 Cor 16:15-16. In these verses, he calls upon his audience to submit to the authority of Stephanas’s household. If offices rotated, rather than drawing on their status as the first fruits of Asia and to a record of service, we would expect an argument from the office here, especially if part of the collective values of honor would come from rotating through these offices. Therefore, regular dues remains the most likely mechanism for funding the meal and we would expect a treasurer of some sort to manage this process.

⁵⁰ Kloppenborg, “Precedence,” 189-93.

The Location of the Meal

These meals would also require a location with dining spaces, as well as the food and beverage resources for the attendees to eat. We will explore some of this resource management further below, but here, the physical location may help us consider whether or not the other type of activities were part and parcel of the same meeting as the ritual meal. The question of the meal's host connects to the question of location, as often homes of wealthier individuals have been proposed as the location for these meals in Corinth and so the homeowners have been assumed as the hosts of the meals. This would be natural in the ancient Mediterranean context, but it is unnatural in the context of an association, where hosting duties would fall either to an official of the association or would be assigned based on a rotation schedule.⁵¹

The physical location of the meal has often been treated as a settled issue in scholarship, but recently David G. Horrell has pointed out shortcomings of the standard position. Much of the settled picture relies on Jerome Murphy O'Connor's work using the excavations of Corinth.⁵² Murphy O'Connor based his reconstruction on the

⁵¹ See chapter 2 above.

⁵² Jerome Murphy O'Connor, *St. Paul's Corinth*, 3rd ed., rev. and exp. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2002).

Anaploga Villa and S.G. Miller's study of it.⁵³ Murphy-O'Connor has updated and revised his work since its original publication in 1983, but Horrell still critiques the fragility of the arguments and the shortcomings of basing the entire argument on this one villa.⁵⁴ Murphy-O'Connor built on Theissen's socio-economic basis around the meal to flesh out a full portrait using the archaeology of the villa to illustrate how the wealthy would host their peers in the smaller room, which Murphy-O'Connor labeled as a dining room. Then, he argued that the larger atrium served as a spillover space where the other members of the community would remain outside the dining room to receive what Theissen calls the "more common food."⁵⁵ Murphy-O'Connor's reconstruction is based on an assumption of the wealthy as hosts of the community, so the villa is the proper context because it is a wealthy patron's home. In this way, he makes sense of the socio-economic problems that Theissen raised around the meal and the meeting in the context of this building.

Horrell critiques Murphy-O'Connor, however, insisting that he reads much of this evidence into the archaeology itself and overstates the case. For example, we lack

⁵³ S.G. Miller, "A Mosaic Floor from a Roman Villa at Anaploga," *Hesperia* 41 (1972): 332-54.

⁵⁴ David G. Horrell, "Domestic Space and Christian Meetings at Corinth: Imagining New Contexts and the Buildings East of the Theatre," *NTS* 50 (2004): 349-69.

⁵⁵ Murphy-O'Connor, *Corinth*, esp. 178-85. Note that this also allowed Murphy-O'Connor to fit all of the community into one building.

definitive evidence for the main room as a dining room, and it is even an open question now whether this building, which was once thought to be definitively from the time of Paul, may even be as old as Paul. The Villa itself is outside the city walls, and Horrell claims it is more likely a farm house than simply a residential domestic space. Finally, regardless of how it is analyzed, Horrell concludes that this building is far from the typical domestic space.⁵⁶ Horrell then proposes an alternative possibility, which he admits is also imaginative, but one that he argues would be as likely, if not more likely, than the villa.⁵⁷ He proposes buildings in the theatre district as the likely location of the Christian meal meetings. These buildings were artisan shops and, Horrell argues based on analogy with other similar buildings in Corinth and throughout the region, had upper rooms for living quarters.⁵⁸ It is in these upper living quarters where the

⁵⁶ Horrell, "Domestic Space," 353-59.

⁵⁷ We must note that part of what motivates Horrell's argument is what he calls a "new consensus" around the Corinthian community's socio-economic status. Where Murphy-O'Connor envisions wealthy patrons hosting the community that contains some of their peers, Horrell imagines fewer wealthy individuals in the congregation. See Horrell, "Domestic Space," 360.

⁵⁸ Horrell cites the buildings in the North Market District of Corinth, which Murphy-O'Connor estimates could hold 10-15 for a meeting. See *ibid.*, 361. By analogy, he cites Ellis's *Roman Housing*, 78-80 for proof that artisan shops had upper residential quarters and the excavations analyzed in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill, eds., *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond*, JRSup 22 (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997) and I.M. Barton, ed., *Roman Domestic Buildings* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1996). Finally, he bases his argument on the excavation reports and the analysis of the buildings east of the theater that had large ovens and evidence indicating commercial cooking. He cites C. K. Williams and O. H. Zervos, "Corinth, 1987: South of the Temple E and East of the Theater," *Hesperia*

community would have met for the meal.⁵⁹ Horrell suggests that artisans like Prisca and Aquila could have hosted meetings in their homes/shops. He notes that Murphy-O'Connor's assumed number for reconstruction, fifty, would have been quite crowded, but not impossible for these rooms.⁶⁰ The challenge, of course, is that Murphy-O'Connor's reconstruction made good sense of the literary problem (and the scholarly consensus around it) in 1 Cor 11 while Horrell struggles to provide an equally convincing scenario based on the buildings in the theatre district.⁶¹ Thus, let us take the next step in an attempt to push the argument further.

57 (1988): 95-146 and C. K. Williams and O. H. Zervos, "Corinth 1985: East of the Theater," *Hesperia* 55 (1986): 129-75.

⁵⁹ Horrell, "Domestic Space," 361-368. This area of the excavations did not happen until the later 1980's, after Murphy-O'Connor's first publication.

⁶⁰ Horrell, "Domestic Space," 367-368. Murphy-O'Connor derives his number from the number of named individuals in the epistle and their spouses. See Murphy-O'Connor, *Corinth*, 178. Horrell uses Carolyn Osiek's and David Balch's method of estimating how many people can fit in a space. See Carolyn Osiek and David Balch, *Families in the New Testament World* (Louisville, KY: WJK, 1997), 201. See also Horrell, "Domestic Space," 368 n84.

⁶¹ It is baffling that Horrell seems to find his own inability to provide an explanation for the problems of 1 Cor 11 as a merit and Murphy-O'Connor's clear solution as somehow a flaw in his work. Horrell writes,

"Knowing virtually nothing about the shape or size of the rooms makes it impossible to posit an architectural explanation for the *σχίσματα* that arose in the Christian meetings at Corinth, in contrast to Murphy-O'Connor's attractively neat hypothesis based on the nine available places in the triclinium. But just as Allison warns us against unwarranted assumptions and oversimplifications that create the impression that we are more well informed than we are about Roman domestic life, so too, as Meggitt has recently argued, NT scholars may need to learn to infer less from certain sources, to abandon detailed yet ultimately implausible reconstructions, and to acknowledge how little we know about so many aspects of ancient life, particularly for the non-elite. There are, as we have seen, a good many reasons to doubt the

Much of Murphy-O'Connor's reconstruction envisions one community meeting in one location and even Horrell's argument does not break out of this mode, for he takes pains to show that his reconstruction would fit the proposed 50-member community.⁶² If we consider that the Corinthians may have been a federation of groups that Paul wanted to be one community, though, and that they were meeting in multiple locations, Horrell's critiques of Murphy-O'Connor's work make it clear that we neither have to rely on flimsy archaeological evidence for our reconstruction nor give up the neat hypothesis of Murphy-O'Connor that helps us make sense of the literary evidence in 1 Cor 11. Rather, what if some groups were meeting in a villa and others were meeting in buildings like those Horrell proposed? Further, what if on certain occasions, some individuals were invited (some might call it "upgraded") to the villa? Might that exacerbate the very problems that were ongoing, tensions between various groups, competition, threats to the communal values? In the end, Murphy O'Connor's and Horrell's fifty people is only an estimate and we cannot know the exact number of

validity of Murphy-O'Connor's Corinthians reconstructions, given the extent of the available evidence." Horrell, "Domestic Space," 368.

To be sure, intellectual humility and honesty are virtuous, but Horrell's statements here read more as if he just did not yet have the next step in his argument. We cannot know the architectural evidence for the upper rooms in the theatre district because time has taken them away from us as with many second stories of buildings from the ancient world, but that does not stop us from advancing an argument as Horrell himself knows. His own article is self-admittedly an imaginative argument.

⁶² See n 60.

people in Corinth who belonged to the Jesus groups, but there is good reason to think that there were multiple groups when Paul wrote First Corinthians.⁶³ So when it comes to space, we would do well to remember Ramsay MacMullen's words on the subject,

In larger houses, a dining room could be expected to accommodate the usual nine guests. Only a really grand mansion had couches for more. How then could lavish entertainment take place? And for the great majority of people, whose quarters had no dining room at all, where could they play host to their friends? The solution lay in sacred tables, where religious and social life were joined in a common occasion.⁶⁴

MacMullen's point serves to illustrate the premium of space. Further, if we take seriously the discussion above about separation from other practices around idols, what large space is left to the members of the Jesus groups?⁶⁵ Where could they possibly fit larger groups in one place, especially if they continued initiating new members? The best possible solution is that they were meeting in multiple locations because the venues available to the other associations were not available to them. They could not go and hold their meetings at the temple spaces or other larger sacred spaces in the city because their fellowship with their deity would not allow it. Multiple meetings in various homes would help explain this problem.

⁶³ See the above section "The Communities of Corinth.

⁶⁴ MacMullen, *Paganism*, 36.

⁶⁵ We would do well to remember not only 1 Cor 10, but also 1 Cor 8. Paul would be very much opposed to meeting in a location where sacrifices to idols happened.

Manifestations of the Spirit (First Corinthians 12-14)

Next we must ask whether the meal also included the types of activities described in 1 Cor 12-14. Ultimately nothing definitive can be said as Paul himself does not link the meal in 1 Cor 11 with what he describes in these chapters directly, but based on practices in the ancient world and the order of Paul's instruction, he is probably referencing the same gathering. First Corinthians 12-14 mentions various types of spiritual gifts, some of which Paul's audience valued more highly than others. These gifts are more like functions or activities within the gathered group than they are official positions, though it is possible that some who were known to possess particular strength or propensity in a gift could have taken on prominence within the group on account of that fact.⁶⁶ The verbal manifestations of the spirit are most clearly the activities within the communal gathering and so, on account of the limits of time and space, we will focus on 1 Cor 14 for the remainder of our discussion.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ So Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, 298: "... for Paul there are indeed as yet no "offices" (as there is no real organization), but functions, services... help in the work, labor. This is the same picture as in... chap. 12: they are all *χαρίσματα*..." This overstates the case. There may be organization, but Paul may not mention it directly. He may not know about it or it may not be relevant to the discussion/argument. But Conzelmann correctly notes the absence in the discussion of an explicit mention of offices or of a structure here.

⁶⁷ This is also a matter of utility. We will spend time in 1 Cor 14 when we turn to membership management to discuss how this section impacts our understanding of insiders and outsiders, and how one becomes a member. We will consider the section again when we turn to our discussion of public relations and consider Paul's own perceptions of the group activities.

First Corinthians 14 can read like it is all about words, but it may be as much about the activities surrounding the speech as it is the content itself.⁶⁸ Paul's concern and instructions have as much to do with performance and atmosphere as they do with content. His concern is whether the activities in the meetings build up (οἰκοδομέω) the group. From what he has heard, their current activities are not edifying.⁶⁹ Paul's instructions, then, counter what he has heard happens in the meetings of the Jesus groups in Corinth.

Paul writes extensively about the value of prophecy (προφητεῦω) contrasted with speaking in tongues (λαλέω γλώσση). He clearly thinks that some if not most of

First Corinthians 11:2-16 is a strange section that interrupts an otherwise straightforward trajectory about meals. Two possible solutions readily present themselves. First, we could propose a literary critical solution of carving up the letter into multiple pieces so that this section was later inserted, whether by Paul himself, a redactor, or a Pauline imitator. However, this solution would still require the second solution, just at a later date. The second solution would be to propose that 11:2-16 is here because some type of prayer (προσεύχομαι) and prophecy (προφητεῦω) happened in conjunction with the meal, thus logically connecting the discussion of proper conduct in these activities with the discussion of the meal. So, Mitchell's argument is that this discussion is to correct a "divisive custom" in worship at Corinth. See Mitchell, *Rhetoric*, esp. 149-50 and 260-263. For the first solution, see Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, 181-182.

Finally, it is worthwhile here to note that the two lists of gifts in 1 Cor 12 are also robust. Do these occur within the meeting? (See e.g. Fee, *Epistle*, 654ff. where he takes for granted that the answers to these questions are yes). If so, do they occur only within the meeting? One thinks, for example, of the gifts of healing in the Gospels and Acts that occasionally happen within a meeting/teaching context, but also often happen out in the open when someone approaches Jesus or one of the Twelve.

⁶⁸ See Kevin Muñoz, "How Not to Go Out of the World: First Corinthians 14:13-25 and the Social Foundations of Early Christian Expansion" (PhD. diss., Emory University, 2008), esp. 153-86.

⁶⁹ With Conzelmann, Fee, et. al.

his readers value *glossolalia* more highly than prophecy.⁷⁰ What is at stake for Paul concerns those who hear what is said and their ability to understand it. Thus, someone can speak in a tongue as long as it is interpreted (διερμηνεύω), since this would still still achieve Paul's goal of edification (οἰκοδομέω, v 13). Paul must be describing speech that is not understandable on its own (speaking in tongues), otherwise the argument that proceeds in vv 13-25 would be nonsensical.⁷¹ For those in Corinth who have elevated this gift to supreme importance, the very mystery of the language intrigued them. In any case, we can imagine a meeting where various individuals would utter either alternatively or simultaneously speech that was not understood by the remainder of those in attendance. This was the λαλέω γλώσση. During this meeting there was also speech that could be understood - the prophetic speech.

Paul goes on in 1 Cor 14:26-40 to classify all the activities in the meeting as ψαλμοί, διδαχαί, ἀποκαλυψαί, γλωσσαι, and ἐρμηνεῖαι. He states that when the group gathers, each person who has one should offer it in order, rather than interrupting one

⁷⁰ So Margaret Mitchell argues that the practices would have been a divisive issue in Corinth. See Mitchell, *Rhetoric*, 171-75. Kevin Muñoz argues that the practices have to do with the hierarchy of beginners in the group, as well as the disunity that speaking in tongues created over and against the healing of such disunity that came about from prophecy. See Muñoz, "World," esp. 115-86.

⁷¹ See esp. the description of speaking in tongues in Muñoz, "World", 135-86.

another.⁷² But the difficulty is that Paul has spoken of everything as if it is accessible to the entire group. This means that either the gathering was of entirely titled functionaries or prophecy and speaking in tongues both were simple verbal actions rather than titled roles. The latter option of these two options is clearly the case as Paul speaks of the regular gathering of the community here.⁷³ The Holy Spirit bestowed these gifts on anyone. Although everyone may not receive them, Paul nevertheless expresses the hope that each of them should be prophets or speakers in tongues (14:5). Even so, he addresses the prophets (προφήται) as individuals who had a particular role in the meeting (v 29).

Was there a prophetic office in Corinth, then? Not in a fully developed sense. Paul does limit the number of προφήται to two or three (v 29), but this is simply a number of speakers not a number of office holders. Further, we have already discussed above the types of physical limitations that space would have placed on the number of

⁷² The textual variant in v 26 makes it explicit that Paul's instruction implies each member of the community has one. This is a flat community picture where every member participates equally. However, the NA text is much more ambiguous, leaving out the ὑμῶν, with only the ἕκαστος remaining. This does not necessarily imply that every member of the community has a gift or something to share. So Conzelmann, "The statement ἕκαστος ἔχει, "each has," naturally must not be pressed to the effect that every single individual has one of the gifts mentioned..." (Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, 244).

⁷³ At issue again is 1 Cor 12:28 and the list here. However, the desire to see titled roles in full-fledged form must break down to some extent as the list itself cannot maintain titles with the final four in the series. More likely is the manifestation of the Spirit's power in particular ways. See e.g. the discussion in Thistleton, *Epistle*, 1013-22.

people. How many office holders would we expect for a group of 50?⁷⁴ It is much more likely, therefore, that the noun προφήτης here is not meant to indicate a formal office but rather to identify one who exhibits a particular function in the group at that meeting. In other words, Paul's instruction is to limit to two or three people exercising the gift of prophecy at that meeting.⁷⁵ Just as each of the other types of activities had a place and a balance in the meeting, so too does prophecy in Paul's teaching here.⁷⁶

One Meeting or Two?

This type of meeting, then, takes on the format of activities of the Spirit.⁷⁷ We must ask whether we have a separate meeting or the same meeting as the meal here. Wayne Meeks thinks, because of some shared language in Paul's writing, that the meal and the exercising of spiritual gifts happened at the same meeting. First Corinthians 11:18 (συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ) and 11:20 (συνερχομένων οὖν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) are

⁷⁴ This is Murphy-O'Connor's hypothetical estimate for the entire Corinthian Jesus group. Therefore, Paul would be talking about limiting to two or three within an even smaller group than 50! How many prophets would there have to be in Corinth for this to be the case?

⁷⁵ So Holladay, *Corinthians*, 186. Also, Fee, *Epistle*, 759-760.

⁷⁶ The purpose of the earlier discussion in 1 Cor 14 was not to elevate prophecy above speaking in tongues, but rather to bring some balance to the audience's perception of speaking in tongues. See Fee, *Epistle*, 722-731.

⁷⁷ We refrain from using the language of worship immediately so as to avoid the idea that the meal discussed previously was not worship or the automatic identification of the meal with his meeting. We must first explore whether or not these two happen concurrently.

combined in 1 Cor 14:23 (ἐὰν οὖν συνέλθῃ ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ).⁷⁸ This is not a sufficient argument, though, for combining these two events into one. It is still possible that they could be one meeting in Paul's description, but they may be separate meetings. There is nothing in this language itself that requires us to imagine one meeting. The ancient Mediterranean cultural context gives us further reason to identify these two sections in Paul's letter as one meeting. Dining practices often included a period after the meal where participants would enjoy one another's company.⁷⁹ Moreover, ancient Mediterranean associations embodied this practice in a particular fashion to fulfill part of their purpose as social entities.⁸⁰ The meal would likely be followed by this period of outpouring of activities of the Spirit and continued fellowship not only among the group members, but also with the deity.

Meeting Day and Frequency

Finally, we must ask about the frequency and particular day of the meeting. S.R.

Llewelyn argued for 1 Cor 16:2 as evidence that in Corinth Sunday was the day of

⁷⁸ Meeks, *First Urban Christians*, 142-43.

⁷⁹ See, e.g., John M. Wilkins and Shaun Hill, *Food in the Ancient World* (Malden: MA: Blackwell, 2006), esp. 49-51.

⁸⁰ See above in ch 2.

regular meeting.⁸¹ Llewelyn argued convincingly that the phrase *παρ' ἑαυτῶ*, often taken to indicate that the collection was to be set aside at one's home or privately, actually indicated an individual as opposed to a collective act among the corporate gathering. Therefore, each member of the group would set aside some resources when they were all gathered together, rather than the group setting aside some resources from a collective treasury.⁸² The question remains, though, whether all of the groups were meeting on Sunday already or whether this was another attempt by Paul to bring them closer to a sense of unity and uniformity. It is unlikely, however, that any of them were meeting less frequently than weekly. If they were, we would expect Paul's instructions to include an encouragement to gather more frequently, not simply an instruction on what to do when they gathered.

⁸¹ S.R. Llewelyn, "The Use of Sunday for Meetings of Believers in the New Testament," *NovT* 43 (2001): 205-23. Conzelmann, *I Corinthians*, 296, also agrees that Sunday was the day of meeting though there is not much argument to support the claim.

⁸² So, Llewelyn argues against Fee, *First Epistle*, 899, who cites the familiar Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.13.3 and Philo, *Leg. ad. Gai.* 271 as evidence for the "at home" meaning. Fee's other citation of Philo, *Cher.* 48 does not directly support the "at home" interpretation. Llewelyn, however, has also assembled an impressive number of parallel citations to support the interpretation of an individual resource contribution. Llewelyn's parallels are from Aristotle, Athanasius, Basil of Caesarea, Dio Cassius, and Herodian. Finally, Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 614 observes that nowhere in 16:2 is the location of the collection itself mentioned. Finally, what we have is all speculative but informed speculation is worthwhile if the evidence warrants it.

Regular Meetings - Summary

We have thus envisioned a regular weekly meeting where those gathered shared a meal and afterward participated in a time of sharing their various gifts from the Spirit.

Rather than being seen as formal offices that members held, these were rather the exercising of individual gifts through which particular members fulfilled certain functions. Paul's instructions for each individual to set aside money at this Sunday meeting, raises the question whether there was a collective treasury already in place.

Membership Management

As we outlined in ch 2, membership management encompasses a few major components. Central to these is the concern for who is a member and who is not. This means outlining how one becomes a member as well maintaining an awareness of insider-outsider dynamics. Such an awareness would be essential in an environment such as Corinth where multiple groups enjoyed a loosely connected fellowship with one another, which was fraught by their own competition with one another. First Corinthians 5 also provides us with a view toward some communal disciplinary practices. We begin with member initiation then consider maintenance of a membership roster, and finally discuss 1 Cor 5 and discipline.

Initiation

It is clear from 1 Cor 1:14-17 that baptism is part of one's initiation into the Jesus group at Corinth. Paul states his own gratitude that he only baptized a few individuals, which limited the number of those who could claim direct allegiance/association with him

But is Wayne Meeks correct in saying that baptism comprises the entirety of the initiation function?

By making the cleansing rite alone bear the whole function of initiation, and by making initiation the decisive point of entry into an exclusive community, the Christian groups created something new. For them the bath becomes a permanent threshold between the "clean" group and the "dirty" world, between those who have been initiated and everyone who has not.⁸³

Since Paul identifies baptism with the allegiance members would have felt to him, we can identify it as the threshold into the exclusive community. Does this mean that baptism takes on the entire initiation function, though, or are there other steps prior to baptism in this process?

Initiation Processes Besides Baptism

Paul mentions that prior to baptism at least one other element is present, the very thing Christ sent him to do: οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλέν με Χριστὸς βαπτίζειν ἀλλ' εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου, ἵνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ (1 Cor

⁸³ Meeks, *Urban Christians*, 153.

1:17).⁸⁴ This does not represent an established program of training, but rather some form of ad hoc proclamation. We see this because Paul can state later in ch 14 that a non-member may be exposed to the community during one of the meetings and so be turned towards initiation⁸⁵ (though not initiated by this act alone for baptism is not mentioned): ἐὰν δὲ πάντες προφητεύωσιν, εἰσέλθῃ δέ τις ἄπιστος ἢ ἰδιώτης, ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ πάντων, ἀνακρίνεται ὑπὸ πάντων τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ φανερὰ γίνεται, καὶ οὕτως πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσκυνήσει τῷ θεῷ ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι ὄντως ὁ θεὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστίν (1 Cor 14:24-25). We have already seen how concerned Paul was that these meetings had a certain character, particularly when it came to intelligible communication in the activities. Now we will understand once more another reason for

⁸⁴ The exigencies of time and space do not permit a discussion of the metaphors in 1 Cor 3 and how they could inform our understanding of membership initiation and how these groups and Paul would understand the development of membership past initiation into the community. What is clear, however, from each metaphor is that initiation was not a final step but a beginning/foundational step after which many more steps (or building, growth, feeding, etc.) would follow. I hope to return to these metaphors in some later work and explore them further.

⁸⁵ With e.g. Carl Holladay: “The missionary intent of the assembly is clear. The church should realize that its worship is actually proclamation, and if effectively done, will result in the conversion of unbelievers...” Holladay, *Corinthians*, 184. See also Gordon Fee, *Epistle*, 759-762. Fee notes that Paul here quotes Is 45:14 where various nations come and make this confession to Israel, with the variation that the singular you for Israel has become a plural for the community members.

See also Kevin Muñoz, “How Not to Go Out of the World: First Corinthians 14:13-25 and the Social Foundations of Early Christian Expansion” (PhD. diss., Emory University, 2008), 23: “Scholars have been consistent in identifying First Corinthians 14:23-25 as an example of conversion...”

this. Two terms particularly we want to consider are ἄπιστος and ιδιώτης, since these are the individuals under consideration.

The first term, ἄπιστος, simply functions to draw the distinction between someone who has been initiated into the group and one who has not.⁸⁶ These ἄπιστοι would be connected to the πιστεύοντες through their own social networks and so would not be completely alien to the group, but also would not necessarily be in agreement with the group or desire to join the group in membership or initiation.⁸⁷ They would, however, have an opportunity to be exposed to the group and so hear that ad hoc proclamation of the gospel that Paul mentions. This would begin their process of initiation, which explains why Paul is concerned about how they might encounter the meetings of the group when they were present for the period of the exercising of the gifts of the Spirit.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ BDAG s.v. ἄπιστος. See also the discussion in Muñoz, “How Not to Go”, esp. 101-115. Muñoz shows clearly that this term does not simply refer to anyone who was not a member but has a particular social realm that would be the believers social network. He also shows that we should not imagine random individuals wandering into the assembly from the street.

Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, 243, states there is no difference between these two words in this verse. We must disagree. For if there is no difference, why use two words? The argument proceeds below and we will explain more our own position.

⁸⁷ We may immediately point to 1 Cor 7 as an example of an illustration of this principle. Here, Paul urges his audience to remain married to unbelieving spouses and suggests that the marriage may be the mechanism whereby the unbeliever (ἄπιστος) may be saved through the believing spouse. Again, see Muñoz, “World”.

⁸⁸ For more on this, see below in the next several paragraphs of the discussion.

The latter term, ἰδιώτης, has been notoriously vexed in the scholarly discussion.⁸⁹ In his dissertation, Kevin Muñoz provides a full discussion of the literature and possible meanings of this term and the operative phrase ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου from 1 Cor 14:16.⁹⁰ Muñoz’s conclusion is ultimately correct and helpful, as he shows that this phrase indicates both a social position within the community of an insider who is a recent convert and the power dynamic that results when someone has relatively little influence in the group. We will summarize the argument below.

Meanwhile, this indicates that in 1 Cor 14 both outsiders who had a social connection to the community and also recently converted individuals who needed additional training were present in this community. Further, based on this, our initial theory is that the community did not have much training prior to baptism.

Muñoz works through the possible semantic fields of ἰδιώτης with two sets of possible meanings. The first set is the more traditionally considered set for 1 Corinthians and includes “outsider”, “unskilled”, and “beginner.” The second set is the

⁸⁹ See e.g. Fitzmyer who perhaps has the most truncated discussion and lists some possibilities and some quandaries in discussing v 16, but then seems to forget this discussion and these complexities by the time he discusses vv 23-24 and leaves ἰδιώτης as a simple “outsider”, a translation he himself had problematized and seemed to reject. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 517 and 521-522.

⁹⁰ Muñoz, “World”, 115-32.

more impersonal fields of “private”, “inferior”⁹¹, and “profane.” From the beginning, he excludes outsider because it is not a meaning attested in contemporaneous evidence. He then points out the overlap between “unskilled” and “beginner.” These two fields imply that both can be insiders but that they lack some specialized knowledge of the topic under discussion (e.g., in 1 Cor 14, *glossolalia*). Muñoz also admits that the semantic fields could also allow for the individuals to be outsiders or uninitiated as well. The “beginner,” though, could learn the knowledge while the “unskilled” person possibly could not and so the two semantic fields are distinct.

The private field, Muñoz states, does not apply because it indicates the opposite of the public domain and the gathering of the Corinthian group would be a public gathering due to its corporate nature.⁹² Similarly, the profane field does not apply because the profane semantic domain of the *ιδιώτης* language would be opposed to Paul’s usual language of being “in Christ” or “in the Spirit”. So, Paul would be stating that the *ιδιώτης*, in need of more training in the group’s ways, is not yet in Christ or in the Spirit, but, for Muñoz, these are states that occur with baptism. Finally, the semantic domain of “inferior” usually refers to those with limited power in the public

⁹¹ Muñoz uses the term “subaltern.” At the suggestion of my committee, I have opted for an alternate word that hopefully makes the meaning more clear.

⁹² Muñoz uses the term “political” here rather than “public”. I have opted for “public” at the suggestion of Carl Holladay and Judith Evans Grubbs so as to avoid confusion that may arise otherwise.

domain of the group. This final semantic field does help us understand the position of the recently converted within the group as they have limited power because of their limited time within the group.

The semantic fields that apply, therefore, are “beginner” and “inferior.”

Therefore, the full phrase ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ιδιώτου refers to a particular place in the Christian hierarchy, a novice, a recent convert, who has relatively little power within the established power hierarchy and needs more training in the group.

The Gospel Proclamation

In Corinth there was little training prior to baptism. Paul outlines an ideal situation in 1 Cor 14:24-25 for an unbeliever, an ἄπιστος. They would be present when the group was exercising the gifts of the Spirit, and prophetic speech would result in a particular response from them: ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ πάντων, ἀνακρίνεται ὑπὸ πάντων, τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ φανερὰ γίνεται, καὶ οὕτως πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσκυνήσει τῷ θεῷ ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι ὄντως ὁ θεὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστίν (14:24-25).⁹³ The encounter with prophetic proclamation is an encounter with gospel proclamation and results in the secret things

⁹³ Whether or not this included the meal is a difficult question we do not intend to explore here. It does at least seem that Paul has in mind the unbeliever entering (εἰσέρχομαι) at the stage of the meeting when the exercising of the gifts of the Spirit is occurring. If the meeting begins with the meal and this stage happens after the meal has concluded, the ἄπιστος would not be present for the meal.

of the unbeliever's heart becoming manifest and thus one who may not have been interested in initiation or membership turning toward such a trajectory. So, the proclamation can be as ad hoc and as simple as an encounter in the regular meeting of the community and that can lead toward membership. The reason for this is because the content of this gospel is rather short and contained. Paul writes in 1 Cor 15:1 γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν. He then continues with a short three-verse rehearsal of the content of the gospel⁹⁴ that he received and that he handed on to his audience in his proclamation: Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures and was buried, then he was raised on the third day according to the scriptures. Then he appeared to Cephas and then to the Twelve.⁹⁵ This summary, despite Paul's need to remind his audience in this particular moment, probably states the content of the gospel that played a role in their regular meetings.⁹⁶

Paul's instruction in the letter draws on imagery concerning quite basic matters that could have been covered prior to baptism (e.g. γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρῶμα οὕπω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἔτι νῦν δύνασθε 1 Cor 3:2). As in 1 Cor 15, he also references

⁹⁴ On γνωρίζω as indicating content of the Gospel, see Thistleton, *Epistle*, 1183-85.

⁹⁵ That this is the content of the Gospel and ends with v 5 is the general consensus. See e.g. Thistleton, *Epistle*, 1182-1197 and Fee, *Epistle*, 796-811.

⁹⁶ This reminder of the gospel's content is similar to Paul's reminder of what they were doing with the Lord's Supper in their meetings.

traditions in which he previously instructed them about the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor 11: 23-26. Most likely this was also a part of the pre-baptismal instruction so that those who were baptized would be prepared to participate in the meal. Initiation itself though, was a relatively simple matter in Corinth at this time which could make for a relatively messy record system when multiple groups were interacting and could have contributed to some of the conflicts.

Membership Rolls

It would not have been too difficult to keep track of one's own group per se, but maintaining boundaries at large would have been familiar to the groups in Corinth. We have already seen in ch 2 that most ancient Mediterranean associations kept track of their members. We also see in First Corinthians that Paul assumes his audience is familiar with the concept of recommending individuals who were unknown to them. For example, in 1 Cor 16:3, he writes to them that he will send their approved representatives with letters to Jerusalem bearing the collection. So, they are familiar with the practice of needing letters of introduction to prove one's *bona fides* to a related group in another location. Therefore, these groups seemed to be practiced at working together to keep track of their membership, even though they had their disagreements

and competitive encounters. Such a competitive spirit could even lead to a desire to know who had joined the other groups for it could be an opportunity to increase one's own social standing. Perhaps some new high official of the city had joined up with one of the other groups and one would want to be aware of such a happening.

So, membership initiation began with an ad hoc proclamation of the gospel in Corinth that could have been something as simple as a social connection of someone in the group attending one of the regular meetings where they heard the content of the gospel. Membership initiation was completed with baptism.⁹⁷ Afterwards, because of the relatively ad hoc nature of the initiation process, the newly initiated occupied a particular place in the group's hierarchy where they needed and received more training. This in and of itself would have made it easier to keep records of the various group's membership.

⁹⁷ 1 Cor 12:13 has a particular history within recent scholarship especially when it comes to the question of baptism. Gordon Fee has argued that it has nothing to do with water baptism, but is in fact a separate process by virtue of Paul's phrase ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι. See Fee, *Epistle*, 665-673. Thistleton assigns this to Fee's background in the Pentecostal tradition and outlines the basic historical character of Pentecostal exegesis with respect to this passage and others. See Thistleton, *Epistle*, 998-1001. Thistleton prefers the arguments put forward by Margaret Mitchell and Dale Martin with respect to the passage that by and large it is a political metaphor and image that Paul is drawing on here to argue against the categorizations outlined by Paul in 1:10-12. See Thistleton, *Epistle*, 995-1001.

The question of baptism here is how to translate the preposition ἐν, whether with a locative sense or an instrumental sense. Thistleton outlines the basic options. See *ibid.*, 997. Either way, as Thistleton concludes, the fundamental sense is clearly an argument for unity based on the unifying action of the one Spirit connected to the baptism.

Discipline

In 1 Cor 5 we learn of a member in the community who has committed what Paul describes as particularly severe πορνεία. Paul is distressed that rather than being disciplined, this member of the community has been allowed to continue in the activity. Paul then goes on to prescribe a particular type of community action in response to this situation (v 2, 4-5) and then provides a general principle for shunning such people in the future (v 12). Paul's distress is two-fold: first that something like this would happen, and second that it has been allowed to continue without consequence. Since the community has not done their proper duty to judge and expel this man, Paul has already done it (v 3) and his instructions for them are merely the carrying out of the judgment he has already rendered.⁹⁸

Commentators often focus on the particularity of Paul's action and what he prescribes here in the communal action. What exactly has happened with Paul's rendered judgment and what exactly does handing the offender over to Satan mean?⁹⁹ Our concerns, however, do not require specificity with respect to those questions. For our purposes, it is enough to see that community discipline is expected, it failed, and

⁹⁸ Holladay, *Corinthians*, 70-72.

⁹⁹ See e.g. Fee, *Epistle*, 221-235 and Thistleton, *Epistle*, 387-400.

that the formal process for banishing and shunning such members should happen within the assembled group.¹⁰⁰

Does Paul's failure to mention any leadership in this context indicate that these duties are incumbent upon the entire community and so the failure is incumbent upon them all?¹⁰¹ Most likely not. Two possible scenarios are likely: either Paul learned of this situation through messengers sent by a leader who attempted to fulfill their responsibilities for communal discipline, but could not, or Paul expected other members to carry out this responsibility if a leader failed to enact it. The likely scenario, though, is not that any and every member had equal duties in this arena. Rather, as we saw in ch 2, there were probably some leaders who had the duty to oversee this discipline.

This would also help to make sense of 1 Cor 6:1-6. Here Paul expresses his distress that members of the community have taken one another to civil court. He concludes in 6:4-6 with the exasperated series of questions: βιωτικὰ μὲν οὖν κριτήρια

¹⁰⁰ Thistleton notes that the double use of ἐξ in v 12 is strong enough to require a word such as banish. Thistleton, *Epistle*, 417.

¹⁰¹ Conzelmann raises the question for us of whether or not the community would even have leaders who could handle this problem at all. Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, 97: "The community merely constitutes the forum; it does not share in the action." Conzelmann claims that it is the action of Paul's spirit alone rather than a communal action together. If he is correct, could it be that this is because the addressees lack the leadership to do what Paul is doing or is he simply filling in where they have failed to do what they should've already done? So Holladay, *First Letter*, 70-71.

ἐὰν ἔχητε, τοὺς ἐξουθενημένους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τούτους καθίζετε; πρὸς ἐντροπὴν ὑμῶν λέγω. οὕτως οὐκ ἔστι ἐν ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς σοφὸς ὅς δυνήσεται διακρίναι ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ; ἀλλὰ ἀδελφὸς μετὰ ἀδελφοῦ κρίνεται καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἀπίστων; The first question implies that there are actual cases (κριτήρια ἐὰν ἔχητε) held in the assembly to which decision makers are appointed (καθίζετε). Further, Paul implies that their decision as to who the judges would be has to do with a sort of hierarchy of membership (τοὺς ἐξουθενημένους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ).¹⁰² He goes on to describe that one qualification of these judges would be their wisdom (σοφὸς) in judging. More senior members would be more likely to have demonstrated such wisdom. So the question that remains is whether these appointed functionaries serve more on a case-by-case basis or for more formal terms. If they served for more formal terms, the offense is even greater that they have failed in their duty to perform communal discipline as described in ch 5 and the offense against them even greater that members of the community have gone to outside courts to hear their judgments. Paul indeed has said these things to shame them (v 5).

¹⁰² E.g. see above in the section “Initiation Processes Besides Baptism” on the term ἰδιώτης.

Resource Management

Our questions of resource management have already been raised by the previous sections for the most part. We want to know where the groups met, who provided the food for the meal, and how the money for the Jerusalem collection would have been kept, if it was kept by the community or if it was not, and how any other communal financial resources may have been managed.¹⁰³ Above we established that the locations were in various members' homes. Perhaps some were the homes of the wealthy, while others may have been homes of artisans. Either way, the homes of group members served as the meeting location in Corinth. Within the homes, then, would the *pater familias* serve as host?

¹⁰³ Each of these concerns was raised and dealt with in summary fashion above. Richard Last has also argued that each member would have paid a subscription fee just like any other ancient Mediterranean association. His argument is not fully convincing, though the point about the subscription fee is in line with our findings above. For example, one consequence that Last outlines is that the phrase in 11:22 μὴ ἔχοντες refers not to the destitute among the membership, but rather refers to those who hold no office at that time and so who have no responsibility for providing resources for the meal. This part endorses the rotational model of an office carrying a liturgy. Richard Last, "Money, Meals, and Honour: The Economic and Honorific Organization of the Corinthian *Ekklesia*" (PhD diss., The University of Toronto, 2013), esp. 59-92. Part of the problem with Last's arguments and others like it that have been made in the past based on the ancient Mediterranean association banquet model is the frequency of the Jesus group meetings. It is one thing to be an officer in an association and provide for your fellow members once a month on a rotating basis where your turn comes up infrequently, but when the frequency is multiplied by four or five times that, the economic burden on the individual becomes substantial. We also outlined above some additional problems with the particular First Corinthians context for these offices.

Various constellations from the wealthy serving as patrons of the community and providing the full meal to the whole community holding a potluck were proposed, but we saw above that the most satisfactory model was a regular dues structure with a treasurer managing the money. The great challenge in general for this discussion is that the Jesus groups tended to meet weekly, which is a break from most of the ancient Mediterranean evidence. This causes difficulty when we look for comparative evidence. Further, a weekly provision of a full meal for a larger group could quickly have become financially prohibitive or burdensome. For ancient Mediterranean associations, even some of the more modest income brackets could be charged with providing the monthly meal with some assistance from the association budget, but when the frequency is weekly, such a practice is no longer sustainable. Thus, our conclusion that member dues was the mechanism stands, and the various groups would each require a treasurer to oversee these resources.

In the end, First Corinthians does not provide us with definitive evidence on how exactly the resources for the meal came to be handled.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps with different groups in Corinth there are different strategies at play on how to provide the meal or at

¹⁰⁴ Though, see Richard Last, "The Election of Officers in the Christ-Group," *NTS* 59 (2013): 365-381. Last proposes that 1 Cor 11:19 has to do with electing new officers who would better administer the banquet and thus solve the issues ongoing around the Lord's Supper.

different times there are different strategies ongoing. After all, there were times when patrons or benefactors would provide a gift to an association funding some portion of a banquet for an extended period of time.¹⁰⁵ The possibility remains for these groups that the occasional gift would support one or more of their meals. This would necessitate particular handling of resources. The possibility of multiple types of funding shows even more the necessity for a treasurer. Further, there would need to be an individual to ensure there was a location for the weekly meeting, someone to ensure that the membership knew where the location was, and coordination between the treasurer and the person who kept the roll, unless they were the same individual to ensure all the members were paying their dues.¹⁰⁶

Hosting Duties

How would hosting work at the meeting? Would the householder take on these duties and run the meeting? Theissen's model assumes this as does Murphy-O'Connor's claim that the wealthy patron does as he pleases with the food and space of the home.

Alternatively, we could read the phrase κυριακὴν δεῖπνον strongly and propose that Christ hosts the meal. Margaret Mitchell argues that Paul instructs his audience to

¹⁰⁵ See e.g. *IG X/2.1 259* = *GRA I 76* = PH137441. One also thinks e.g. of Acts 4:34-37.

¹⁰⁶ On the treasurer, see e.g. Last, "Money", 81-92.

submit to the authority of Stephanas as a unifying move, so that ultimately, he would become the host of the whole community as the leader.¹⁰⁷ Others have read Rom 16:23 as indicating that Gaius was the constant host of the community.¹⁰⁸ These, however, would be reflective not of the current state of affairs, but of later times. Gordon Fee presupposes that the model of meeting in homes of the wealthy would mean the member of the upper class was the patron of the meal and therefore the host of the meal and the meeting.¹⁰⁹ All these things could very well have gone hand in hand. But if they were true, we must wonder why Paul would need to instruct the audience to submit to the authority of Stephanas, a seemingly well-to-do individual, and one who could claim close association with Paul. Again, the evidence for definitive answers is lacking, but some sort of organizational duties, even if only to establish a meeting place and begin the meal, would have been required of a host of some kind and Paul does instruct submission to the individuals such as Stephanas (16:15-16).¹¹⁰ At least in Paul's

¹⁰⁷ See Mitchell, *Rhetoric*, 294.

¹⁰⁸ See e.g. Dixon, "Mind" and Fitzmyer, *Epistle*, 429.

¹⁰⁹ Fee, *Epistle*, 590.

¹¹⁰ The meeting could have been in some ways analogous to a meeting of the Society of Friends today without much hierarchy and without an official director/host. In this way, the meal itself could have proceeded as Paul critiques with anyone and everyone eating as they arrived and none waiting on the others. How this is unlike such a contemporary meeting would be that such meetings have very

intention, then, the community would have some hierarchy with authority resting individuals Paul knows to some extent.

Public Relations

Paul expresses concern over outsiders' perception of the Corinthian Jesus group multiple times in his letter (e.g. 1 Cor 6:6, 7:16, 10:27-33). His concern does not stop with outsiders, though. He also is concerned about how the activities of members influence and affect one another (e.g. 1 Cor 8:10-13, 9, 11:22). The public relations function evident in Corinth reminds us that often this function has a double audience: both outsiders and insiders. Public relations serves not only to bolster an image and story about a group to those outside, but also bolsters the self-image and the self-narrative/identity of the insiders as well. As many of the issues Paul corrects connect with the Corinthians' own perceptions about themselves (i.e. their place and honor at the meal, or their own relationships to founders of the groups in Corinth), we can see that this self-narrative was important to them as well as how they were perceived by each other and those outside their groups.

How would this identity be managed? As we saw above, many of the Corinthians' own social networks were preserved when they joined the new

definite beginnings and endings. The analogy would be that during the meeting itself there is not a strong sense of hierarchy or role.

community rather than being severed outright.¹¹¹ Paul indicates and approves of this readily enough when he instructs them in 1 Cor 10:23-33 on potential situations that may confront them. He expects them to eat among people who may serve them food that was sacrificed to an idol. The instructions they receive from Paul, then, are to go ahead and eat the food they are served willingly and without question unless they are told explicitly that it has been sacrificed in such a manner. In that case, they are to refrain. This is a matter not only of their own public relations, but of the community's public relations. So, each member in some fashion fulfills this function and is responsible for it. The case is similar in 1 Cor 6 and 1 Cor 7 around sexual conduct and court cases. Ultimately, much of this is likely wrapped up in the training they would receive after initiation. Thus, this public relations component and the development of a self and communal identity would be wrapped up in the post-initiation time period.

A Community Sketch at Corinth

Corinth could be an overwhelming city at times and the Jesus groups at Corinth could also be an overwhelming prospect both for their self-proclaimed apostle and for the scholar attempting to study them. Not only must we wrestle with what evidence we lack, but we also must wrestle with what Paul writes to them and hopes for them to be

¹¹¹ For a full argument on this, see Muñoz, "World."

versus what the reality may have been on the ground. Clearly the meeting organized their life together. They met together once a week and, even in Paul's letter, it is the meeting that casts a definite shadow over all else that is written. The meal and the time together when the gifts of the Spirit manifested, brought them together but also created conflict. It was the time where many of their social contacts were exposed to the community and the gospel. This could begin their journeys towards initiation. It also was the major time when resources were needed. Finally, it was the source of their own identities and in many ways the place where their public relations started and ended.

Functionaries and Offices

On account of this centrality for community life, the meeting also witnesses to many of the functionaries needed for basic community life. First Corinthians, though, does not witness to established offices performing at this meeting. Rather, Paul's perception of what is happening in these groups, and even his own ideal, is one where some figures have and exercise authority, but also where the gifts (χαρίσματα) from the Spirit are available to all within the community, though these gifts may manifest themselves among a limited number within the community at any given moment. The individuals who embody those gifts, then, may take on certain roles at that time and exercise

certain types of authority or prominence within the community that can challenge typical forms of authority arising from other sources, such as the wealthy patrons who may have been asserting authority as hosts because of the meetings being held in their homes. For example, there is not an established office of prophet, but some may prophesy within the community and so become known for exercising this particular *charism*.¹¹² Perhaps Paul envisions it this way because he perceives himself as being gifted with all of these gifts. He speaks in tongues, he is an apostle, he is a prophet, he performs healings, he is a teacher, but above all, he says he prefers to speak five words with the mind in the assembly (1 Cor 14:9).¹¹³ Finally, as we saw above, the list in 1 Cor 12:4-11 does not finish out with official offices, but rather activities of the Spirit.

Community life in Corinth, though, required some consistency in roles. It is difficult to imagine the duties entailed in the dues structure for supporting the community meal being handled without some consistency. Similarly, because there

¹¹² See e.g. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 511 and Fee, *First Epistle*, 660, 685-686, and 759-760. Note this is against David Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), esp. 195-217. We would anticipate such a disagreement since the methodology of Aune's project depends upon taking the various Early Christian sources and crafting a composite picture of early Christian prophecy and prophets out of all these sources. Since this is the exact type of move against which we argue in this dissertation, one could anticipate our disagreement with Aune's work on this subject. However, his argument that Paul's language in 1 Cor 12 indicates an office of prophet as Paul considers apostle an office in the church is worth consideration and so we will continue to flesh out the argument above.

¹¹³ So Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 518. (This is the argument for Paul being a teacher.)

were multiple groups in Corinth, it would have been important to keep track of the membership of each group. Part of the competition and division could easily have been exacerbated by people traveling between groups or switching groups. Keeping track of who is where and whether or not they have paid their dues and are attending the meals, then, would require coordination and consistency in the functionary.

There is little evidence in First Corinthians to show us how the process immediately following baptism looked and from what Paul writes it does not seem to be very well developed (as the process before baptism was not either), but one does wonder if there might have been some mechanism in place concerning the problem of maintaining allegiance to a particular group within the constellation of groups in Corinth. Ancient Mediterranean associations were particularly adept at keeping track of their membership and guests when it came to their meetings exactly because of their resource management and the need to ensure proper amounts of food and beverages for all. Because the time after baptism entailed a particular role for the new initiates, though, they likely were in a consistent group. Further, these newly initiated individuals would likely have been at least one class of recipients of those exercising the gift of the διδάσκαλοι Paul mentions in 1 Cor 12. Perhaps this gift also had additional roles, but the initial training post-baptism would be a logical role.

Summary

Although much of what we have seen is fragmentary and divided, we have a relatively clear picture of a federation of groups that are not as hierarchy free as we may have once thought. We should not imagine that the Jesus group in Corinth had by some magical power transcended their social context. They lived in the time of *pater potentias* and patronage. So when these groups met in the homes of powerful families, even if the heads of the households were members of the groups (and perhaps more so if they were not), hierarchical roles and patterns may still occur. Thus, when Paul wrote in 1 Cor 16:16 that the Corinthians are to be subject to individuals such as Stephanas and his household, we should not imagine this to be a light instruction of egalitarianism. It is more likely that Paul here has tipped his hand and put forward candidates to whom he can connect to take charge of the various house churches and unify what was divided.¹¹⁴ This would only be possible if these groups were accustomed to some leadership already and with the amount of moving parts we have seen with our four functions outlined above, they must have needed some strong leadership.

Some of these roles would have been to exercise community discipline, to organize the weekly meeting, to collect dues and supervise the use of those resources

¹¹⁴ So Mitchell, *Rhetoric*, 178-179.

for the meal, and to oversee the teaching and training of the newly initiated. Whether and to what extent these roles were “offices” is difficult to say. Richard Last and John S. Kloppenborg would likely claim they were and that each came with a liturgy of some sort to support the community meal. But, the text does not provide conclusive evidence of this and so we can only suspect that these roles needed to be filled in some way. As we worked through the text, we saw that each of these roles were the most likely to be officially filled and exercised.

CH. 4 MATTHEW

... if it is true that the idea of the Gospels as local Gospels (Streeter's term) became popular as a result of [B.H.] Streeter's work, then it did so on the basis of a single argument that has long since been forgotten by most who exploit the idea for purposes unknown to Streeter. In any case, Streeter would seem to be one of the first scholars to stress the local origins of all four Gospels in such a way as to fuse the two questions of the local context *in which* a Gospel was written and the audience *for which* it was written. (emphasis original)

– Richard Bauckham, “For Whom Were Gospels Written?”
in *The Gospels for All Christians*, ed. Richard Bauckham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 15

Introduction

In 1995 Richard Bauckham raised the battle cry against the standard way of reading the Gospels as situational texts. In the twentieth century, form criticism gave birth to redaction criticism and this progression solidified the view that each Gospel portrayed a particular worldview from a particular representative of early Christianity. Form criticism's *Sitz im Leben* moved the Gospels into the life of the early church and redaction criticism took the next natural step of identifying and describing the church that each Gospel's tendencies exhibited.¹ Quickly, standard treatments began to outline

¹ For a fuller discussion of history of scholarship with this question in mind, see Francis Watson, “Toward a Literal Reading of the Gospels” in *The Gospels for All Christians*, ed. Richard Bauckham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 195-217.

the scholar's view of a Markan, Matthean, Lukan, or Johannine community as appropriate to their study.² Few have questioned this move, even in the wake of Bauckham's assault, because methodologically it makes logical sense and because historical criticism considers proper knowledge of a text's context, its origin and its destination, requisite for interpretation. Still, Bauckham and his adherents raised important questions that have not been sufficiently addressed since their collected essays were published in 1998.³

² Willi Marxsen's *Mark the Evangelist: Studies on the Redaction History of the Gospel* was the first to name this a new method and to provide a full work on a Gospel. For more on the origins and rise of redaction criticism and its relationship to form criticism, see Edgar V. McKnight, "Form and Redaction Criticism" in *The New Testament and its Modern Interpreters*, ed. Eldon Jay Epp and George W. MacRae (Atlanta: SBL, 1989), 149-174.

³ Cedric E. W. Vine's revised dissertation published in 2014 claimed that after a few years where defense against Bauckham's thesis was standard, quickly Gospel studies returned to an unexamined application of local audience theories. No one has yet put forward a definitive argument, however, so these arguments should not be passed over without any consideration whatsoever as Vine suggests has begun in the past decade. See Cedric E. W. Vine, *The Audience of Matthew: An Appraisal of the Local Audience Thesis* (New York: T&T Clark, 2014), esp. 4-10.

As a most recent example, though Charles E. Carlston and Craig A. Evans include Bauckham's edited volume in a footnote early in their 2014 *From Synagogue to Ecclesia*, they do so only to problematize briefly their use of the phrase "Matthean community," stating it "is really a gesture to contemporary practice." The end of the footnote perhaps best encapsulates the little impact Bauckham's work had on their own work when they state, "'Communities' as used in this work implies more than a single community but not a 'universal church'." In essence, though they recognize Bauckham and others and admit that "it is very probable that the first gospel not only reflects traditions from more than one small Syrian community but also was intended in varying degrees for many churches well beyond the immediate experience of the author," their treatment in the volume proceeds without any significant contribution from this recognition. They still treat the Gospel as originating and having life in the Matthean community. See Charles E. Carlston and Craig A. Evans, *From Synagogue to Ecclesia: Matthew's Community at the Crossroads* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 5 n9.

Richard Bauckham's *Gospels for all Christians*

Bauckham argues that we should consider the Gospels as written not for a specific group of Christians, but rather as intended for all Christians. He claims that the standard way of reading each Gospel as written in and for a particular community is a way of reading that has never really been supported by argument, but rather a view that simply emerged and took hold. He critiques the reconstructions of these local communities for their naïve methodologies, which result in variations based solely on a particular scholar's perspective, because we lack definitive evidence for any one view. In support of a universal Christian audience, he claims that, unlike the Pauline epistles, the genre of the Gospels is that of the Greek βίος.⁴ On account of such a generic difference, these texts must be read differently than we read Pauline epistles. So he would exclude from Gospel study the technique called mirror reading, where the concerns outlined in the text reflect the realities of the on-the-ground issues for the audience. Further, Bauckham proposes a picture of exclusively transient Christian leaders, precluding a settled leadership. He assumes the author of each Gospel must have been a leader and therefore, even if a context could be established, it would be

⁴ Richard Burridge's essay in the volume supports this point particularly and Burridge's earlier monograph provided particular support for Bauckham's generic argument. See Richard A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, SNTSMS 70 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

impossible to dissect a context relating to a particular locale. Thus, he concludes that a local audience would not only be undetectable from the evidence, but it also would be antithetical to the foundations of Christian leadership in the first century.

Bauckham's two positive arguments, on the genre of the Gospels and concerning the nature of early Christian leaders, are powerful. Though defenses against Bauckham's thesis have regularly addressed the generic difference with the Pauline letters, they rarely address the second argument. Further, despite admitting the generic difference, they still read the Gospels with a transparency toward the historical situation behind the text without methodological discussion. This results then in the same type of reading as the redaction critics practiced and which Bauckham critiqued. They claim particular passages must indicate local concerns. For example, Paul Foster lists six topical instances in Matthew and a less definite "host of small redactional changes" to prove that the evangelist sought "to make the traditions he has received more relevant to a specific situation."⁵ First, Matthew 28:11-15 describes the conspiracy among the Jews to hide the resurrection of Jesus and so betrays a specific situation where Jews were spreading this tale because the author notes that the tale is still spread to this day (μέχρι τῆς σήμερον). The final phrase is taken as sufficient proof for a necessary transparent reading, exposing a local audience. Second, Matthew 17:24-27

⁵ Paul Foster, *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 5.

requires the continued payment of the Temple Tax and so it must be intended to instruct a nascent group of believers in spite of their departure from close relationship to the Jewish tradition. Third, Matthew⁶ uses the terms ‘their’ or ‘your’ synagogues (4:23, 9:35, 10:17, 12:9, 13:54, 23:34), showing a boundary division between one group and the “dominant emerging Judaism.”⁷ Foster’s final three instances, Mt 18:1-10 on church order, Mt 23:1-7 about the rabbis, and Mt 23:8-12 on equal status among the believers, proceed similarly. Foster’s arguments are traditional and could be convincing for many, but they fall short in failing to recognize that one of the critiques made by Bauckham and his cohort has to do with the method of reading, a method that Foster (and other respondents to Bauckham’s *Gospels for all Christians*) does not defend. Instead he simply performs it again as if it should be convincing enough on its own. These scholars may be correct ultimately, but they have not fully countered Bauckham’s genre argument.

⁶ In using the name “Matthew” for the author I am not claiming that Matthew of the Twelve penned the Gospel or that the ultimate party responsible was a Matthew or included a Matthew. Rather, I am simply using the name as a convention for an unknown author(s).

⁷ Foster, *Community*, 5.

Genre, Allegory, and Context

Thus, when Francis Watson, one of Bauckham's supporters, calls readings of the Gospels such as Foster's reading allegorical readings, he preemptively counters Foster's strategy.⁸ Though allegorical readings have a long history in Christian interpretation, much longer than the critical period itself, in the wake of historical criticism many scholars mistrust them. So Watson wields the term as a bludgeon, accusing these interpreters of failing to approach the Gospels with a proper critical mind and failing to read the texts historically at all. He advocates a return to the literal reading of the Gospels as texts about Jesus, not the early church.

Francis Watson's Critique and the Redaction Critics

Watson's concern is that in the wake of form and redaction criticism, these types of readings imagine themselves to be purely historical and atheological.⁹ Thus, he sets out to show their theological agendas. In this, he is successful. He also rightly points out the danger inherent in making the Gospels primary sources solely for the Christian communities and failing to see them as primary sources for their express topic, the life

⁸ See Watson, "Toward".

⁹ Watson, "Toward," 196-97.

of Jesus.¹⁰ However, calling any and every reading that seeks to establish an historical context for the composition of such a text about an historical figure allegorical must be discussed.

So we ask does Foster (and other redaction critics) actually perform an allegorical reading? Origen claimed an allegorical reading became necessary when one finds a moment in scripture where the literal reading cannot be the meaning and so one moves to an alternate level of interpretation, a figurative interpretation.¹¹ But when Foster reads Mt 28:11-15, for example, the text means even more clearly what it says, rather than expressing a higher, figurative, spiritual truth. The story of the disciples stealing away the body of Jesus still circulates until this day, so we must find a reading that explains the final comment clearly: when is until this day? Foster's interpretation, then, does not necessarily deny the account from the time immediately after Jesus' life, it simply extends it toward a time much later, a time contemporary to the writing of the Gospel. So, on the surface the text is not only about what did or did not happen in the wake of Jesus' resurrection, but it is also about a challenge facing a

¹⁰ Watson, "Toward," esp. 206-7.

¹¹ Origen, *De Principiis*, IV.5. Origen also thought most scripture could and did possess a three-fold sense and, therefore, would not have only looked for the spiritual or allegorical interpretation where the literal could not be held.

later generation of believers. It in fact becomes more intelligible when it is given a proper context.¹² What, then, is Foster's reading if it is not allegorical?

What Constitutes an Allegorical Reading?

Ultimately, readings such as Foster's should not surprise us. Early in the critical period, Matthew 22:7 was read in this exact fashion to date the Gospel.¹³ The majority of scholars still hold to this method and view because the argument is well structured and established, especially if one adheres to the two-source hypothesis:

A time of origin after 70 is surely to be inferred from the supplement to the parable of the wedding feast (22:7): "Then the king became angry and sent his officer and condemned those murderers and burned their city." Here obviously the destruction of Jerusalem is alluded to; even if this is a stylized reference to the ancient practice of sending punitive expeditions, the author of Mt can hardly have introduced it here as an expansion of the parable (it is missing in Lk 14:16 ff) unless he meant the destruction of Jerusalem to be conceived as a punishment by God for the unbelief of the Jews.¹⁴

¹² Incidentally, this is the opposite instinct of one of the early readers of the Gospels in the critical period. Reimarus reads this passage as indicating the factual nature of the claim because of its origin in the exact time of Jesus' death. The disciples did in fact steal the body and the Gospel statement here is a disingenuous apology against this fact. This is not the twentieth century redaction critical reading of the Gospel, but Reimarus is reading the text not as concerning the events around Jesus' death, but around early Christianity and the time of the author, the evangelist rather than Jesus himself. Therefore, the instinct to understand the Gospel as indicating something not only about the time of Jesus' death, but also about a time later than Jesus' death, the time of Gospel composition, is already present in Reimarus' work of the late 18th century. See Charles H. Talbert, ed., *Reimarus, Fragments*, trans. Ralph S. Fraser (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1970; reprint: Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), 130-133 and 153-164.

¹³ For more on the date of Mt, see below.

¹⁴ Kümmel, *Introduction*, 119.

Matthew 22:7 is not read as part of the parable itself or as a reflection of the life and time of Jesus. Rather, it is considered to point to an occurrence in the life of the early Christians: the destruction of Jerusalem. This method of reading precedes the heydays of both redaction criticism and form criticism, hailing from earlier in the critical period.¹⁵ Would Watson and Bauckham reject this conclusion as arising from an allegorical reading? If not, how can they be so opposed to the natural continuation of the logic behind this reading in finding other clues to the compositional context of Matthew in other verses? Could it be that these are not actual allegorical readings then and something else entirely?

Watson uses the Greek ἀλληγορέω to define his idea of an allegorical reading and to argue that Matthean community readings interpret the text to “mean something other (*all-*) than what it says (*agoreuein*).”¹⁶ The problem, though, is that when one asks questions like those above about Mt 22:7, the interpretation is not actually after a meaning of the text that is other than what it says (an allegorical reading). Rather, these questions are in pursuit of a better interpretation of the text as it stands. The key

¹⁵ Adolf Harnack could not entirely make up his mind on the date of Matthew, but cited Mt 22:7 as evidence that the text was written after 70 as if it were unnecessary to fully argue the point. See both Adolf Harnack, *Date of Acts and the Synoptic Gospels*, trans. The Rev. J.R. Wilkinson (London: Williams and Norgate, 1911): 133-34.

¹⁶ Watson, “Toward”, 212.

here lies in Bauckham's identification of the two questions that have been melded in Matthean (and Gospel) studies: the question of compositional context and the question of audience. Using Mt 22:7 to date the Gospel after the destruction of Jerusalem is a reading about the compositional context of the Gospel. Only with some of the most ambitious recent studies wherein every passage in the Gospel must be read as a stand-in for something else do we begin to border on allegory.¹⁷ In order to best interpret Matthew literally, though, we must pursue the context and it is inherent to Matthew's genre that the context of its composition and its reception will not necessarily be apparent on the surface.¹⁸

¹⁷ As perhaps an illustrative example, consider the parable itself in Mt 22. This parable is in fact an allegory and we as interpreters read it as such. There is a king who represents someone else. There are invited guests who represent some different people. Each character and each action in the parable represent something else and more than what they are on the surface. The fact that we read v 7, then as a key historical piece (i.e. to indicate the destruction of Jerusalem by Rome) is not then an allegorical reading. It rather opens up the literal meaning of the allegorical parable as Jesus tells it so that we can understand the text of Matthew as it stands (or, so we can read it literally).

¹⁸ E.D. Hirsch, Jr. defines context as follows: "... a very complex and undifferentiated set of relevant factors, starting with the words that surround the crux and expanding to the entire physical, psychological, social, and historical milieu in which the utterance occurs. We mean the traditions and conventions that the speaker relies on, his attitudes, purposes, kind of vocabulary, relation to his audience, and we may mean a great many other things besides." Hirsch continues by explaining that we usually indicate two quite distinct functions by context, one that interprets the whole of a text in order to interpret properly a part and the other to signify the aspects of a milieu that will assist an interpreter in properly conceiving of the whole. In these terms, then, what we are after in this chapter properly belongs to the latter aspect of context. See E.D. Hirsch, Jr., *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale, 1967), 86-89.

Reading the text to discern a compositional context, then, is not allegorical at all. In fact, both literal and allegorical readings require the establishment of a context. Whether or not an interpreter realizes it, she has read the text within a context. Context is something that an author brings to a text as much as it is something that an interpreter brings to a text, each in deciding meaning.¹⁹ Since this is true of any genre, Bauckham's argument based on genre cannot be correct for there is no genre that necessarily divorces itself from having a compositional context.²⁰ As Esler wrote in his initial critique of *The Gospels for All Christians*, "Context in the sociolinguistic sense is foreground, not background."²¹

Therefore our goal here in discussing the context of Matthew as a particular Christian group that we can describe is simply a step in the general exegetical process and one that we are making explicit. Perhaps Bauckham et al. would disagree, claiming

¹⁹ See Hirsch, Jr. *Validity*, 47-51 "Furthermore, context is something that has been determined – first by an author and then, through a construction, by an interpreter. It is not something that is simply there without anybody having to make any determinations." (48)

²⁰ Hirsch distinguishes between extrinsic and intrinsic genres by postulating that the extrinsic genre is any guess made about the genre of an utterance or text that is not the speaker's. In essence, the extrinsic genres are the wrong guesses we make as to the genre and the intrinsic genre is the correct genre, the proper genre to the text or utterance. The intrinsic genre can only be established with respect to a context, for these are the clues the speaker or writer leaves us to arrive at the intrinsic genre. See Hirsch, Jr. *Validity*, 78-89.

So in following Hirsch we also say that to talk of genre without a context and without discussing the contextual evidence would be nonsensical and self-deceptive at best and willfully ignorant at worst.

²¹ Philip Esler, "Community and Gospel in Early Christianity: A Response to Richard Bauckham's *Gospels For All Christians*," *SJT* 51 (1998): 239.

that this variety of explicitness is in fact over-determined.²² Yet, our making explicit what would otherwise be assumed is not over-determination at all; it is simply an argument that this is the best rendering of the available evidence.²³

Early Christian Leadership

What of the second component of Bauckham's argument, the idea that the author as a leader would have been generally transient and therefore could not be tied to a particular local compositional context? The scenario Bauckham paints, of course, touches directly on the argument in this dissertation, so to some extent we must engage in some circularity. If I succeed in defending my thesis, then this component of Bauckham's argument would necessitate reexamination because he proposes a uniform and universal picture of what could be expected of early Christian leaders. In the

²² Bauckham states many times over that the idea of the particular context where a gospel was written is not hermeneutically relevant in his defense against Margaret Mitchell's critique. Richard Bauckham, "Is there Patristic Counter-Evidence? A Response to Margaret Mitchell" in *The Audience of the Gospels*, ed. Edward W. Klink III (New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 68-110. A key part of Bauckham's thought that such a context does not matter is that Christian leaders would have been itinerant and so no particular context would have anything significant about it as opposed to any other. On this underlying assumption, see below.

²³ Of course, we are aware, as Hirsch is, that Matthew as an anonymous early Christian text leaves much to be desired as far as properly assessing a context. The milieu aspect of context that we desire lacks many external clues for our text and so we must relate internal indicators of external aspects of the milieu in order to provide the most probable rendering of the context. See Hirsch, *Validity*, 88.

meantime, however, I will examine some of the possible evidence and arguments against such a portrait of Christian leaders outside the scope of this dissertation.

“Constant, Close Communication”

Bauckham begins with a confident description of the early Christian world: “The early Christian movement was not a scattering of isolated, self-sufficient communities with little or no communication between them, but quite the opposite: a network of communities with constant, close communication among themselves.”²⁴ While the general idea of a connected Christian network is in line with much of our discovery in chapter two, his modifiers overstate the case. Were the early Christians really in “constant, close communication” or is this going a bit too far? Even Paul admits at times that he had not stayed in contact with the communities he founded and/or shepherded as closely as he would have liked.²⁵ If Paul were in constant and close

²⁴ Bauckham, “Gospels”, 30.

²⁵ E.g. the situation Paul describes in Gal 1 and 2 is not one of constant contact, for Paul describes how people heard of him from afar, but he does not describe a situation where news about his activities were well known and communicated throughout the network of churches. If these churches were in constant and close communication, it is unlikely that someone as prominent in the founding of Christian communities participating in these networks would be so unknown. Further, consider the instructions in Col 4:16 to have this letter read in Laodicea and to read the letter addressed to the Laodiceans. This is the type of network that existed between Christian communities who were part of the Pauline communities. Letters sent to one church may be passed along so others could read them, but this hardly qualifies as constant and close contact, for the letters.

The Pauline communities are those for which we have the most evidence simply because of the nature of Paul’s ministry. However, would we not expect more evidence of this type of communication

communication with all of his communities, would he really have missed the problems that seemed to have risen to a fever pitch in Corinth before he could address them? Would the troublemakers in Galatia have achieved such a foothold before he could correct the problem? Further, would he be able to claim as much distance from the pillar leadership in Jerusalem as he does in Gal 1-2 if these leaders were in constant and close communication with all of the Christian communities? Constant and close are not only exaggerated modifiers, but they misunderstand the ancient setting. Communication in the ancient world could not be constant despite the network of communities.²⁶

Even more, what could “close” even mean in this context? As Bauckham develops the argument, it seems he means that the communication travels with Christian leaders and that, by virtue of their analogous roles as leaders, these people would have a natural affinity for one another. This would have led to a willingness to

from leadership to justify Bauckham’s claim? The Pauline evidence does witness to individuals or small groups traveling between places and therefore carrying information and building networks, but it is not something so formal as a network among the leaders, formed to keep in close and constant contact.

²⁶ Perhaps Bauckham’s use of these modifiers is meant to exaggerate and therefore work to correct an imbalance in the view of this history. He is surely correct about the heightened mobility and communication networks provided by the Roman peace and system of roads, so we should not think that these areas of the ancient world were isolated and disconnected from one another. See Bauckham, “Gospels”, 32f. However, the use of a word like “constant” in a context where we truly could have constant communication if we desired through the internet, mobile phones, etc. betrays a lack of rigor with respect to language.

share information readily between them and an intimate knowledge of their various domains would result. That such individuals did exist cannot be debated, for Paul is the preeminent example.²⁷ However compelling the example of Paul, though, it should not lead us into the mistaken assumption that all Christian leadership looked like Paul.

The Evidence for Bauckham's Claim

The major problem with Bauckham's argument is over reliance on the Pauline evidence with some supplementation from Acts. His exemplars are almost exclusively from the Pauline circle: Paul and his traveling companions (Timothy, Titus, Tychicus) "were constantly on the move, normally only staying weeks or months at a time in one place."²⁸ Other Pauline associates such as Barnabas, Mark, Silas/Silvanus, Apollos, Aquila and Priscilla, and Andronicus and Junias "may not have been so constantly mobile, but most [were] to be found in several different locations at different times in

²⁷ Clearly Paul at least enjoyed connections to various locales and unless he was delusional (and his delusion became quickly enshrined in Christian tradition after his death), he could claim some leadership and authority in those locales. As Bauckham is ready to show as well, Ignatius of Antioch could be another example, though it has been repeatedly suggested his letters should not be trusted as proof of his authority in various locations. C.P. Hammond Bammel, "Ignatian Problems," *JTS* 33 (1982): 62-97 discusses two of the major monographs that initiated the most recent round of distrust concerning Ignatius and his letters. On the longer history of the distrust of Ignatius' writings, see Allen Brent, "The Ignatian Epistles and the Threefold Ecclesiastical Order" *JRH* 17 (1992): 18-21.

²⁸ Bauckham, "Gospels", 33-34.

their careers.”²⁹ Finally, Peter, Philip the evangelist and his prophet daughters, Agabus, the brothers of the Lord and the author of Hebrews round out the picture. These all also “may not have been so constantly mobile, but most [were] to be found in several different locations at different times in their careers.”³⁰ For the first group, no evidence is presented. For the second group, his footnoted evidence comes from Acts, Romans, Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Colossians, Philemon, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 2 Timothy, two references from 1 Pet 5, and some preserved traditions in Eusebius’ *History*.³¹ For the third group, Acts, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, 1 Peter, Hebrews, and preserved traditions in Eusebius’ *History*. At first glance, this may seem to be a fair distribution among the NT, but upon closer examination, one finds that out of 81 total references, 45 are from Acts and 26 are from Pauline materials. That leaves three from 1 Peter, one from Hebrews, and six traditions preserved in Eusebius, which should not be taken as independent from the Pauline evidence and the Acts evidence.³² Further, out of twelve

²⁹ Bauckham, “Gospels”, 34.

³⁰ Bauckham, “Gospels”, 34.

³¹ Bauckham, “Gospels”, 34.

³² The traditions preserved in Eusebius break down among three individuals: three traditions ascribed to Polycrates, two to Gaius, and one to Papias. Of these three, we should be aware that only Papias lived in the first century, both Papias and Polycrates come from Asia Minor where Paul’s influence was heavy, and Gaius, who lived at the end of the 2nd century, lived in Rome. For this reason, these three

individuals or groups, three rely on Acts and Pauline materials alone, one on Acts alone, two on Paul alone, and two on Paul and Eusebius alone. This leaves only four out of twelve that draw support from other evidence. So, is the weight of 1 Peter and Hebrews enough to convince us that this portrait is not only typical, but characterizes a majority so much so that we could not imagine the Gospels written by anyone other than this type of individual?

Even if we leave behind the dating of 1 Peter and count the testimony there as independent, early and true,³³ Heb 13:23 only shows us the possibility of the author traveling to visit one place, not necessarily implying a traveling lifestyle. Even more, various locales would be interested in claiming visits from Peter, Paul, and those associated with them for the authority they represented, especially in the later church. Finally, since Paul became such a force in Christianity, it should not surprise us that others would pattern their own lives after his activities. Although Bauckham critiques scholars for overemphasizing the Pauline evidence in allowing reading methods appropriate to Paul to influence how they read the Gospels, he overemphasizes the

traditions cannot really be accounted free from the influence especially of the Pauline materials, but also of Acts.

³³ On the date of 1 Peter, see Paul J. Achtemeier, *1 Peter: a commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 49-50. Achtemeier summarizes the reasons to date the epistle to 80-100 CE, a time when its historical frame of a letter sent from Rome by the Apostle Peter through Silvanus with greetings from Mark would most likely have been fictitious.

evidence from Acts and Pauline Christianity in his own reconstruction of Christian leadership.

Even in his overemphasis of Acts, though, he misses some key components showing leadership that did not travel. Acts 8:1 tells us that the Twelve were not among those who were scattered by the persecution and we do not hear of members of the Twelve other than Peter and John leaving Jerusalem.³⁴ Acts 13:1-3 narrates a scene where a stationary leadership of prophets and teachers appoints a group of men to be sent out from Antioch. This leadership of prophets and teachers included Barnabas and Saul who did travel, but also included three men who did not travel. The model here shows part of a leadership group being sent out to establish additional groups of believers while others remain stationary at the base community. Acts 15 introduces a new group of leaders in the elders (πρεσβύτεροι). In this particular chapter, they are a stationary leadership group in Jerusalem along with the Twelve. The storyline in Acts depicts not just the stationary group of leaders in Jerusalem and a stationary group of leaders in Antioch, but a relationship between these two cities. Both cities exert a

³⁴ Peter and John are sent from Jerusalem to Samaria in Acts 8 and in Acts 9, we are told the Peter travels broadly among the believers. Yet, after Saul is baptized and came to Jerusalem, he is brought to the Twelve in Acts 9:27, so again we have confirmation that in the view of this text, the Twelve generally stayed there and did not move about. It is mostly a Petrine role to travel. See Acts 9:32. Acts 12:2 narrates the beheading of James, confirming that he did not leave Jerusalem before his death. Again, Acts 15:1-30 confirms that the most of the Twelve had stayed in Jerusalem.

certain amount of influence over other Christian groups. Jerusalem in Acts serves as the heart of the Christian movement. Antioch, though, as the base for Paul on his first mission trip begins to serve as the heart of a new part of the Christian movement.

Because Jerusalem is the heart, though, the Gentile-laden movement with its heart in Antioch needs approval from the leadership in Jerusalem. So, first there is a group of stationary leaders in Antioch who appoint Paul, Barnabas and some others to travel to Jerusalem. Then, they appear before the stationary leadership at Jerusalem before this Antiochene brand of Christianity is authorized by Jerusalem as the mother church.³⁵

Thus, according to Acts, we see a model established in Jerusalem and then reproduced in Antioch, a model where a stationary group of leaders, including elders, oversees a larger regional group of communities.

Finally, we see this model confirmed in Acts 20:17ff. Paul requests that the Ephesian elders come to meet him in Ephesus as he will not be traveling through Ephesus on this journey. Though at first glance this may appear as if they are a mobile leadership since they travel to Miletus to meet him, we should pay attention to the words Paul speaks to them: ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας ἀφ' ἧς ἐπέβην εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πῶς μεθ' ὑμῶν τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐγενόμην. Paul's statement implies that the

³⁵ Note that Acts 15:22-3 confirms again the stationary status of the Jerusalem leadership as they choose particular men to accompany Paul and Barnabas back to Antioch with their decision.

Ephesian elders have not left Asia since Paul's own first days in the province. So, at the very least these leaders of the church stayed put regionally. More likely, since Paul sent to Ephesus asking them to join him at Miletus, they had always remained in Ephesus while Paul was the one who could not (according to Acts 19).³⁶

Summary

Though Bauckham has rightly pointed to the connectedness of early Christian communities through networks, his case that the earliest Christian leadership would all have been traveling and thus maintaining this network themselves is inconvincing because of his imbalanced reading of the evidence and drawing conclusions from limited evidence. Reading additional portions of Acts that recount stationary groups of leaders displays the problem with the conclusions Bauckham drew from his limited and imbalanced evidence. Since earliest Christian leadership did take on stationary forms and since interpreting any text betrays at least an assumed context, we are on solid ground to examine a local compositional context for the Gospel of Matthew, even if the Gospel itself were originally intended to take on the non-local audience which has become its legacy. In pursuit of this goal, then, let us first consider a few critical issues

³⁶ This is how Richard Pervo takes the verse, understanding it to mean these presbyters/elders were each leaders of house churches in Ephesus, leaders of local communities of believers. See Richard Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009), 514-517.

that will significantly influence our rendering of a context for Matthew: date and provenance.³⁷

Date

External Evidence

The earliest direct external evidence we have for Matthew is \mathfrak{P}^{104} from the second century. As with any of these early papyri, it is fragmentary, but the clear section of text, Mt 21:34-37, shows remarkable stability across the consistently and frequently cited witnesses.³⁸ Turning to other external evidence, we have the testimony of Papias preserved in Eusebius. Papias mentions a Matthew who preserved Hebrew oracles,

³⁷ Though genre is usually a fixed component of introductory matters, since we established above that any given genre has a context, we will not pursue a generic discussion here. Rather, as comments about the particular features of the genres of particular pericopes are taken up in the next section, we will discuss the generic features helpful for strategically reading these pericopes. The assumed genre of Matthew, then, is the same as Davies and Allison's when they establish that it is a mixed genre text ("an omnibus of genres"). See W.D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, ICC, 3 vols. (New York: T&T Clark, 1988-2004), 1: 1-7.

³⁸ \aleph and B are the earliest complete witnesses to the Gospel text and date from the fourth century. Such a fragmentary witness as \mathfrak{P}^{104} certainly cannot guarantee the full text of Matthew in the second century, but it is a weighty piece of evidence for the possibility of the full text. This is especially true given that \mathfrak{P}^{104} does not show any major variation from the broader tradition within the viewable words and fragments of words in the manuscript. Granted, there are words such as $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\nu$ that do not show up at all on the papyrus and so cannot be guaranteed. However, all of the text displayed in the broader tradition would fit in the missing fragments of \mathfrak{P}^{104} . Further, because this particular section appears in Mark and Luke, the distinctive Matthean version on display in \mathfrak{P}^{104} makes the testimony for the Gospel of Matthew in the second century even weightier.

though the exact translation of Eusebius's Greek here is debated.³⁹ Regardless of the details, most agree today that Papias here mentions the first evangelist and the first Gospel. Since Papias lived ca. 60-130, we can suppose that Matthew took shape before Papias's death.⁴⁰ Any further specificity must come from determining whether or not various early Christian texts allude to or quote Matthew.

Ignatius's letters, written in the first decades of the second century,⁴¹ provide five possible points of contact with Matthew. The most probable are *Smyrn* 1.1, where

³⁹ See e.g. the discussion in Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1: 127-130. The debate centers around whether the activity of Matthew was preservation and writing, so whether his work was mainly resetting traditions, shaping them, and adding to them, or whether his work was mainly translation or some other stage in the process of bringing us the final form of the text. Finally, the consensus that Matthew in its current form is not a translation from an Aramaic original threw the validity of Papias' testimony further into question.

⁴⁰ I do not mention here the reliability of Eusebius in reporting the Papias account nor the debate over the dating of Papias' life because there are not many who debate our assumed date. Markus Vincent, however, seeks to reopen the debate around Papias' dates and apply his new dating to the Gospels at large. See Markus Vincent, *Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels* (Leuven: Peeters, 2014) for his project on applying his new Papias dates to the Gospels, dates which he argued in Markus Vincent, *Christ's Resurrection in Early Christianity* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011). Much of Vincent's goal is to show that Papias lived to dispute Marcion. Most interesting from his work on Papias, however, he comments that Papias' stance toward both Matthew and Mark is one of critique. Papias endorses neither Gospel, but rather points to Peter as a mediator of the two. (See esp. *Marcion*, 12-26) This has potential for further exploration as it could tell us something about the development of Gospel authority and the relative transmission of these texts around the region and Roman world. For our purposes, however, it is enough that Papias knew the text to prove existence in a dating conversation.

⁴¹ Eusebius dates Ignatius's martyrdom to the reign of Trajan (98-117 CE). Though the dates of Ignatius's letters are sometimes pushed later, especially by those interested in dating NT and other early Christian texts later, the opinion that Eusebius is to be trusted here and that the conditions around his martyrdom point to the latter half of Trajan's reign still dominate the field. Alternatively, Vincent in his recent argument for dating the Gospels after Marcion, denies Ignatius' letters entirely as evidence in the conversation because of their debated date. See Vincent, *Marcion*, 173-180. Simply denying the

Ignatius writes that Jesus was baptized by John in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled by him, and *Poly* 2.2, where Ignatius urges his addressees to be shrewd as the serpent in all circumstances and always innocent as the dove. Matthew 3:15 is singular in the Gospel traditions in associating Jesus' baptism with some opposition from John and explaining its necessity as a fulfilling of all righteousness (3:15), so it is most likely that Ignatius knew of Matthew's account of the baptism. Further, though P. Oxy. 655 shows a tradition in the Gospel of Thomas that also shares the serpent and dove saying, it is as similar to Ignatius' quote as Mt 10:16 is.⁴² Therefore, based on the reference in *Smyrn*, this instance in *Poly* is more likely to confirm knowledge of Matthew than to indicate knowledge of Thomas.⁴³ So Ignatius likely knew Matthew, which moves our *terminus ad quem* back to 117CE, the end of Trajan's reign.⁴⁴

consideration of evidence, however, does not provide us with the best picture. Rather, we are best served by laying all possible evidence on the table and considering how to weigh that evidence in making a conclusion. Uncertainty around dating should influence such weighing, but excluding anything with uncertainty as to its date would prevent us from having much if any evidence at all.

⁴² Mt 10: 16b: γίνεσθε οὖν φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραὶ
 Ign, *Polycarp* 2.2: φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς ὁ ὄφις ἐν ἅπασιν καὶ ἀκέραιος εἰς αἰὲ ὡς ἡ περιστερά
 P. Oxy. 655 col. ii. 17-23: γίν[εσθε φρόνι]μοι ὡ[ς ὄφεις καὶ ἀ]κέραι[οι ὡς περιστε]ρα[ί]

⁴³ Ignatius here is rarely accounted as alluding to Thomas, and no other occurrences point to Thomas in Ignatius' letters.

⁴⁴ Many have pushed the lifetime of Ignatius past the end of Trajan's reign and into the reign of Hadrian. Further, as Markus Vinzent, *Marcion*, reminds us the dates for this literature are contested. However, the date for Matthew is also contested and in the end the entire dating enterprise for much of this literature rests upon relating whatever text happens to be under examination to other texts whose

Other possible textual connections include Justin Martyr's works, the *Gospel of Peter*, *Didache*, *2 Clement*⁴⁵, *1 Clement*⁴⁶, *2 Peter*, *1 Peter*, John, Revelation, the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*⁴⁷, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*⁴⁸. The *Didache* presents a challenge because recent research has re-opened the question of whether it depends on Matthew or Matthew depends on the *Didache*, so we do not find assistance here.⁴⁹ Further, if we accept the evidence of Papias, then many of these textual relationships become incidental to the date as they are later than 100. Finally, the textual connections of the others to

dates are uncertain. Thus, all of this is a quite fragile process indeed! On this and the fact that it lacks concern or impact on our argument in this dissertation, see below.

⁴⁵ *2 Clement* has been dated at the turn of the second century on the early side and to the latter half of the second century on the later side. Unfortunately, the textual evidence here is quite unclear. The quoted passage is one that Matthew reproduces exactly from Mark and other instances of close relationship to Matthew are different enough from our textual evidence that they cannot be assumed to show knowledge of Matthew.

⁴⁶ *1 Clement* is regularly dated to the end of Domitian's reign or the beginning of Nerva's. Even more so than *2 Clement*, though, this text's quotations are thematically similar to some of Matthew but not close in actual syntax and diction. Thus, it is also quite shaky ground on which to base such an insignificant move of the *terminus ad quem*.

⁴⁷ The earliest date suggested for *Martyrdom of Polycarp* is 156 CE.

⁴⁸ *Barnabas* dating is notoriously difficult and generally falls within the range of 70-132 CE, without much consensus. Therefore, without staking a strong position on such a contested topic, recourse to this text is unadvisable.

⁴⁹ See e.g. Alan J. P. Garrow, *The Gospel of Matthew's Dependence on the Didache* (New York: T&T Clark, 2004) and Christopher M. Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache" in *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, ed. Jean-Marie Sevrin (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1989), 197-230. For more, see ch 5 n8 below.

Matthew remain too shaky to serve as a basis on which to build a solid case.⁵⁰ Thus, we have arrived at the limits of external evidence.

Internal Evidence

We turn, then, to the internal evidence. The simplest and most direct internal evidence for a date is Mt 22:7, a verse that has often been read in the past 150 years as a direct reference to the Roman destruction of the Temple and siege of Jerusalem.⁵¹

Because this verse is absent from the parallel parable in Lk 14, there is reason to consider why it may have been added. The imagery of soldiers burning and the

⁵⁰ The dating of John and the relationship between the synoptic tradition and the Johannine Gospel tradition ultimately prevents us from utilizing this possible connection. Revelation and 1 Peter allude occasionally to themes similar and strikingly close to Matthew, but the syntax and diction never come close enough for us to build a serious case. Perhaps this is the reason recent commentators such as Nolland, France, Hagner and Keener do not even bring up allusions or parallels to other NT texts outside of the synoptic Gospels. Ben Witherington is an outlier when he claims that 1 Peter was written in the 60's and therefore Matthew alludes to this epistle. His discussion is helpful, though, in that it reminds us that if we would like to find allusions between these texts, we must remember that they could go either way since so much of the dating of texts in the first century and a half of the common era is disputed for good reason. See Ben Witherington III, *Matthew* (Macon, GA: Smith and Helwys, 2006), 28-31.

⁵¹ As mentioned above, Mt 22:7 has been read in the modern period as indicating that Jerusalem and the Temple had been burned by Rome. This reading was known to Harnack before the twentieth century, though he doubted whether or not a date after the Roman attack was the best reading.

See Adolf Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius* (Leipzig: J.C. Heinrichs, 1897), 653ff. On the one hand, Harnack references Mt 22:7 saying, "Dieses Evangelium setzt die Zerstörung Jerusalems, wie Lucas, voraus. Es folgt das aus c. 22, 7 mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkeit." (653). But he hedges on the next page saying, "In dem Momente rückt es aber so nahe an die Zerstörung Jerusalems heran, dass sich diese Katastrophe deutlicher in dem Buche spiegeln müsste, wenn sie wirklich eben geschehen war. Ich muss deshalb den Ansatz des Buches auf die Zeit vor 70 für sehr wahrscheinlich halten." (654)

seemingly extreme reaction of the ruler support the insertion as referencing the destruction of the Temple.⁵² However, Josephus tells us that the Temple was burned, not the city as Mt 22:7 recounts. Further, if this text were written after the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, many argue that we should expect more evidence of such a massive trauma in a Gospel so thoroughly concerned with Judean and Jewish themes.⁵³ Thus, some debate has developed around whether or not identifying Mt 22:7 with the destruction of the Temple is valid, though the tendency in recent scholarship has been to date Matthew after 70CE because of this verse.⁵⁴

The other internal evidence scholars usually consider becomes much more subjective from here. Arguments based on the development of certain theological principles, the demographics of the community members, the structure and organization of the community, and even the relationship to a forming Rabbinic Judaism are often summoned as reasons to hold a particular date for this text.⁵⁵ The

⁵² See e.g. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:129-37.

⁵³ See e.g. Nolland, *Matthew*, 13-17.

⁵⁴ The chart in Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:127 was then reworked and broadened by Markus Vinzent in Vinzent, *Marcion*, 174-175. Left off of Vinzent's list are the commentaries by France, Keener, Nolland, and Witherington. Nolland and France push the date before 70, but Keener and Witherington continue to argue for a post-70 date.

⁵⁵ See any of the commentaries listed in the bibliography for examples of these. Further, monographs such as J. A. Overman, *Church and Community in Crisis: the Gospel According to Matthew* (Valley

problem with these arguments is their imposition of a previously established picture onto the evidence. Scholars first decide what something should look like and then when Matthew does or does not line up with their picture, it serves as evidence for the dating argument. At this point, the evidence cannot be of any independent value because it is entirely dependent on a picture painted with many other contested elements, all of which must be correct for the picture to be accurate. The veracity of the underlying contested pieces, however, cannot be guaranteed.

In the end, then, the two factors that set the range of the date of Matthew are the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, Papias' mention of the Gospel as recorded in Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, and the evidence from Ignatius.⁵⁶ In order to truly be judicious in our conclusion, we take a position akin to F. C. Grant who would only give the range 70-135 CE. We take issue with the fact that Grant relied on Mt 22:7 as indicating a post-70 date, though.⁵⁷ The verse cannot be so reliably accounted. Further,

Forge: Trinity International Press, 1996) further delve into these types of arguments and occasionally build the arguments that some of the commentators then use.

⁵⁶ These are typical factors in a final establishment of the date of Matthew. See e.g. Graham Stanton, *The Gospels and Jesus*, Oxford Bible Studies (New York: Oxford, 1989).

⁵⁷ See F.C. Grant, *The Gospels: Their Origin and Their Growth* (New York: Harper, 1957).

as argued above, 117 CE is a more appropriate *terminus ad quem*. Therefore, our proposed date range is 65-117 CE.⁵⁸

What matters for our study is that the Gospel of Matthew reflects a time after Paul's letters to the Corinthians.⁵⁹ We are unable to establish its exact temporal relationship to the *Didache*, and when the time comes we will take into consideration both the possibility that it could precede or that it could follow the *Didache*.

Provenance

What we mean by the provenance of Matthew may be a complicated question. Most scholars do not separate the location of Matthew's composition from the location where it came to prominence. The evidence cannot require that these two are identical, though, because no place of origin or early history of the text is available. Further, there is not a sufficient logical reason to assume that the author's work was well received and became prominent in the location where he wrote it. Therefore, it is entirely possible that his work was a minority opinion within his own provenance, but

⁵⁸ Of course 117 CE is highly unlikely as the text would need to have gained some traction for Ignatius to cite it in the manner he does as authoritative for his audience.

⁵⁹ Even John A. T. Robinson in his project to date the NT texts as early as possible would not put Matthew before Paul's writing. Granted, he does state that Matthew could be both our earliest and latest Synoptic Gospel because it shows quite a bit of accretion throughout. However, it would be the stage of collecting traditions at the very earliest that could possibly precede Paul and the work we are pursuing here concerns itself mostly with what Robinson would call accretions. See John A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), esp. 86-117.

then later became a prominent authority somewhere else (or even in his own location at a different time).

Some have postulated that the author's work was a minority opinion within his native environment. This argument serves to bolster a position against reconstructing any type of social history or background information about a Matthean community based on the text of Matthew.⁶⁰ However, the fact that Matthew survived where other Gospels did not shows that it did come to prominence somewhere and served as an authority in that place. This would have happened rather early as Ignatius of Antioch already used this Gospel as an established authority.⁶¹ A community where this text held prominence, even if it were not the community where the author wrote it, would therefore be influenced by what it has to say and what it implies about communal organization and communal roles. Further, the traditions embedded and finalized in the version of Matthew to which our manuscript evidence witnesses would have been shaped by the locale where the Gospel came to prominence. Is this not after all the very meaning of such a text coming to prominence? That the particular traditions of such a

⁶⁰ Note that though a commentator may not ultimately tilt in one direction for the provenance (e.g. David L. Turner in his Baker Exegetical Commentary claims agnosticism on the provenance – Turner, *Matthew*, 14-15), all the major commentaries still discuss it. In other words no one has been so willing to claim that Matthew does not represent a particular place to reject a discussion of provenance completely.

⁶¹ On Ignatius's use of Matthew, see above in the section on the date of Matthew.

locale would become controlling and normative over other geographical areas? For this reason, we can proceed with our own study.

On account of what we have said above, though, the idea of a provenance based on the internal and external evidence of Matthew cannot be substantiated completely and at best will remain theoretical. Since our own study is not geographically bounded within the ancient Mediterranean world, in the end this is inconsequential. A preliminary discussion of the major arguments remains helpful because it points to some important textual and extra-textual features. These features assist us further in contextualizing Matthew.

Privileging External Evidence

The traditional identification between the place of composition and the place where Matthew came to prominence can help us understand why such strong opposing views on provenance exist. Much of this has to do with whether or not a scholar privileges internal or external evidence and then fits the unprivileged category to fit the other. For example, proponents of Antioch as a location (which has taken on much popularity in recent Matthean scholarship), often begin from external evidence. In these interpretations, the traditions in Papias and Irenaeus figure prominently, as well as Ignatius's citations and allusions. For these scholars, Matthew attained a place of

substantial primacy to take on the role it does in these three prominent early Christian fathers. For Matthew to attain such primacy, it would need to originate from a base of influence like Antioch. From this base, the internal evidence can easily fit the hypothesis: 1) Peter is prominent in the Gospel and Paul tells us that he was a leader in Antioch; 2) Antioch had a large Jewish population, so the elements of Matthew that suggest a strong Jewish context can be properly understood there; 3) There was a school in Antioch under Lucian in the third century and, according to Eusebius, another under a Dorotheus. This means access to texts for all the fulfillment quotations and the author's identity as a scribe also fit Antioch.⁶² This all makes for a fine case, but most everything in it would also fit if Matthew were written somewhere else and came to prominence in Antioch.⁶³

Privileging Internal Evidence

If we begin from the internal evidence, though, with Witherington for example, we can end up with a different picture. Witherington reads strong Jewish themes in Matthew and concludes that this indicates a predominantly if not exclusively Jewish-Christian provenance. Verses like Mt 5:17-20 with their strong affirmation of the Law

⁶² Eusebius, *H.E.*, 7.32.2.

⁶³ Proponents of Antioch include Peter Fielder, *Das Matthäusevangelium* (Stuttgart: Kolhammer, 2006), 19-22; Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, lxxiii-lxxv; and Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1: 138-46.

and the Prophets and seeming endorsement of the righteousness of the Pharisees and Scribal Jewish leaders affirm Jewish sources of authority and religious practices. This does not necessarily exclude Antioch, which had a substantial Jewish population. However, Witherington pushes Matthew outside of mainstream Jewish culture at the time on account of the Christology in the text.

Matthew's Jesus, though affirming some major pillars of Jewish thought, life, and practice, radically reinterprets the traditions in a way that leads many among the Jews to reject Matthean beliefs and practices. Witherington interprets this to indicate a double minority community. First, Matthew represents a minority in that the people are Jewish and second even among Jews, this group is a minority. Thus, Witherington looks for somewhere dominated by Jewish culture, but also quite remote because of the double minority feature of this group. Consequently, Witherington's privileging of the internal evidence leads him to postulate Capernaum, Galilee, or Sepphoris. He almost completely ignores the external evidence because he dates Matthew to the 70s or 80s. He reasons that, with a generation passing before Ignatius wrote, enough time would pass for the text to make its way to Antioch.

John P. Meier's Antioch Consensus

The evidence we privilege determines how we decide the provenance. For the majority of scholars, Antioch has won the day. Since John P. Meier's thesis in *The Vision of Matthew*, few have contested his date or provenance. Meier situated Matthew in Antioch as written by a second-generation Christian (70-100 CE).⁶⁴ Meier's thesis took on such force because he worked through all of the evidence judiciously and attempted to fit Matthew with a best-fit method. He acknowledged that some pieces of the evidence fit better than others, but concluded that Antioch presented the best overall possible locale.

Logically, Antioch is probably the place where Matthew took on its prominent nature in early Christianity, but we cannot say with certainty that it began there. It could be that those who argue for a more rural option originally are correct.⁶⁵ In this situation, our text after beginning in such a rural place, would be carried to Antioch and then become popular, prominent, and authoritative. Since Antioch would in this case become the vehicle for influence and authority, though, the community there

⁶⁴ See John P. Meier, *The Vision of Matthew: Christ, Church and Morality in the First Gospel* (New York: Paulist, 1978), 12-15.

⁶⁵ Along with Witherington, Graham Stanton, "The Communities of Matthew" in *Gospel Interpretation: Narrative-Critical and Social-Scientific Approaches*, ed. J.D. Kingsbury (Harrisburg: Trinity, 1997), 49-62, proposed a group of communities in Syria; and Overman, *Matthew's Gospel*, proposed Tiberias or Sepphoris.

would have shaped the text to reflect that authority and their own practices and beliefs. Therefore, whether it was Antioch or some other larger Christian center that gave Matthew the boost it needed to become prominent, that location would provide the needed context for this study.

Applying the Four Functions

Now that we are clear that reading Matthew with a view toward its compositional context and the community that would have been reading and preserving/refining this text is a valid strategy, what can we say about this communal context for the Gospel? We begin this process once again by using our four primary functions (membership management, resource management, regular meetings, and public relations) as tools to assist us in building the first foundational blocks of our understanding of what this community might have looked like and how it might have lived together.

Membership Management

Membership management in Matthew consists first and foremost of the initiation and the subsequent teaching of the members. Members are called to become μαθηταί, a term connected to teaching, the rabbis, and the philosophical schools because of their

particular modes of training.⁶⁶ These connections serve as one indication of Matthew's particular concern for the continued teaching and training of new members even after they are initiated. We turn first to the final words of Jesus in the Gospel as a programmatic plan for the readers, then consider baptism as initiation into the community, and conclude the initiation discussion with the instruction μαθηταί would receive. After this, we will consider some problems that may arise among the membership and how these problems might be managed according to Matthew since our text particularly pays attention to these details.

Excursus 2: Were There Women μαθηταί?

Recently, Dennis Duling has proposed an interpretation of the Matthean group that he calls a "scribal brotherhood".⁶⁷ While Duling has not explicitly said that this would exclude women entirely from the group, his language choice of brotherhood and the way he has discussed the community indicates at least the prominence of men among the leadership and membership. Further, the language of the Gospel itself can

⁶⁶ See e.g. Anthony J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (Chicago: Chicago, 1994), esp. 96-100 and the older treatment in Krister Stendahl's monograph *The School of St. Matthew* where he uses E. von Dobschütz's 1928 article "Matthew as rabbi and catechist" as a jumping off point for his argument that the Gospel of Matthew is the product of a school environment where various individuals were training under the catechesis that can be found in the Gospel itself. Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew* (Ramsey, NJ: Sigler Press, 1991).

⁶⁷ See Dennis Duling, "The Matthean Brotherhood and Marginal Scribal Leadership" in *Modeling Early Christianity: Social-scientific Studies of the New Testament in its Context*, ed. Philip F. Esler (New York: Routledge, 1995), 159-182 and Dennis Duling, *A Marginal Scribe: Studies of the Gospel of Matthew in Social-Scientific Perspective* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2012).

occasionally be unclear as to who exactly is included among the μαθηταί. For example, in Mt 10:1, the Twelve are singled out as μαθηταί and Georg Strecker argued that throughout the Gospel only the Twelve were μαθηταί.⁶⁸ Thus, we ask the question of whether or not there were women among the μαθηταί in the Gospel of Matthew.

Generally, the Gospel of Matthew does not have a particularly prominent role for women, especially when we contrast it with Luke. In Luke, women support the ministry financially and acts as independent agents. In Matthew, they receive healing and petition Jesus, but otherwise mostly take on background roles. Until the Passion narrative, women in Matthew often approach Jesus, but we do not see any particular woman or group of women take on a prominent role in following Jesus or learning from Jesus as a μαθητῆς should. Once the Passion narrative comes though, all of this changes. Suddenly, the women are the ones who come to the fore and even the Twelve, those closest to Jesus who have been privileged to receive special authority (Mt 10:1) and special teaching (e.g. Mt 20:17),⁶⁹ are second to them when it comes to following Jesus and access to Jesus.

In Mt 26, a woman is the one who anoints Jesus for burial and in this way becomes the only one present to actually have understood and followed the teaching of Jesus on his upcoming death. When members of the Twelve betray and deny Jesus, when they scatter, it is the women who remain to the end at the crucifixion (Mt 27:55-56). In that moment, we learn that all along the journey, they had followed Jesus and

⁶⁸ Georg Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit: Untersuchung zur Theologie des Mathäus*, FRLANT 82 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 191.

⁶⁹ Often Jesus speaks to the μαθηταί and explains the parables that he leaves mysterious to the crowds or teaches the μαθηταί, but in instances such as Mt 20:17, the Twelve are removed even from the broader context fo the μαθηταί .

cared for his needs. Even in his death, they still follow him to the tomb (Mt 27:61, 28:1). In this way, they become the ones who are charged by Jesus to summon the Twelve for Jesus' final message.

At least in the Passion narrative, then, it is clear that there are women who are μαθηταί. They follow Jesus, they listen and learn from the teaching of Jesus and they proclaim what Jesus teaches them.⁷⁰ However, in other instances we also see Jesus claiming women as part of the most intimate group around him. In Mt 12:46-50, Jesus' blood relatives come to take him home, but he points to the μαθηταί and calls them not just ἀδελφοί, but also μήτηρ. Further, he goes on to explicitly state in v 50 ὅστις γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς αὐτός μου ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν. In both cases women are included among the μαθηταί described. Since the plural masculine ἀδελφοί can include both masculine and feminine individuals, v 50 makes explicit that it does in fact include females. Therefore, it is not only in the Passion narrative that women are shown to be among the μαθηταί, but they are there throughout.⁷¹

⁷⁰ See In-Cheol Shin, "Matthew's Designation of the Women as Indirectly Adherent Disciples," *Neot* 41 (2007): 404.

⁷¹ This is in slight contrast to how John Nolland reads the material. Nolland reads the pre-passion materials as entirely lacking in prominence for women versus the very prominent role of women in the Passion. He interprets this to show that the Matthean church "sat uncomfortably with the patriarchal norms of the culture" and gave prominent roles to women in its own setting. Though the community was not free from those norms, their own life was "known for the 'dangerous' freedoms and responsibilities it allowed its women." See Nolland, *Matthew*, 1056-57.

Matthew 28

Commentators have often called the final encounter between Jesus and the Eleven a vital passage for understanding the Gospel.⁷² Not only are they the final words of the Gospel, but they are also the final words of Jesus and they are the broadest command Jesus gives his inner circle in Matthew. In a Gospel where Jesus has placed strict limits on the scope of the evangelistic mission, this charge has no limitation.⁷³ The authority

⁷² Whether they identify it as a summary or as a key for understanding the Gospel, it still emphasizes the importance of the passage. Albright and Mann, *Matthew*, 361, when discussing this passage, note that Matthew is the only Gospel that has anything resembling an ending. They further write that these final verses look on to the continuing work of the Messianic community and make explicit the anticipated broader mission to the Gentiles. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:678-79 write that this section “(i) looks back to summarize Jesus’ ministry as a whole... and (ii) looks forward to the time of the church to outline a programme.” They also compare this ending to how Philo speaks of Deuteronomy as the head of the whole living creature of the law, thus affirming it as the key to the Gospel or “a table of contents at the end.” Luz, *Matthew*, 3:615ff. calls it a “manifest” of the risen Jesus and serves both as the climax of the Gospel and as a reminder of the entire Gospel that came before it. See further John P. Meier, “Two disputed questions in Matt 28:16-20,” *JBL* 96 (1977): 407-24 and Oscar S. Brooks, “Matthew xxviii:16-20 and the design of the first gospel,” *JSNT* 10 (1981): 2-18. For a slightly different view that places no less importance on the passage as a whole, see David C. Sim, “Is Matthew 28:16-20 the summary of the Gospel?,” *HTS* 70 (2014): 1-7.

⁷³ It is no accident that here the object of the aorist imperative is τὰ ἔθνη as until this point each charge had constrained itself only to Israel. Grammatically, the choice of the aorist imperative supports this. In effect the grammar encodes the message, “stop doing what you have been doing and now disciple the nations.” See BDF §335, 337.

The implication, then, of the phrase πάντα τὰ ἔθνη is that all of the gentiles would be made disciples. On the verb becoming transitive, see BDF §148. My position is consistent with John Nolland’s position that Matthew serves in some ways as an outline for training members of the community. How Matthew has been written and structured indicates that it was meant to be returned to again and again. See Nolland, *Matthew*, 19-24.

Finally, the universal scope of this mission really has no limitations, which means Israel is still included in the mission. According to J.R. Cousland, the crowds represent the people of Israel and are very much a target of the evangelistic message. The only possible limitation comes in the leaders of the Jewish people who put the limitation on themselves: they willfully rejected Jesus’ Messiahship wholesale

of the charge-giver, Jesus, is also universal. The words that follow are necessary for understanding and reading this Gospel.⁷⁴

What follows the introduction and Jesus' claim of authority, then, would have been important for how the members of the Matthean community understood themselves and their lives together. Those commands are as follows: πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν. The sequence of the verb and participles in these phrases is paramount for the interpretation. How do the participles, πορευθέντες, βαπτίζοντες, διδάσκοντες, here relate to the aorist imperative main verb μαθητεύσατε?

Excursus 3: Grammatical Analysis of the Participles in Mt 28:18

Since the first participle, πορευθέντες, and the main verb, μαθητεύσατε, are both aorist, and this participle precedes the main verb, it is likely that this is a participle of attendant circumstance. Further, because the alternative would be to treat this participle as an adverbial temporal participle, it makes the most sense to treat it as

and so they rejected the Kingdom of Heaven. For more on the crowds, Cousland, and this topic, see below on Public Relations. This is the topic of J. R. C. Cousland, *The Crowds in the Gospel of Matthew*, NovTSup 102 (Boston: Brill, 2002).

⁷⁴ Matthew 28:18 reads καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς λέγων ἐδόθη μοι πᾶσα ἐξουσία ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

attendant circumstance.⁷⁵ This means the participial action is subordinated to the main action of the verb, but it also indicates action that occurs with the main verb and so, as Smyth writes, “the force of [this participle] does not lie in the participle itself but is derived from the context.”⁷⁶ The context here is the imperative mood in the main verb and the necessity to leave Israel because of the call to make disciples of πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.⁷⁷ Therefore, this participle has the meaning and force of an imperative. First, the hearers must go or travel and then they will be able to make disciples of everyone outside of Israel.

The pair of participles that follow the main verb, βαπτίζοντες and διδάσκοντες, present a bit more of a challenge.⁷⁸ We could interpret them as a sequence of

⁷⁵ See Wallace, *Grammar*, 640-645. Wallace’s argument about Mt 2 is almost exactly applicable to Mt 28. The only other option here would be temporal and semantically a temporal participle does not make as clear sense of the passage, especially given the context of the Gospel with this climactic moment of the opening of Jesus’ teaching to πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. Further, see Wallace’s own comments on this verse on p 645. See also Smyth §2068-2069 on the attendant circumstance participle.

⁷⁶ Wallace, *Grammar*, 640-645.

⁷⁷ Recent commentators have debated the exact translation and scope of this mission. For example, Davies and Allison argue that πάντα τὰ ἔθνη references all nations, including Israel. (See Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:684-691.) Robert Gundry conceives of it as all the Gentiles, but as an expansion of the previous missions so that Israel/Judah is still included. See Gundry, *Matthew*, 594-598. However the exact translation is taken, commentators agree that the mission has been expanded from one of constrained singularity to wide-angled universalism and thus the eleven disciples being commanded would have to leave Israel. Luz thinks that Matthew’s mission includes Israel, but says Matthew shows no great hope that Israel will respond anymore than they already have. See Luz, *Matthew*, 3:631. See also, Konradt, *Israel*, esp. 265-306.

⁷⁸ B and D both show a variant with the aorist participle βαπτίσαντες rather than the present participle of the NA28 text. Since we are mainly dealing here with the NA28 text, I will simply note that if this aorist participle were the more original reading, it would only support the argument that follows in this dissertation. If the aorist tense shows a temporal relationship to the other participle, then it is only more clear that baptism occurs prior to the teaching. If, as is more likely, Ulrich Luz is correct that it simply intends to distinguish a one time act of baptism (see Luz, *Matthew*, 3:615), then the argument put forward above applies. It is important to note, though, that in this distinguishing of baptism, it requires

imperatives with the main verb, so that the action proceeds in the order of the words: πορευθέντες, μαθητεύσατε, βαπτίζοντες, διδάσκοντες, with the emphasis and control derived from the main verb. But, these final two participles are present participles and so their temporal relationship to the main verb is contemporaneous.⁷⁹ Specifically, they are best identified as participles of means. They function to explain the means by which the eleven are to complete the command μαθητεύσατε.⁸⁰

an understanding that teaching, rather than being one-time (as in before baptism), is ongoing and continuous.

⁷⁹ See Wallace, *Grammar*, 613-617. Note that Smyth §2040 establishes the tense of a participle as exclusively indicating aspect, either “simply occurring, continuous, or completed” which could present a challenge for the interpretation of these two participles. Are we to understand that initiates would be repeatedly baptized? This seems unlikely as any instances of baptism elsewhere in Matthew are singular events. Perhaps it is this exact problem that led to the aorist variant of this participle seen in B and D (on this variant, see above). Rather, if the aspect is reflective of an ongoing action at all, it is that baptisms will continue as more and more people are added to the group of μαθηταί. Most likely, though, it is present because of the proximity to διδάσκοντες, which would be an ongoing process, and because the meaning is that these means of accomplishing the imperative would be contemporaneous to its accomplishment. Thus, the aspect of this particular participle is troubling, but can be explained. Note further that Smyth §2063 informs us that the participle of means is often the present participle. Finally, see BDF §339: “a complexive aorist may be supplemented by a present participle *describing the same action.*” (emphasis original)

⁸⁰ So R.T. France interprets these participles as explanation for how one makes disciples and takes seriously the order, critiquing the contemporary church for turning baptism into a graduation rather than an initiation. See France, *Matthew*, 1114.

Ulrich Luz’s account of the tradition history is helpful here. He agrees that here we have participles of means, but notes that Jerome turns it into a three-step process of Christianization: first there is basic instruction (μαθητεύσατε), then baptism, then more advanced instruction (διδάσκοντες). See Luz, *Matthew*, 2:125-128, 3:625-631.

See also Albright and Mann, *Matthew*, 362 “But the verb [baptize] - and the derived noun “baptism” - includes considerations which are always presupposed in the New Testament. This lustration with or in water assumed (a) repentance on the part of the person being baptized, the baptism itself conveying or implying forgiveness (cf. Acts ii 38); (b) faith in Jesus as Messiah and Lord.” Albright and Mann’s view represents a traditional way of thinking about baptism in the New Testament: one considers multiple texts and allows the information from each to inform the other. Such a process, however, flows from an assumption similar to the one undergirding the very developmental model of Christian communities under dispute in this dissertation: the New Testament texts all witness to the same

Since the main verb is μαθητεύσατε, the emphasis is on this particular concept and the Gospel makes this clear. The participle πορευθέντες tells us what must happen so that the main command can be fulfilled. The audience must go. The two participles βαπτίζοντες and διδάσκοντες tell us how the main command will be fulfilled. The audience is instructed μαθητεύσατε τὰ ἔθνη by baptizing them and teaching them. The emphasis that some interpreters place on βαπτίζοντες reflects later debates in church history over the exact step-by-step process of initiation into Christianity and the consequences such a process may or may not have for theological themes like salvation and eschatology.⁸¹ For Matthew, anyone can learn from the teachings of Jesus and everyone should,⁸² but the first part of this process of learning, of being the object of the verb μαθητεύω, is to be baptized and then to be taught.⁸³

phenomenon and so can be used at least to exhibit the development of that phenomenon if not to simply paint a composite picture. We cannot take these other texts for granted, though, when we read Matthew on initiation of members. Rather, we must simply read Matthew.

⁸¹ On baptism in recent debates and scholarship, see Stanley E. Porter and Anthony R. Cross, eds., *Baptism, the New Testament, and the Church* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999). John Nolland's essay focuses on Matthew and baptism. We take our cue from his work in looking at baptism on this text's terms rather than on a broader basis.

⁸² Thus the crowds can be present for the teaching, but often when it comes to the particular teachings, they are unable to understand and it is only μαθηταί who receive the instruction that makes it clear. One must first be initiated or baptized and then can be taught.

Baptism

To better understand the concept of baptism in Matthew, we should consider the whole picture we have in the Gospel. Before Mt 28 baptism only arose in Mt 3 with John's ministry. It is clear both from John's ministry and from Jesus's continuation of that ministry that baptism is an initiation rite.⁸⁴

Matthew 3 narrates John baptizing Jesus and also shows what John's standard baptismal practice was. John preached a simple phrase: μετανοεῖτε ἥγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν (Mt 3:2). In Matthew 4:17 Jesus begins his ministry with these same words. Since Jesus' adult life in Matthew is bracketed by baptism, his own baptism by John and the concluding commandment to baptize, we see that John's baptism relates to Jesus' final commandment.⁸⁵ Matthew describes the circumstances of John's baptismal ministry as follows: καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἕξομολογούμενοι τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν. The people responded to John's call to repent

⁸³ Carlston and Evans argue that baptism replaces circumcision in Matthew's earliest Jewish context. Thus, it has an initiation connotation from the very beginning. See Carlston and Evans, *Synagogue*, 166.

⁸⁴ With Ulrich Luz, we argue that John's baptism should inform how we understand baptism in Mt 28. See Luz, *Matthew*, 3:632-636.

⁸⁵ Against Gundry who claims that the "into" language of Mt 28:18 serves to distinguish baptism in the post-resurrection community from John's baptism which only required repentance. According to Gundry, baptism in Mt 28 required allegiance to the triune God. See Gundry, *Matthew*, 596.

and were baptized with an accompanying confession. What else might happen around baptism, and would it warrant some period of instruction? Or do we have something more analogous to the picture in Acts 2 where one sermon is sufficient prior to baptism? Certainly the picture of John's ministry here is much closer to Acts 2 than an extended catechumenate.

In Matthew baptism involves faith in Jesus of some kind.⁸⁶ But of what variety is that faith? Matthew's vocabulary for Jesus' identity includes the Greek term *χριστός* or the title *υἱὸς Δαυίδ*.⁸⁷ The primacy of both as beliefs connected to Jesus for the faithful is on display from the first words of the Gospel: *βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυιδ υἱοῦ Ἀβρααμ*. Thus, we can say with Albright and Mann that initiation in the context of Matthew required some kind of faith claim with respect to Jesus.⁸⁸ If not, how could we explain the instructions in Mt 28:19 that baptism is *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*? Such phrasing may not imply a particular

⁸⁶ For the person to accept the preaching as authoritative, they must adhere to some faith in the identity of Jesus. For this reason the fulfillment quotations throughout the Gospel serve an excellent purpose in building and nurturing that perspective on who Jesus is and why the audience should grant him authority.

⁸⁷ Davies and Allison count 16 instances of *χριστός* in Matthew as opposed to 7 in Mk and 12 in Lk. Coming in close behind is *υἱὸς Δαυίδ* with 10 uses in Mt to 4 each in Mk and Lk. See Davies and Allison, *Matthew* 1:79.

⁸⁸ See above or Albright and Mann, *Matthew*, 362.

formula used in the ritual, but certainly implies a connection to those named. The relationship between πατήρ and υἱός is on prime display.⁸⁹

Certainly the phrase εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος distinguishes the baptism commanded in Mt 28 from what John practiced in Mt 3. John did not use any such language.⁹⁰ However, rather than making the baptism of Mt 28 something entirely new, we should consider this phrase to be the completion of John's baptism. Finally, Jesus' own baptism is one of several instances where he acts an *exemplum* for the community. Jesus was baptized and so anyone who wishes to be a μαθητής should also be baptized.⁹¹ Since Jesus' ministry began there, so the beginning of being one of the μαθηταί begins here also. Therefore, since no extended period of

⁸⁹ That the father-son relationship implies the messianic belief in Jesus can be seen from the use of enthronement Psalms in Mt with respect to Jesus. See e.g. Sungho Choi, *The Messianic Kingship of Jesus* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2011).

Further, two types of connection using the “into” language of the baptism have been advanced in the scholarship: the first is based on Greek usage and implies ‘in order that they may belong to’ and the second is based on Rabbinic parallels and implies ‘in order that they may enter into relationship with’. See Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:685. If either (or both) are true, then it is clear that the faith relationship here is important.

⁹⁰ Commentators agree that the “baptism into” language distinguishes this baptism from that of John and from Jewish proselyte baptism. See e.g. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:685. Though Albright and Mann do not use this explicit language, their emphasis on the faith claim inherent to it and the fundamental description of baptism this implies shows that they would distinguish them. See Albright and Mann, *Matthew*, 362-65.

⁹¹ On Jesus' baptism as an *exemplum*, see Carl Holladay, “Baptism in the New Testament and Its Cultural Milieu: A Response to Everett Ferguson, Baptism in the Early Church,” *J ECS* 20 (2012): 348-52.

teaching or instruction prior to baptism in Mt 3 is in view, we should not imagine one in Mt 28 either. Instead the teaching comes after baptism and so, “by teaching what Jesus taught, the [community] becomes an extension of his ministry.”⁹²

Teaching the Μαθηταί

What exactly then would this teaching program include? The explicit language of Mt 28, ἐνετειλάμην, provides no insight as it used only in Mt 4:6, in Mt 17:9, and in Mt 19:7. Only one of these instances is it a command by Jesus and this is command expired once the resurrection happened.⁹³ Since connections based on the word are not helpful in definitively establishing a meaning, we must turn rather to the portrait Matthew desires us to see of Jesus in the Gospel. Throughout the Gospel, Matthew consistently shows Jesus as teacher and/or law-giver.⁹⁴ For this reason, Davies and Allison interpret πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν to include everything Jesus said and did in the Gospel: not

⁹² Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:686. Again, since Jesus’ ministry imitated John’s, we should imagine the community’s ministry imitating both of them.

⁹³ Matthew 4:6 is a quotation used by the devil in tempting Jesus. Similarly, in Mt 19:7 the word is on the lips of someone questioning Jesus about divorce. In Mt 17:9, Jesus commands Peter, James, and John not to tell anyone about the transfiguration until the Son of Man is raised from the dead. Since Mt 28 is after Jesus has risen, this verse provides no insight either.

⁹⁴ This is a major contention of Davies and Allison in their commentary. See Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, esp. vol. 1.

just commands, but proverbs, blessings, parables, prophecies, and his example.⁹⁵ “The earthly ministry as a whole is an imperative.”⁹⁶ Carrying out this teaching would take quite a bit of time and probably repetition as any substantial body of knowledge requires.

During this time of teaching, new μαθηταί were considered especially vulnerable. They were yet to be fully formed and so sayings like Mt 18:6 (ὅς δ’ ἂν σκανδαλίση ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ, συμφέρει αὐτῷ ἵνα κρεμασθῆ μῦλος ὀνικός περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ καταποντισθῆ ἐν τῷ πελάγει τῆς θαλάσσης) reminded everyone to take special care of them. The “little ones who believe” in Jesus would be the new initiates who are still being taught.⁹⁷ Since they are yet so vulnerable, the punishment for causing them strife would be particularly severe.

⁹⁵ Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:686-89.

⁹⁶ Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:686-89.

⁹⁷ Dennis Duling lists the possibilities for identifying the “little ones” in the secondary literature: children, new members, a select group within the community, and all members of the community. Duling, *Marginal*, 89.

Keener thinks they are “true disciples” and the notation “little ones” serves to emphasize the willingness to make Christ great in complete sacrifice of the self. See Keener, *Matthew*, 284. Most commentators see the prior discussion in Mt 18:1-5 as a discussion around true discipleship. See e.g. Gundry, *Matthew*, 358-62 and France, *Matthew*, 676-77. However, what they miss is that Jesus says here ἐὰν μὴ στραφῆτε καὶ γένησθε ὡς τὰ παιδία, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. In other words, this transition into becoming a little one happens when one first submits to the rule of God (if we agree with the consensus around the kingdom of God/Heaven language – see France, *Matthew*, 101-4). This would be exactly at the time of baptism and initiation.

Further, sayings such as Mt 5:19 emphasize the immense responsibility the entire community would bear in being an example for the new initiates. This is not to say that everyone had teaching responsibilities. As mentioned above, the teaching burden was extensive and so there would necessarily be a functionary devoted to the task.

Trouble Between Members

Matthew 18 also provides instruction about difficulties that may arise among the group. The procedure outlined in vv 15-18 begins with individual confrontation and ends with communal shunning.⁹⁸ When individual confrontation fails, the offended party should bring one or two others to confront the offender. If this fails, then the instruction is to tell the entire group (ἐκκλησία). Once the entire group becomes involved, a decision must be made if the offender still will not listen (παρακούω). The community at that point is told to relate to the offender as a Gentile or tax collector. In other words, they are to shun the offender.⁹⁹ So, if a member becomes troublesome, ultimately, the community may need to be involved and it is likely there would be some

⁹⁸ Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:783-86: the intention is to confront the offending party and persuade that person of their wrongdoing. If this fails, more members of the community make the same attempt.

⁹⁹ So e.g. Gundry, *Matthew*, 368.

functionary to facilitate this process of communal attempt at reconciliation and, failing that, communal shunning.¹⁰⁰

Several questions still remain: Who would be authorized to perform these baptisms? Who would be responsible for teaching the initiates? Who would facilitate this final communal disciplinary action? It would also be helpful to know the size of the community, but the evidence is slim. The lack of evidence makes it difficult to theorize a specific context for the community to answer all of these questions.

Resource Management

When we turn to resource management, our argument becomes less direct by necessity. Matthew does not contain direct instruction about managing communal resources for the community's operation needs, but at several places in the Gospel we see an awareness of the mundane tasks of communal life. The two feeding stories in Mt 14 and 15 show an awareness of the need for food. The charge to the Twelve in Mt 10 shows an awareness of the need for a place to stay, clothing, and the resources to

¹⁰⁰ Michelle Slee reads Matthew 18 as the entire community judging and expelling offenders. She thinks that Matthew intended the community to be egalitarian, even if the reality on the ground did not always reflect that. She admits that David Sim and others may be correct when they reconstruct an historical situation where conflict has begun to arise because some are asserting their own authority. Even if Slee is correct, which is possible, it would still be helpful and perhaps necessary for an administrator to guide this process, whether or not such an individual was titled. See Michelle Slee, *The Church in Antioch in the First Century CE: Communion and Conflict*, JSNTSup 244 (New York: Sheffield, 2003), 146-47.

obtain these things. Matthew 26 displays awareness of the need for a location and other preparations in advance of the Passover meal. These details show an awareness of resource management as a task, but do little to expose us to how the tasks may have been accomplished. In fact they expose a lack of concern toward the task of preparing and managing resources, for at each point when there is need, some coincidence or miraculous occurrence meets the need.¹⁰¹

The one direct window into the management of resources is the practice of almsgiving. In Mt 6:1-4, almsgiving is placed within the communal context and it is likely that the group had some sort of communal management to collect and distribute resources as needed.

Communal Resources and Daily Life

The lack of concern for resource management is on full display in Mt 21:1-7. Here Jesus sends two disciples to take two donkeys they would find tied up. Was the owner of these animals a fellow disciple? Why would the statement ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν χρεῖαν ἔχει be enough to convince an onlooker to permit the two disciples to continue what otherwise appears to be common thievery? We could theorize all manner of ways to make sense of this: perhaps the two disciples would pay for the animals, perhaps the

¹⁰¹ This is reflective of the teaching on proper orientation toward the resources needed for daily life in the Sermon on the Mount as well in Mt 6:25-34. For more, see below.

owner was a disciple and had offered it, or perhaps the use of the animals had been prearranged (and pre-paid) with the phrase serving as a password.¹⁰² Ultimately, Nolland's observation that Matthew's dramatic abbreviation of the parallel account in Mk 11 "shows no interest in whether prior arrangement or supernatural knowledge is the answer" is correct.¹⁰³ Matthew makes no effort to answer this question, just as he makes no effort to answer the question in Mt 26 of how the person who will host Jesus and his disciples for the Passover would be known to them.¹⁰⁴ The arrangements for

¹⁰² So France, *Matthew*, 775-77. Each of the three suggestions above shares a rationalist presupposition to interpreting the story. Otherwise, we could propose something akin to Turner, *Matthew*, 494. Turner suggests that Jesus simply has supernatural knowledge and leaves it at that. Unfortunately, this is an unsatisfying strategy for it simply dodges the questions rather than answering it. So Jesus has supernatural knowledge. Why then would an onlooker permit the removal still? Could one simply take resources from anyone in this town by claiming God had need for them? Perhaps, we should place the supernatural knowledge claim within the realm of Matthean perspective, but as Davies and Allison note, "the text in fact does not lay any emphasis upon a supernatural knowledge." Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:117. Albright and Mann suggest that the background of these stories is simply well known and therefore presumed by the author. See Albright and Mann, *Matthew*, 251. Luz completely disagrees with a rationalist way of interpreting the passage, claiming that the emphasis is not only on miraculous foreknowledge, but also on the display of Jesus as commanding like a king. See Luz, *Matthew*, 3:7. Whatever the answer, Matthew does not provide the explanation or details because ultimately what matters to Matthew is that the Messianic king has arrived in fulfillment of Zechariah.

¹⁰³ Nolland, *Matthew*, 833 n55.

¹⁰⁴ Again, Matthew dramatically abbreviates the incident. His use of the word δεῖνα, the sole use of the term in the NT, displays either an inability or a reticence to name the person. If it is reticence, then perhaps this is Matthew retaining a small piece of Mark's concern for the surreptitious nature of Jesus' entry into the city on account of the plot to kill him. Such an explanation maintains the prearranged circumstances scenario as France, *Matthew*, 985-986 understands it. It is hard to imagine with Nolland that it simply indicates Matthew's knowledge of the name, but rather than using some other identifying term Matthew turns colloquial in his language, saying "say to such and such person" (Nolland, *Matthew*, 1062). The other option would be Turner's continued invocation of supernatural knowledge. Jesus had supernatural knowledge of the coming occurrence, the person and the location, so

these more mundane, but necessary, matters are known to Matthew. These necessities, however, are not the point. Rather, in Mt 21, the point is the fulfillment of Zech 9:9 and the point of Mt 26 is to drive the story towards the climactic reinterpretation of the Passover. The details remain mundane.

This posture towards these details is in line with Mt 6:25-34 and Jesus' instructions on proper orientation towards wealth and material goods: μή μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν... οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ὅτι χρήζετε τούτων ἀπάντων. Food, drink, clothing, money— all of these are not the point, but rather the Kingdom of Heaven. Furthermore, God as Father is the ultimate provider and the manager of all the resources of creation. God allocates them both to the wicked and the good (Mt 5:45), but God will not fail to allocate them to the community as needed.

How, then, should we imagine the actual function of resource management in the context of Matthew? After all, even with the lack of concern for how an onlooker may view two people taking animals that were not their own or how a stranger may react to two people telling him that the teacher was coming to celebrate the Passover at his home, disciples still had to be sent to access these resources. Ultimately, though frustrating, we cannot provide a definitive answer because we lack the evidence for

it is enough to send them with the proper phrasing. See Turner, *Matthew*, 624. Also, Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:458 on the use of δεῖνα and quoting Senior's *Passion*: "It 'seems to express and almost studied indifference to the identity or importance of the man in the narrative.'"

one. Matthew's own theological agenda and teaching places the topic outside the realm of importance, but it also prevents us from accessing how life would have proceeded. It could be that resource management for these daily communal concerns was ad-hoc and based on whoever was at hand at the time. Or perhaps the community was highly structured with titled functionaries administering the demands and accounting for the resources.

*Almsgiving*¹⁰⁵

The instructions on almsgiving are also important for resource management because Mt 6:1-5 places it firmly within communal life. Matthew 6:2 points to the synagogue as a possible location where an individual might display their almsgiving.¹⁰⁶ Though we do not know exactly where the Matthean group gathered, the teaching still holds for them to not display their almsgiving in such a communal gathering.¹⁰⁷ Almsgiving was an

¹⁰⁵ I am indebted to Professor Walter Wilson for pointing out that the context of the teaching on almsgiving in Mt 6:1-4 is communal, during a meeting of the Emory University New Testament Colloquium.

¹⁰⁶ To be clear, I am not claiming that the Matthean group called its gathering place a synagogue, but rather that in the text, the place where a Jewish group, the audience to whom Jesus is speaking in the Sermon the Mount, would gather is called a synagogue. Therefore, the teaching indicates that one should not show off in front of one's peers by announcing acts of righteousness in the place of gathering. As we saw in ch 2 and as can be seen in the appendix, ancient Mediterranean associations were often exactly the forum for this kind of activity.

¹⁰⁷ See e.g. France, *Matthew*, 236 who cites Sir 31:11 for evidence that significant gifts of charity were announced in synagogues.

individual act, but the community managed the resources given in the communal context.¹⁰⁸ This type of management system is familiar to us from other ancient Mediterranean associations who had a shared treasury and also from the Second Temple synagogues.¹⁰⁹ The administration of this communal resource would likely require a functionary of some sort as our other analogues from the ancient Mediterranean context show. A functionary to distribute the alms would also allow for the anonymity the instruction encouraged.

Regular Meetings

Our argument is also necessarily indirect when it comes to regular meetings. Though the Last Supper account in Matthew does not state whether or not this was an expected ritual to be continued, the particular formulations of Jesus's speech as well as the vocabulary he uses suggest that it was an ongoing ritual.¹¹⁰ Further, though the

¹⁰⁸ Note the verb ποιέω in 6:2 is the second person singular. This is a shift from the second person plural in 6:1, which has generally been read as a general principle of which the following series of instructions provide examples. See e.g. Nolland, *Matthew*, 271-75. and France, *Matthew*, 235.

¹⁰⁹ See ch 2 for both. Also, particularly, on the synagogue, see Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 29, 135-172. We also see an example in Acts 2:43-47 and Acts 4:32-37 where a communal treasury was administered by leaders. Individuals contributed and then leaders distributed the resources. Interestingly, the encounter with the beggar in Acts 3:1-10 has Peter answer a non-community member who asks for alms that he does not have money.

¹¹⁰ Unlike the traditions in Luke 22 and in 1 Cor 11, the traditions in Matthew and Mark do not have Jesus directly indicate the repeated nature of this meal (τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν). We

relationship to the Sabbath is admittedly complex in Matthew, the group probably regarded the day as special and met on the Sabbath.

The Meal

First, the nature of the Passover itself required repetition. Though some scholars have claimed that Christian practices of the Eucharist derive from the Passover traditions itself, it would be a circular argument to begin from the assumption that the account in Mt 26 represents a Eucharist and then to question whether or not it was a Passover.¹¹¹

Rather, we must begin with the text. In Mt 26:17, the disciples came to Jesus and asked, ποῦ θέλεις ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα. This verse sets up the next scene and shows that Mt 26:26-29 is a Passover meal.¹¹²

should not simply transpose this saying onto Matthew. This does not mean, though, that other clues suggesting a ritual are not present.

Davies and Allison note, "...all commentators presume that Matthew's first readers saw in the last supper the foundation of the Lord's Supper: 26:26-9 is an aetiological cult narrative. While agreeing, we observe that the text does not say this about itself. Jesus does not invite repetition of his actions; there is no 'Do this in remembrance of me.' The last supper is then an example of how the text gives its full meaning only to readers who bring to it extra-textual knowledge of the Christian celebration of the eucharist." Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:465. While their caution is admirable, they still do not offer an argument for this text as reflective of a ritual. Their assumption of the extra-textual knowledge of the eucharist is in fact a self-fulfilling assumption. Therefore, we hope here to offer an argument for the possibility of a ritual in connection with this text.

¹¹¹ See e.g. the summary account in Paul Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship* (New York: Oxford, 1992), 62-65.

¹¹² BDAG s.v. πάσχα. See further the argument in Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:469-70 and the statement at 3:456: "But whatever the historical fact, Matthew's point of view is clear: the last supper was

Second, because the Passover has strong resonances with covenantal language, Jesus' statement in v 28 τοῦτο γάρ ἐστὶν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν reinforces the repetition of this reinterpretation. If the memorial of the original covenant between God and Israel bore repeating for the memory and education of a people, then this reinterpretation of God's covenant bear repetition in Matthew's context, and even more so with the broadening of the covenant to πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.¹¹³ These others from πάντα τὰ ἔθνη would participate in the ritual to learn about and memorialize the covenant that Jesus referenced in his speech, just as those who knew the Passover tradition would participate to memorialize the Messiah and his reinterpretation of God's original Covenant.¹¹⁴

If these covenantal words do not go back to the historical Jesus,¹¹⁵ this shows even more that this meal was ritualized and then enacted by the community itself.

Passover." On the historical dating and further problems connected with the phrasing in Matthew, see Albright and Mann, *Matthew*, 319.

¹¹³ On the Passover and connections to covenantal language, see e.g. France, *Matthew*, 986-96. Even without the explicit "new covenant" language that is present in Luke and 1 Corinthians, Davies and Allison still call this the inauguration of a "new covenant for the new community." Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:464. Further, they point out the possible intertextual connections between Jesus' sayings here and Ex 24:8, Jer 31:31, and Is 53:12 as additional support for the covenantal themes. *ibid.*, 3:465, 473-78.

¹¹⁴ On Mt 28, see above.

¹¹⁵ I am not making a statement about whether these words do or do not in fact go back to the historical Jesus. Rather, because some postulate that the accounts of the Last Supper are not historical or that some or all of the words from Jesus here are not historical, I am accounting for these theories in our

Since the easiest explanation for the phrase *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν* in the Lucan account and in Paul's account in 1 Corinthians is that it reflects the ongoing activity of the community, so also the easiest and best explanation for the reinterpretation of a Jewish ritual with new resonances and meanings in Matthew is the regular practicing of the ritual.¹¹⁶ In other words, a community who regularly ate bread and drank wine together as a ritual would be likely to create an origins story for their ritual and this is how a non-historical speech would be placed on Jesus' lips in the Matthean account.

Meeting Frequency and the Meeting Day

Thus, a regular meeting of some kind would occur where this ritual would be enacted.

The regularity of this could have easily been once a year as the Passover was once a

own analysis of Matthew and its communal context. The above paragraph would account for the words being historical and now this paragraph, especially in connection with the preceding analysis completes the case with the scenario that they are not historical. For a discussion of the historicity of the supper accounts, see Paul Bradshaw, *Christian Origins*, 63-68. See further John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, vol. 2. Finally, note that Bultmann thought most of this could not be accounted historical because it was all liturgical development. His claim was simply that the eschatological statement was the only possibly historical piece with the remainder reflecting the Pauline cultic traditions. See Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 265-66. Finally, it is worth noting that after their usual thorough presentation and consideration of the evidence, Davies and Allison judge the words of institution to rest on words Jesus spoke. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:465-69.

¹¹⁶ Matthew does not in fact replace the traditional Passover interpretation. See Exodus 12:8, *m. Pesah*. 10:4-5 and the Passover Haggadah where the meat of the lamb, the unleavened bread, and the bitter herbs are the key elements of the tradition and each receive an interpretation. While in Matthew, the bread gets reinterpreted to be flesh, there is nothing said about the meat of the Passover lamb or about the bitter herbs, which are the two operative elements in these texts.

year or if it were patterned more like the common associations in the ancient Mediterranean, it would have been monthly.¹¹⁷ But it is most likely that this community still treated the Sabbath as a special day and, therefore, that they held a weekly meeting. We cannot be certain that they would hold this exact meal at that meeting, but since a meal was a staple of ancient Mediterranean association meetings, there was likely a meal of some kind. Further, according to Mt 28:19, the baptized needed to be taught. This meeting would have provided an appropriate forum for such instruction whether for the entire group or a smaller group of the more recently initiated “little ones”.¹¹⁸ Such a meeting would require an instructor as well as resources for the meal, just one of the components we pointed to above for the daily communal life needs.

Though Jesus reinterprets the significance of the Sabbath and debates the Jewish leadership around proper practices on the Sabbath, Matthew still holds the day as a special day.¹¹⁹ In Mt 24:20, Jesus urges his μαθηταί to pray that the coming hardship does not happen on the Sabbath. This is because for this group the Sabbath was still a day to be observed.¹²⁰ Jesus’ reinterpretation of the Sabbath in the controversy stories

¹¹⁷ On the frequency of ritual meals and regular meetings among associations broadly, see ch 2.

¹¹⁸ Such a pattern of instruction is familiar from the synagogue as well. See Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 135-72.

¹¹⁹ Mt 12:1-14.

in Mt 12 does not do away with Sabbath observance but rather establishes proper authority over Sabbath regulations and does away with Sabbath observance that prevented helping those in need.¹²¹ Therefore, since the Sabbath was the regular day for meeting in the synagogue and other types of communal activity, it would be natural for the Matthew community to also meet on the Sabbath.

Public Relations

Finally, we turn to the public relations involved in the community producing and reading Matthew. Again, public relations itself is a bit of a slippery function as there are at least two levels to any given group. First, there is the inside-the-group to the outside-the-group level of the public. Second, there is the intragroup public. In Matthew, the outsider group that is particularly on display is the broader people of

¹²⁰ Roland Deines, "Not the Law, but the Messiah: Righteousness in the Gospel of Matthew – an Ongoing Debate," in *Built upon the Rock: Studies in the Gospel of Matthew*, ed. Daniel M. Gurtner and John Nolland (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 61. This is against Graham Stanton who interpreted the particular added phrase ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν in Mt 24:20 as indicating that Matthew's community had grown lax in their observation of the Sabbath. Thus, by escaping on a Sabbath, they would draw the ire of other Jews. See Graham Stanton, *A Gospel For a New People: Studies in Matthew* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992), 192-206.

¹²¹ France, *Matthew*, 453-466. On these confrontations, see also Lutz Doering, "Much Ado About Nothing? Jesus' Sabbath healings and their Halakhic implications revisited," in *Judaistik und Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft: Standorte, Grenzen, Beziehungen*, ed. Lutz Doering, Günther Waubke, and Florian Wilk (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 217-41. On the broad understanding of the Sabbath for this context, see Lutz Doering, *Sabbat: Sabbathalacha und -praxis im antiken Judentum und Urchristentum*, TSAJ (Göttingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999).

Israel. J.R.C. Cousland argues that the crowds in the Gospel function to show this exact figure, both in the time of Jesus and transparently for the Gospel's community.¹²² At the same time, as we saw above, the Gospel functions as instruction for the membership of the community and so it is necessarily concerned with the self-identity of the community members.

In Cousland's treatment, the crowds as the people of Israel remain an object of the evangelistic mission after the resurrection. But the crowds are ambivalent to the message. They reflect the portrait of Israel from the Hebrew Scriptures as needing a shepherd, but also resisting that shepherd and being confused or misdirected by their own leaders.¹²³ The public relations piece, then, is unexpected because rather than being about honor in the public sphere as it typically is for associations, for Matthew it is about the evangelistic mission. The public of Israel and the public in the broader sense are all potential μαθηταί and the community's public relations function is to convince them of the message.

¹²² Cousland, *Crowds*, 43-51 and 97-98. I owe this reference and connection to Professor Walter Wilson.

¹²³ Cousland, *Crowds*, esp. 75-99 and 125-73.

The fulfillment quotations throughout the Gospel highlight this fact.¹²⁴ Israel's own traditions witness to them that Jesus is the Messiah (χριστός) because he fulfills those traditions. For the broader public, the ancient authority of Israel's texts would have brought respect to the fulfillment of their prophecies. The certainty that Jesus fulfilled these particular texts being taught again and again to the initiated would also serve to bolster their own confidence in their initiation and membership in the group as well as provide them with tools to function as agents of the community's public relations.

This particular instantiation of the public relations function shows us the need for literacy for one of the functionaries. Since the interpretation and summoning of authoritative texts is key, the role of the γραμματεὺς fits well with this function. Since much of this also connects with the authority of prophecy and fulfillment, though, we should also consider the προφήτης. At the moment, it is enough to note that the function is embedded in the structure of the Gospel itself and so is on full display for us as an important part of how this community would have lived.

¹²⁴Davies and Allison provide extensive information not only about the fulfillment quotations, but also the various possible intertextual connections that may be happening in Matthew throughout their commentary. See e.g. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:54.

A Community Sketch

We leave our functional framework with some definite directions for pursuit in our community sketch. First, we saw that every member participated in a broad evangelistic mission. But, after the baptism of new members, they received substantial instruction and were considered to be particularly vulnerable. This instruction would likely happen at the regular meeting on the Sabbath, which also included a meal. We asked the question of who that instructor would be, while simultaneously pointing to the communal responsibility to serve as examples for these newly initiated members.

Second, we saw that a particular process was outlined for addressing trouble that may arise between members. If the conflict could not be resolved, the final step was involving the entire community and a mechanism for communal shunning of the offender. We observed that such a process would require some administration and concluded that a functionary of some kind would lead the community through it.

Third, we noted that the lack of evidence in the Gospel prevented us from being able to make a definitive judgment on the resource management of the regular communal needs for daily life, such as space for the meeting and food for the meal. But, we noted the particular teaching in Matthew around almsgiving and suggested that a

functionary would administer the communal resources reserved from individual almsgiving.

Finally, we noted the particular bend on public relations that Matthew shows us through the crowds. Matthew's public relations were not about claiming a space for public honor and finding benefactors, but rather they were focused on the evangelistic mission and convincing the "lost sheep of Israel" and πάντα τὰ ἔθνη of Jesus's messiahship. To this end, the fulfillment quotations were particularly illuminating and showed us the need for a literate functionary to help bolster this particular function that the entire community fulfilled in some respects.

As we draw our sketch, we are also mindful that the Gospel itself does mention some specific roles. The γραμματεὺς is the most commonly mentioned functionary, followed by the προφήτης, the σοφός, and the δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι. Each of these titled functionaries comes into view as we discuss the activities that needed a functionary and we consider how communal life may have looked with these figures. We also note the prohibition on certain titles and the particular role of Peter in this Gospel.

Leadership Within the Matthean Community

Egalitarianism and Hierarchy in the Matthean Community

It has been argued that the Matthean community was an egalitarian community or at least that Matthew wishes it were, especially in light of passages such as Mt 23:4-12.¹²⁵ Certainly the passage indicts a particular type of leader, but it does not by any means indict the concept of leadership. Even Jesus's final pronouncement in the pericope still allows for a form of hierarchy because there is still greatness in the community: ὁ δὲ μείζων ὑμῶν ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος. ὅστις δὲ ὑψώσει ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται καὶ ὅστις ταπεινώσει ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται. The saying echoes and repeats the concluding principle from Mt 20:20-28: ὃς ἐὰν θέλη ἐν ὑμῖν μέγας γενέσθαι ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος καὶ ὃς ἂν θέλη ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος ἔσται ὑμῶν δοῦλος. The conclusion here is not the absence of leadership or hierarchy, but the redefinition of it.¹²⁶ For this reason, the ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνῶν serve as the foil against which Jesus contrasts himself (v 28) and, as has happened before, Jesus here serves as the *exemplum* for the community. Those

¹²⁵ E.g. Slee, *Church*, 146-48 and David C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 140.

¹²⁶ So France calls it “the radically different value-scale of the kingdom of heaven.” France, *Matthew*, 759. As Davies and Allison note, the theme is first about the eschatological recompense in Mt 20. See Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:84. Jesus's statement, however, shifts the conversation into one about leadership in the present.

Duling proposes a “limited ‘egalitarian’ ideology”, but maintains that the group is non-hierarchical despite having itinerant leadership with authority. See Duling, *Marginal*, esp. 163.

who would be leaders or who are leaders should act like Jesus, rather than follow the usual models of leadership they see around them.

Leadership, then, is not condemned. We should not imagine the Matthean group or even the Matthean vision as one of radical egalitarianism. Rather, Jesus in Matthew clearly instructs the μαθηταί, especially the Twelve, about a distinctive way of being leaders and on a distinctive system of honor. Their life should be different from what they see around them, whether in the Jewish leadership (23:2-7) or in the broader context of the universal mission (20:25).

The emphasis on serving one another, though, and the particular use of διάκονος could indicate that the tasks of resource management for the day-to-day communal needs that we outlined above were carried out by all members who aspired to leadership.¹²⁷

Scribal Leadership

The title γραμματεύς appears in Matthew 22 times and 16 of these occurrences are redactional.¹²⁸ Not all of these occurrences are positive instances teaching on a role in Matthew's community. Matthew does tend to remove the word γραμματεύς from many

¹²⁷ LSJ s.v. διάκονος.

¹²⁸ Slee, *Church*, 147.

of the negative associations in the Markan source material, though, preferring instead to make the Pharisees Jesus's opponents. When the γραμματεῖς remain as Jesus's opponents, they are with the Pharisees.¹²⁹ Matthew, thus sets up a distinction between the γραμματεῖς from among the Jewish leadership and the γραμματεῖς who are positive role models.

We find sayings about the proper type of γραμματεὺς in Jesus's teaching. David Orton's study on the γραμματεὺς in Matthew is particularly instructive. Orton points to Mt 13:52 and Mt 23:34 as key passages for understanding the positive role of the γραμματεὺς.¹³⁰ Orton notes that Mt 13:52 is unparalleled in the tradition and betrays some contribution from the hand of Matthew. For this reason, it is especially valuable. The verse itself is pronounced by Jesus when the μαθηταὶ have understood the explanation of the parables. Orton notes the use of the verb μαθητεύω, but does not go beyond explaining this term as it relates to a former Jewish γραμματεὺς having been "Christianized".¹³¹ When we consider the framework of the mission and the training μαθηταὶ would have received by following Jesus to this point in the narrative (not to

¹²⁹ David E. Orton, *The Understanding Scribe: Matthew and the Apocalyptic Ideal*, JSNTSup 25 (New York: Sheffield, 1989), 1-38.

¹³⁰ Orton, *Scribe*, 137-63.

¹³¹ Orton, *Scribe*, 139-40.

mention the very narrative situation on display here where the μαθηταί approach Jesus for instruction), this notice shows something specific. The γραμματεὺς here has not only been trained as a new initiate, but has also been trained to train others. In this way, the γραμματεὺς will be able to “bring new and old things out of the storehouse.”¹³²

Matthew 23:34 completes this picture when Jesus pronounces his intention to send προφήτας καὶ σοφούς καὶ γραμματεῖς out among Israel with the evangelistic message.¹³³ Why would the γραμματεὺς be included among these others? Orton wisely warns us to not become overly committed to separating these three as if they were necessarily distinct.¹³⁴ His interpretation, however, remains mainly figurative and imaginative here. He leaves the passage without thinking that this is necessarily more than symbolism and fulfillment of apocalyptic and prophetic motifs.¹³⁵ If the Matthean

¹³² France also thinks these disciples are authorized teachers. See France, *Matthew*, 544-47. A lingering question that is not explicitly answered by Orton or France is who exactly composes the group of disciples? France hints that he may think it is only the Twelve (France, *Matthew*, 145), but never states it outright. In Mt 13:52, we do not know who exactly this group is.

¹³³ Here Matthew has replaced Q’s ἀπόστολοι with σοφούς καὶ γραμματεῖς (Duling, *Marginal*, 161). This is important because in Matthew only the Twelve are called ἀποστολοί. The one use of the term is to name the Twelve in Mt 10. This does not necessarily mean that the term has come to reference only these individuals, but a broader “apostolic” mission is not in view. This is against Duling’s reading. Duling reads Mt 10 as one instantiation of a Cynic-type wandering charismatic mission and imagines an ongoing activity of this sort.

¹³⁴ Orton, *Scribe*, 155.

¹³⁵ Orton, *Scribe*, 155-59.

group really was experiencing hostility from Jewish leadership, this passage is no longer about the future for them, but it is about the present. Even if it is not, in a context where an important component of the mission is the proper training of new initiates in all the teachings of Jesus, it makes sense to include γραμματεῖς among those who are sent out on that mission.¹³⁶ This is especially true in light of Mt 13:52.

We must also wonder if some among the γραμματεῖς also attended to some of the more mundane aspects of the community's life. As those possessing the particular skills needed for certain tasks, they may be the natural choices for keeping track of the communal financial resources or maintaining a membership roster.¹³⁷

What of the σοφός? Is this role connected to the γραμματεὺς, similar in some way? Orton notes that the two words σοφός and γραμματεὺς are almost interchangeable in Sirach.¹³⁸ Is the same true for Matthew?¹³⁹ Benedict T. Viviano notes that Matthew's terminology here and elsewhere is all conservative: he does not go beyond the warrant

¹³⁶ Again, we should not imagine that the three roles are necessarily quarantined, but the term is chosen for more than simply its pairing with the Jewish γραμματεὺς in apocalyptic literature. There were specific skills that γραμματεὺς had that the Matthean community needed and employed on a regular basis. See also France, *Matthew*, 878-80.

¹³⁷ As Dennis Duling observes, being a γραμματεὺς was not only a position in the community; it was a profession. Duling, *Marginal*, 162.

¹³⁸ Orton, *Scribe*, 155.

¹³⁹ Gundry reads them as denoting the same figure (Gundry, *Matthew*, 469). Saldarini argues that the three roles of prophet, sage, and scribe overlap (Saldarini, *Jewish-Christian*, 105).

of the Hebrew Scriptures for his titles.¹⁴⁰ If the term is not separable from the γραμματεὺς, perhaps it denotes a more senior or well-trained γραμματεὺς. The one who would be qualified to instruct (μαθητεύω) other γραμματεῖς for the kingdom of heaven.¹⁴¹ Within these earlier traditions, not only is the σοφός honored, but as sages they embody particular moral blamelessness and/or knowledge of God’s wisdom.¹⁴² Though we do not have definitive evidence, this figure as a senior, respected individual would be a prime candidate for administering the disciplinary process outlined in Mt 18, as well as supervising the teaching of the “little ones”.

Prophetic Figures and Tension

Matthew’s sayings about the προφήτης cut both ways. On the one hand, there are positive sayings about prophets (Mt 10:41, 23:34), Jesus and John are both called prophets, and throughout the Gospel the prophets are interpreted as having predicted the life and times of Jesus. On the other hand, Jesus warns of the dangers around prophets. These false prophets are ravenous wolves (Mt 7:15) who lead many astray (Mt

¹⁴⁰ Benedict T. Viviano, “Social World and Community Leadership: The Case of Matthew 23:1-12, 34,” *JSNT* (1990): 3-21.

¹⁴¹ This image of the σοφός as wise instructor of instructors accords well with the traditions of the earlier texts. If France is correct that the term itself draws on the wisdom tradition of these texts, then this connotation carries further weight. See France, *Matthew*, 879.

¹⁴² Ulrich Wilckens and Otto Michel, “σοφία, σοφός, σοφίζω,” *TDNT* 7:465-526.

24:11) and will even produce “great and terrible signs” to lead them astray (Mt 24:24).

While there are prophets among Matthew’s group in positions of authority, there are also dangerous prophets trying to gain access to the group.¹⁴³

The prophetic authority in some sense derives from one of its functions in Matthew’s text. Both in Mt 7:15-23 and in Mt 24:24, the prophet is a worker of mighty deeds. These deeds are intended to prove the prophetic authority and also are a vocational aspect of the prophet’s life. For this reason, the scribes and Pharisees come to Jesus in Mt 12:38 and in Mt 16:1 to request a sign as part of their testing him as a prophet. Vocationally, Jesus throughout his ministry performs many great deeds for those who come and ask. But, Jesus gives the proper test for a prophet in Mt 7:16-20: true prophets live according to the teaching of Jesus.¹⁴⁴

This test of behavior is important because of the intentions of the false prophets and the consequences of their persuasion of members of the Matthean group. They intend to lead astray, a possibility envisioned in Mt 24:24. So, at least those prophets who come from the outside take on some teaching authority. If we take seriously the engagement with prophetic fulfillment from other texts, perhaps the prophetic

¹⁴³ That these are “Christian” prophets is generally accepted. See David Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 223.

¹⁴⁴ France, *Matthew*, 290-91, and Saldarini, *Christian-Jewish*, 104.

teaching that was done in Matthew's group was of a different character than that done by the γραμματεῖς generally.¹⁴⁵ Whereas the major task of the γραμματεῖς concerned the proper teaching and communication of Jesus's instructions according to Mt 28, perhaps the prophetic teaching had to do with a more future-focused concern relating to the more mature members of the community. As workers of mighty signs, these figures could also have been relied upon to assist the community with what was coming in the future.¹⁴⁶ Since prophets as workers of mighty deeds could also be relied upon to capture the attention and occasionally allegiance of people, these figures would have also been prominent within the evangelistic mission and its relationship to the public relations needed by the community.

Apostles

Though Matthew often uses the verb ἀποστέλλω, the familiar term ἀπόστολος is only found in Mt 10:2 when he lists the Twelve. Since this passage reports their first mission charge, so Duling reads it as the pattern to be followed by other ἀπόστολοι who never

¹⁴⁵ Again, these roles did not necessarily have to be distinct. Nothing in the text prevents a γραμματεὺς from also being a prophet.

¹⁴⁶ Perhaps this role was similar to the prophetic predictions of famine in Acts 11:28.

enter the discussion but of whom the audience would be aware.¹⁴⁷ It is possible that there were other functionaries named apostles, but Duling's observation that the verbal form is used 18 times in the Gospel is not enough to justify such a claim. The only relevant instance besides Mt 10 is Mt 23:34.¹⁴⁸ There is no firm evidence for making a claim that apostles were present or absent in the community.

Forbidden Titles and the Role of Peter

We have seen extensive involvement in the teaching ministry from all three of the named functionaries in Matthew so far. This is unsurprising because Matthew puts so much emphasis on teaching. We are surprised, though, that Jesus pronounces in Mt 23:8-10 certain teaching titles that are not to be used in the community. Matthew's group should not refer to one another with the terms *ῥαββί*, *πατήρ*, or *καθηγητής*. Each term is said to apply to only one figure. Jesus is their *ῥαββί/διδάσκαλος* and their *καθηγητής* while God is their only *πατήρ*. This final term enters the discussion because Jesus uses familial language to emphasize their own equality among themselves: *πάντες δὲ ὑμεῖς ἀδελφοί ἐστε*.¹⁴⁹ This equality does not negate what we said above about leaders

¹⁴⁷ Duling, *Marginal*, 158-59.

¹⁴⁸ On this verse, see above on "Leadership Within the Matthean Community."

¹⁴⁹ France, *Matthew*, 862-63.

and teaching. It is possible to conceive of one's own teaching role or of one's teacher as a conduit of the true teacher. In this sense, Jesus would be advocating a peer-to-peer teaching system.

The fact that Jesus authorizes Peter to teach in Mt 16 becomes all the more interesting.¹⁵⁰ Jesus proclaims Peter as the rock upon which the ἐκκλησία will be built. This occurs immediately after Peter correctly identifies and proclaims Jesus as the Messiah. This is the first time in Matthew's Gospel that Jesus has been identified vocally, which gives it special prominence as a formal pronouncement.¹⁵¹ Jesus's identity is central to the teaching of Matthew and to the evangelistic mission and so Peter has proclaimed the foundational principle here in the text and Jesus proclaims him as the foundation of the teaching ministry, the ἐκκλησία.

The prohibition on titles becomes even more powerful because Peter is one of those addressed. The very foundation of the teaching ministry is not to be called teacher or instructor. This role is reserved for Jesus. By forbidding titles, members of

¹⁵⁰ Michelle Slee, *Antioch*, 148-50.

¹⁵¹ In the infancy narratives, Herod asks where the Christ was to be born, but he is hardly pronouncing Jesus as the Messiah. In Mt 11:2, John also hears of the deeds of the Messiah, but even if John knows Jesus is the Messiah, he does not announce it.

the community exhibit distinctive characteristics such as confronting a “brother” (ἀδελφός) who sins or becoming “great” by being the “servant of all.”

Summary and Conclusion

The Gospel of Matthew presents a distinctive challenge for our project because of its character as a narrative. Its genre also prevents access to certain critical features we would like to know, such as the provenance. It is difficult to craft a sketch of the Matthean community without, on the one hand reading the entire Gospel as a transparent window into the “world behind the text” or, on the other hand, rejecting any reading that claims to say something about the community. Aware of this methodological dilemma, we have attempted to read this text for clues about its context. Remembering that the text does not provide us direct access to everything we would like to know, we recognize that our conclusions are sometimes less than firm.¹⁵²

What we did see, though, is a community that has a public evangelistic mission to both Israel and the broader universal audience, which is accomplished by a strong emphasis on teaching. This teaching function had a wealth of functionaries involved in it, though the γραμματεῖς were the most notable and most prominently mentioned in

¹⁵² So Saldarini writes, “The leadership roles of the group are not clearly reflected in the narrative, but some negative strictures and positive allusions yield information which can be coherently analyzed.” Saldarini, *Christian-Jewish*, 103.

the text itself. These figures had the responsibility for teaching the “little ones” who were recently baptized all that Jesus had commanded in accordance with Mt 28. On account of their professional skills, they may have also taken on some of the administrative duties required for the practice of almsgiving and keeping track of the membership roll. We postulated that σοφός may refer to a more senior or extraordinary γραμματεὺς who would be responsible for training the other γραμματεῖς and who could also facilitate the disciplinary procedure in Mt 18. Finally, we considered the teaching role that prophets may have had. Since so much of what was important to Matthew and his teaching concerned the fulfillment of prophecies, we postulated that prophetic teaching may have had a future-oriented dimension and the care for the more senior membership of the community.

The prophet also had a strong public presence on account of the ability to work mighty deeds. This functionary could have been a strong asset for the public relations of the community. These public relations we saw were not the traditional concerns of finding a place in the public sphere and gaining honor, but rather had to do with convincing the public of Jesus’s Messiahship.

Finally, we saw the prohibition of certain titles and the equality of sibling-hood. Peter was authorized to teach because of his initial pronouncement of the key teaching

of Jesus' identity, but even Peter was not above anyone else. This ethos would enliven a community where so many tasks were communally oriented, driven, and allocated. If there were not that many tasks allocated to specific functionaries, a mutual responsibility to one another would have been required to complete whatever needed to be done.

CHAPTER FIVE THE *DIDACHE*

It [the *Didache*] does not seem to fit in anywhere in either time or place. The community which it presupposes is out of relation to all our knowledge of Church history. It is as much an isolated phenomenon after all our researches as when it surprised us at its first appearance. We still ask, where was there ever a Church which celebrated the Eucharist after the manner here enjoined? Where was there ever a Church which refused to allow Apostles more than a two days' stay?

-Robinson J. Armitage, "The Problem of the *Didache*," *JTS* (1912): 340.

Introduction: Critical Issues of the *Didache*

Though the *Didache* has often been read as an outlier to the history of Christianity or as a supplement to the more authoritative canonical texts, it presents an equally valid witness to the history of Christianity.¹ The *Didache* is important as our final text because it shows us a final distinct organization of community functions and roles. When this data is added to what we have seen in First Corinthians and in Matthew, it becomes clear that the *Didache* can neither be the result of direct, evolutionary

¹ So scholars such as Thomas O'Loughlin read it as representing valid, orthodox Christianity, unlike many other studies. See Thomas O'Loughlin, "The *Didache* as a Source for Picturing the Earliest Christian Communities: The Case of the Practice of Fasting" in *Christian Origins: Worship, Belief and Society*, ed. Kieran J. O'Mahony, JSNTSup 241 (New York: Sheffield, 2003), 83-112.

development from the Corinthian community through the Matthean community nor can the *Didache* be a transition between the Corinthian community and the Matthean.

As before in our consideration of First Corinthians and Matthew, we begin with a discussion of critical issues and then analyze the text using the functional framework developed in chapter two. Since the *Didache* presents a particular challenge with respect to the date and provenance, the fact that we developed the functional framework from representative geographical and temporal spans proves most useful.

Debate continues over three critical issues: date, provenance, and composition. At the most basic level, the nature of the text itself belies our best attempts to master it.² Since the only complete manuscript of the Greek version of the *Didache* dates from the eleventh century CE, it is difficult to say what the text from the end of the first century may have been, much less any earlier portions or sources.³ This becomes more

² For an excellent overview of this issue, see Jonathan A. Draper, “The *Didache* in Modern Research: An Overview” in *The Didache in Modern Research*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper (New York: Brill, 1996), 1-4.

³ Eusebius mentions τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδαχαί in his discussion of the canonical and non-canonical Christian texts in *Hist. eccl.* 3.25. Athanasius of Alexandria also refers to a διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων in his discussion of canonical texts in his 39th Easter Letter of 367 CE. Post-500 CE, Pseudo-Athanasius references διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων in *Synops. script. sacr.* 76, the seventh century *Indic. script. canon. sex.* mentions περίοδοι καὶ διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, and finally in the ninth century Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople places the διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων in the sixth place of the NT Apocrypha in his stichometry claiming a stich number of 200. Significant here is the early inclusion of a title remarkably similar to the titles of our text in the earliest discussions of a New Testament canon, Eusebius and Athanasius. Of further significance is the regular association of this text with Epistle of

complicated when one considers two other factors: the use of *Didache* materials in various later texts such as the Apostolic Constitutions and the fact that the *Didache* shares some earlier traditions with other known texts.⁴ For example, should one use the material in the Apostolic Constitutions as a road map to an earlier version of the *Didache* text rather than what was preserved in the eleventh century manuscript or should one consider the Apostolic Constitutions to have intentionally changed the *Didache* text for purposes in its own time?⁵ In other words, which text should be trusted

Barnabas, which was also included in Codex H. Finally, the fact that Patriarch Nicephoros of Constantinople listed the stich number as 200 indicates something about the length.

The question is whether these references could be traced to the text preserved in H or whether they refer to some earlier source incorporated into H such as the Two Ways document. Kurt Niederwimmer, *Didache*, trans. Linda M. Maloney (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 4-23 claims even the early references of Eusebius and Athanasius were to the form familiar from Codex H, with a few changes. See further Willy Rordorf and André Tulier, *La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres (Didachè)* (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 1998), 102-10, and Jean-Paul Audet, *La Didachè Instructions des Apôtres* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1958), 24-25, 79-90.

⁴ For an extended discussion on the question of the Two Ways section and the relationship between the *Didache* and other Jewish literature, as well as the relationship with Barnabas, see Huub van de Sandt and David Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), esp. 55-88 and 120-90. See also Jonathan Draper, "A Commentary on the *Didache* in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents" (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1984), 38-100. On the connection between the prayers in Did 9-10 with Jewish *berakhot*, see below for additional references. Because the Apostolic Constitutions and the *Doctrina Apostolorum* postdate our period of interest significantly, they will not be discussed here.

⁵ As noted before, Niederwimmer cautiously prefers the manuscript of Codex H (n. 2). Rordorf and Tulier consider H to witness to a form that can be traced back to Christian Antiquity, so they mostly prefer the text from H unchanged (*Doctrine*). Van de Saandt and Flusser consider the Apostolic Constitutions helpful for reconstructing the tradition history of the text, but not for reconstructing the actual text because it has been thoroughly reworked for the fourth century (*Didache*, 27) while Aaron Milavec trusts the transcription of H made by J. Rendel Harris in 1887, with a few changes (Aaron Milavec, *The Didache: Faith, Hope, & Life of the Earliest Christian Communities, 50-70 C.E.* [New York: The

and how can the earliest text be restored? With such a fundamental question about textual integrity, even if there were internal clues that could definitively indicate temporal and geographical provenance, they would remain open to question.

Despite such major questions of textual integrity during the mid-twentieth century, recent scholarship indicates a return to the consensus that work with the text from Codex H with little to no emendation.⁶ However, the legacy of such debates and of the basic nature of this text, where it lacks many clues to direct our conclusions about date and provenance, have left these higher critical questions without definitive answers. Thus, as any introduction should, we will begin the chapter with a brief look

Newman Press, 2003], 5-9.). Michael Holmes produces the Codex H text with a critical apparatus displaying the variances from it in Michael Holmes, ed., *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999). Jean Paul Audet holds to suspicion against the Codex H text, preferring to amend it regularly using evidence from the verional evidence, as well as the *Doctrina* and the Apostolic Constitutions. See Audet, *Didachè*. Klaus Wengst is the only recent commentator who substantially amends the text of H using a variety of the other textual sources, including the Apostolic Constitutions (Klaus Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre) Barnabasbrief Zweiter Klemensbrief Schrift an Diognet* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), esp. 5-23, 66-100). For further discussion and a critique of Wengst, see Boudewijn Dehandschutter, "The Text of the *Didache*: Some Comments on the Edition of Klaus Wengst" in *The Didache in Context*, ed. Clayton N. Jefford (New York: Brill, 1995), 37-46.

⁶ See the previous note for a listing of scholars who prefer to trust Codex H, with Klaus Wengst as the major outlier in recent scholarship.

at some of the major debates about this document and ultimately confirm that our functional model accounts for the spread of opinion on these critical questions.⁷

Date⁸

Today, there is more agreement among scholars about the date of the *Didache* than there has been in the history of modern study on the document.⁹ The majority opinion

⁷ Even with all of this uncertainty around the text, the emerging consensus in the twentieth century for the use of Codex H without emendation is heartening for our initial claim that the *Didache* presents a form of Christianity that is not an outlier.

⁸ The question of the relationship between the *Didache* and the documents that will later form the New Testament has become vexed once more in recent scholarship. The answer to this question would certainly impact the date we decide for the *Didache*, we will leave it to the side here because of the complexity of the question. While the date would need to be after any document the *Didache* used, the possible instances do not allow for anything close to a definitive answer. It could be that the *Didache* and the other document depend on a shared tradition or it could be that the *Didache* used the document. Because this is such an uncertain question, we will rather work through the internal and external factors that are more concrete.

On the relationship especially to the Synoptic Gospels, Christopher Tuckett has worked extensively, arguing for the *Didache*'s dependence on Matthew. See Christopher M. Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache*" in *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, ed. Jean-Marie Sevrin (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1989), 197-230. Christopher M. Tuckett, "The *Didache* and the Synoptics Once More: A Response to Aaron Milavec" *J ECS* 13 (2005): 509-18. Christopher M. Tuckett, "The *Didache* and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament" in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew Gregory and Christopher Tuckett (New York: Oxford, 2005), 83-127.

Helmut Koester and his followers, however, maintain that the *Didache* is not dependent on any text that will later find its way into the NT. Rather, similar to the conclusion that *Barnabas* and *Didache* depend on a shared tradition for the Two Ways material, Koester argues that the Synoptic Gospels and the *Didache* share a traditional source. See Helmut Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957), esp. 239ff. Niederwimmer partially agrees with Koester (Niederwimmer, *Didache*), arguing that any influence of the NT or a common source could only be on the redactional level. Audet (*Didache*) and Rordorf and Tuilier (*Doctrine*) all argue that there is no relationship of dependence or common sources. For a further more complete review of the literature and positions on this topic, see the references in John S. Kloppenborg, "*Didache* 1. 1-6. 1, James, Matthew and Torach" in *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew Gregory and Christopher Tuckett (New York: Oxford, 2005), 193-96.

has settled on a later first century date.¹⁰ This discussion often remains intimately tied with the methodology of the scholars and always connects to a scholar's position on a number of other important questions about the *Didache*.¹¹ For example, many who hold to a redaction critical reading of the document are happy to place certain elements of the document, even the vast majority of it, in the time before the second century CE. However, they still place certain verses or phrases after the turn of the century, often based on presumed models of Christian history.¹² Despite the new widespread

⁹ Van de Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 48-52.

¹⁰ Audet, *Didachè*, 187-206; A. Milavec, *Didache*, vii.; Wengst, *Apostellehre*, 62-63; and Van de Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 48-50, all agree on the first century date, though exactly when in the first century is up for debate. Audet and Milavec date it the earliest to between 50-70 CE, while van de Sandt and Flusser prefer the end of the first century. Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 52-53, still maintains the hypothesis of 110-120 CE for the final form and Clayton N. Jefford ultimately does not provide much specificity. He concludes that the majority of the *Didache* should be dated between 80 and 120 CE, but that some additions were added in the second century and beyond (Clayton N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* [New York: Brill, 1989], 18.). Jefford does, however, provide an excellent long-term review of dating through almost the end of the twentieth century. See Jefford, *Sayings*, 3-5.

¹¹ See e.g. Ray Robert Noll, *Christian Ministerial Priesthood: A Search for its Beginnings in the Primary Documents of the Apostolic Fathers* (San Francisco: Catholic Scholars Press, 1993), 281ff. for one example of how issues of higher criticism are intertwined.

¹² See e.g. Niederwimmer, *Didache*. Niederwimmer claims there are “no compelling reasons to dismiss” (53) the early second century hypothesis, which came out of assumed models of Christian history.

agreement on a first century date, this shows some of the enduring power of the older arguments that would date the text to the second century or later.¹³

Recent scholarship has seen not only more agreement over a date, but also a reduction of the overall dating spectrum in which the argument occurs. J.P. Audet has given the earliest date, claiming the middle of the first century for the majority of the text.¹⁴ Audet argues that the *Didache* should be considered contemporaneous with the composition of the canonical Gospels (in fact relying on a proto-Matthean tradition) and should be placed in the time period immediately following the apostolic generation. The argument is based mainly on the idea that the functionaries discussed in the text show an early form of community organization and expansion, that the text shows no direct knowledge of the destruction of Jerusalem, and that the prayers in *Did* 9-10 display an early stage of development in Christian theology.

Earlier scholarship held that the *Didache* was written in the third or fourth century. However, the latest dating of recent scholarship is the second century.¹⁵ These

¹³ See e.g. F. E. Vokes, *The Riddle of the Didache* (London: SPCK, 1938), 86. Vokes would later retract his claim that the *Didache* was a Montanist text. See Draper, "Didache", 11-12.

¹⁴ Audet, *Didache*, 187-210. J.A.T. Robinson, following Audet's lead, dates the text to the even earlier interval of 40-60 CE. See John A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), 96-100 and 322-27.

¹⁵ See Draper, "Didache", 1-4 on dating the text. In recent scholarship, consider the case of J.V.M. Sturdy, who acts as a nice counterbalance to J.A.T. Robinson in Sturdy's posthumously published work in

scholars connected the discussion around the roles of prophets to the Montanist groups. They bolstered their argument by pointing to complete lack of any mention of the destruction of the Temple. They claimed this meant that enough time had passed that this traumatic event no longer warrants attention. Finally, they argued the *Didache* shows knowledge of not only Matthew, but also Luke, Barnabas and occasionally even the Shepherd of Hermas.

Despite lingering questions about the date, at least we have narrowed the range: sometime between the second half of the first century and the first half of the second century. Any time within this range suits our purposes appropriately because whether we place the *Didache* as the middle or third term chronologically in our discussion, the conclusion remains the same: a direct line of development may not be drawn through these three texts as far as communal structure and organization is concerned.

Provenance

The destruction of the Jerusalem Temple also figures in the discussion around provenance and provides one of the many strands in the web of critical issues around

which he attempts also to re-date the New Testament documents, but in the opposite temporal direction to Robinson. Even with an agenda to date everything later than most contemporary scholarship, Sturdy would date the *Didache* not to the third or fourth centuries, but only to around 150 CE. John V. M. Sturdy and Jonathan Knight, *Redrawing the Boundaries: The Date of Early Christian Literature* (London: Equinox, 2007), 24.

this text. If the provenance of the text were far from Jerusalem, we should not expect any mention of the Temple even if the text were written in close temporal proximity to its destruction. But if the provenance were close to Jerusalem, the missing mention of the Temple becomes much more important in establishing a date.

Scholars usually identify two locales: Alexandria and Palestine/Syria. Within the latter camp, the debate further divides over rural areas or the urban center at Antioch.¹⁶ Generally the provenance argument breaks down between those who privilege external evidence versus those who privilege internal evidence. Those who argue for Alexandria note the early and prominent references to the work and the textual evidence for the document in and around Alexandria (e.g. a dependent relationship with Barnabas and both the Coptic fragment of the *Didache* text and P.Oxy.

¹⁶ For a summary of some of the recent discussion around provenance, see Jürgen K. Zangenberg, “The Social and Religious Milieu of the *Didache*” in *Matthew, James, and Didache: Three Related Documents in Their Jewish and Christian Settings*, ed. van de Sandt and Zangenberg (Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 69. Zangenberg remains skeptical about Antioch as the proper situation, but his concluding comment is helpful and accurate: “What we lack is *positive* evidence, but that we will hardly ever get.” Alternatively, in strong favor of Antioch, see Michelle Slee, *The Church in Antioch in the First Century CE: Communion and Conflict* (New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 55-57. Note that Slee sets up a false dichotomy in order to preserve her argument. It is either Antioch or Egypt. When narrowed to such a thin choice, the evidence points toward Antioch. However, just because these are the two historically debated locales does not prove they must be the only options. Against Antioch, see Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 53f. Niederwimmer claims, “The strongly Jewish-Christian character of the *Didache* does not function as an argument. From that character – whether of the sources or of the redactor – one cannot deduce anything about location.” But surely he is incorrect in this overly broad dismissal as Judaism did not enjoy the same presence everywhere in the empire. The points of contact with Judaism certainly cannot be used to limit the choice to only two as has often happened in the literature, but it does not simply mean that any given option would do as well.

1782). Barnabas circulated strongly around the region of Alexandria, and Clement of Alexandria has often been suggested as the first author to quote the *Didache*.¹⁷ However, as has been repeated more and more often in recent scholarship, both of these pieces of evidence can be explained by ways other than an Alexandrian provenance. The relationship between the *Didache* and Barnabas is quite complex and no consensus yet exists, but if the Two Ways material is only a shared earlier source, then this piece can be dismissed. The Coptic fragment and P.Oxy. 782 tell us something about the fourth century, but can hardly be used as evidence for the first or second. Finally, we cannot be certain that Clement's quotations (and other references like his) were to the text we possess because none of the passages are exact quotations of textual evidence we possess.¹⁸ Depending on the date for the *Didache*, Clement's reference may not add much to the argument anyway. Finally, the most devastating internal evidence to an argument for Alexandrian provenance is the content of the prayers in *Did* 9-10, for they rely on imagery of landscapes foreign to North Africa. Particularly the imagery of the scattered κλάσμα on the hills (ὄροι) as reflective of the scattered ἐκκλησία throughout

¹⁷ For an overview of the debate around Clement's citations, see Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 6-9.

¹⁸ Each major recent commentary provides a discussion of this problem and the various arguments around each piece of evidence. For a full account, consult one of the recent commentaries included in the bibliography.

the world would be quite foreign to Alexandria because the only fertile areas were around the Nile Valley. However, this would be perfectly reflective of topography in Syria and Northern Palestine.¹⁹

The internal evidence also points to regions with large populations of Jews, so Alexandria and Syria/Palestine are natural choices on account of this. Elements in the text reflect a close familiarity and at times a competition (e.g. *Did* 8:1) with Judaism.²⁰ Debates over how one reads other pieces of the internal evidence, though, have led to a divide over urban (Antioch) vs. rural areas in Palestine. Generally, arguments for a rural area depend upon the vision of wandering apostles, prophets, and/or teachers familiar to the Judean and Syrian countryside, the economic environment described in *Did* 12:3ff or the list of items to be included among the first fruits as detailed in *Did* 13:3ff.²¹ Those who argue for an urban environment, however, propose alternative

¹⁹ However, if one accepts these prayers as part of a pre-existent source, one can argue that this imagery is part of that source and thus need not reflect the topography of the provenance of this text. This is the case in Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 53-54.

²⁰ David Flusser began his work that Huub van de Saandt finished with the exact agenda of reading the *Didache* in the fullness of its Jewish nature. See van de Saandt and Flusser, *Didache*. See also Marcello Del Verme, *Didache and Judaism: Jewish Roots of an Ancient Christian-Jewish Work* (New York: T&T Clark, 2004).

²¹ See e.g. Van de Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 50-52; Wensgt, *Didache*, 61-63; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 53-54. Though, Niederwimmer claims the Jewish-Christian character of the text does not function as an argument for provenance and further doubts the use of the imagery of 9:4 because it is from the source material in his reading and not associated with the final form of the text.

interpretations of these latter two terms and regularly dismiss the arguments based on a vision of wandering apostles, prophets, and/or teachers as unnecessarily constricted in their imagined sphere of travel.²² In some sense, Antioch has become a middle term between Alexandria and rural Syria/Palestine because advocates for Antioch explain the textual and citation evidence for the *Didache* in Alexandria and N. Africa as evidence that the text must have a provenance in a prominent enough area to provide a platform for circulation. So advocates for Antioch have sought to balance the need to explain both external and internal evidence.

Since the nature of our thesis concerns the church throughout the Empire, a correct choice in this matter is also unnecessary for our argument. Whether the provenance of our text is in Alexandria, Syria/Palestine, Antioch, or some other location, as long as it is within the realm of the ancient Mediterranean, our model can and will function.

²² See e.g. Audet, *Didachè*, 211-19; André de Halleux, “Ministers in the *Didache*” in *The Didache in Modern Research*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 300-20.

Source and Redaction Critical Readings²³

One of the hallmarks of scholarship on the *Didache* from Harnack's debate with Rudolph Sohm until now is the strategy of placing different sections or small selections of the text of the *Didache* into different epochs of Christian history. The strategy is popular because it demystifies this text. After all, the observation by J. Armitage Robinson from 1912 could just as easily be made today:

It [the *Didache*] does not seem to fit in anywhere in either time or place. The community which it presupposes is out of relation to all our knowledge of Church history. It is as much an isolated phenomenon after all our researches as when it surprised us at its first appearance. We still ask, where was there ever a Church which celebrated the Eucharist after the manner here enjoined? Where was there ever a Church which refused to allow Apostles more than a two days' stay?²⁴

To answer these questions and make sense of the text, scholars have sliced the *Didache* up into pieces that they can then place in to recognizable contexts. Just because we find a new piece of evidence that initially appears as an outlier to our understanding of a problem (here the nature of the Christian community itself), we are not justified in

²³ The most recent classically redaction critical reading of the *Didache* is the commentary by K. Niederwimmer listed in the bibliography. Though Niederwimmer does not consider there to be major stages of development during the Christian period of this text, he still identifies several later interpolations such as *Did* 13:4. Niederwimmer considers the Didachist to be compiler, redactor, and independent author, where others would argue for different stages in the Christian period for each or some combination of these roles.

²⁴ Robinson J. Armitage, "The Problem of the *Didache*," *JTS* XIII (1912): 340.

mutilating the evidence until it properly fits our understanding. First, we should bracket our model of early Christian history, try to understand the new evidence, and then consider whether our understanding should be revised based on that evidence. Because neither Harnack nor Sohm took that approach when the *Didache* was first discovered, the battle lines generally lined up around their positions with a shared shortcoming in view.²⁵ Instead of continuing on this same path, I propose that we follow the lead of Aaron Milavec, who has shown one example for how this text can be read in its own integrity to represent a real Christian community.²⁶

It is important here to define which ways of reading this text we are rejecting when deciding to allow the text to retain its own integrity because an array of readings are classified under the source and redaction critical readings. On the most basic level, scholars seek to identify the ways the *Didache* uses pre-existing materials, especially using other texts that witness to those materials. The clearest example is the source underlying *Did* 1-6, known by its generic name of the Two Ways source, which was also

²⁵ See the summary of Harnack and Sohm in chapter 1.

²⁶ See Milavec, *Didache*, esp. xii-xxxvii. This is also the way André de Halleux proposed reading *Did* 11-15 in the face of the many redaction critics who would divide up the section based on presupposed ideas of Christian history. See de Halleux, "Ministers," 6-8.

used in the Epistle of Barnabas and some other Jewish documents.²⁷ Another example would be the *Didache*'s use of Jewish prayers that underlie the prayers in Did 9-10.²⁸

These two examples represent the type of readings Michelle Slee mentions when she writes, "All scholars agree that these older traditions found in the *Didache* have been redacted at various points, but commentators debate precisely *where* the redaction may be found and, crucially for our purposes here, *when* this redaction is to be dated."²⁹

These redactions have to do with how these pre-existing pieces are put together and framed into the document we have today and I do not intend to debate this or reject it.³⁰

²⁷ In early research, scholars thought the *Didache* was dependent on Barnabas and this set much of the agenda for the discussion around dating. Now, the consensus is that the relationship is more complex, that the *Didache* and Barnabas share a common tradition in their use of the Two Ways. See Draper, "Didache", Wengst, *Didache*, 5-14 and 105ff., and Van de Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 55-69.

²⁸ For full discussions, see Draper, "Commentary", 181-228 and Van de Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 296-329.

²⁹ Slee, *Church*, 59.

³⁰ The question of whether we should call the *Didache* a "Christian" text vs. a "Jewish" text often remains unstated, with many scholars simply assuming the Christian nature of the text. The Two Ways and the prayers underlying *Did* 9-10 are regularly acknowledged as Jewish sources, but *Didache* itself is not often called a Jewish text. While I think this text is representative of a Christian community, the relationship between this community and the broader relationship between Judaism and Christianity in the first century is a more complicated question and not one I intend to broach here. On the question of the *Didache* as a Jewish text, see Del Verme, *Didache*, who claims that this text represents a strand of Christianity within the broader Jewish Hellenism of the ancient Mediterranean: "The present monograph aims not to solve problems but only to clarify some problematic aspects of the enigmatic richness of this ancient Christian-Jewish work in the more general context of the study of Christian origins *within* or *as part* of Hellenistic Graeco-Roman Judaism/s or the Judaism/s of the Second Temple." (263, emphasis

However, many scholars also postulate pre-existing traditions to which we have no other textual witnesses and even various stages of development of the *Didache* itself, treating it as a textual archaeological dig with various strata describing various periods of history within the Christian community it represents.³¹ These types of arguments are based on an assumed picture of Christian history used to show which elements of the text cannot be from the same time period and so must either be preexistent traditions or layers of redaction witnessing to various developmental stages of the *Didache* community. Based on a presupposed history, these studies judge that there are portions of the text that have outlived their usefulness for any community preserving and adding to the text. In other words, certain layers of the text represent dead pieces of history when living elements are added. These dead pieces are no longer functional

original) Similar lines of thought gave rise to the two edited volumes Huub van de Sandt, ed., *Matthew and the Didache* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005) and Huub van de Sandt and Jürgen K. Zangenberg, eds., *Matthew, James and Didache* (Atlanta: SBL, 2008). Here, the question is whether we are able to separate clearly a Christianity from the broader context of Judaism or if it is a more accurate picture to consider these forms of Christianity we see in such documents that have many closely shared elements with Judaism as Jewish-Christian or Christian-Jewish and therefore properly situated under a sufficiently broad understanding of Judaism.

³¹ Most recently, see Nancy Pardee, *The Genre and Development of the Didache* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012). Pardee separates the *Didache* into three different layers of textual development.

material: they no longer represent communal or individual practice, but are simply relics of the past kept for their traditional value.³²

For example, Kurt Niederwimmer bases his analysis of *Did* 11-15 on this presupposition: “There are grounds for assuming that the beginning of post-Easter Christianity manifested itself in certain areas of the Palestinian-Syrain area in two very different social forms: besides local Christians we find groups of homeless missionaries and prophets.”³³ Niederwimmer points out the key element here: there are grounds for making the assumption of two very different forms of Christianity. These two assumed forms, then, motivate his reading of the text and how the various layers of it developed. Niederwimmer identifies certain pieces of *Did* 11-15 as traditions and other pieces as various stages of the community’s active life. However, direct evidence for his presupposition is difficult to come by, which makes his conclusions in many ways

³² The first instance of this was Rudolph Sohm’s response to Harnack. Harnack claimed the *Didache* represented the missing link when charismatic and institutional leadership were both present. Sohm critiqued Harnack, arguing for a redaction critical reading that showed that the layers dealing with charismatic leadership were earlier layers of the tradition, preserved despite their lack of pertinence to the redactor’s time. In modern scholarship, see e.g. Audet, *Didachè*, 458 and Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 192. Both agree that *Did* 13:4 is an addition during a time when prophets were rare or disappeared entirely.

³³ Kurt Niederwimmer, “An Examination of the Development of Itinerant Radicalism in the Environment and Tradition of the *Didache*”, in *The Didache in Modern Research*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 321.

motivated primarily by the presupposition and not by direct evidence. The evidence we do have, though, is a form of this text where all these elements exist simultaneously.

Since most of the recent scholarship on the *Didache* has concerned itself at some point with the description of a real community that lies behind the text, the door is open for us to proceed with reading the text for its witness to a real community.³⁴ We will not follow the lead of redaction critics, peeling back the layers of the text as one would gradually dig deeper into an archaeological site and moving backward through history with the passage through each layer. Rather, I propose we postpone making such a judgment rather than presupposing the path. While the text may itself represent a dialogue between successive generations and their predecessors, I see no reason on the surface to determine preemptively that the whole of the text may not be considered to reflect a reality present concurrently.³⁵ For this reason, rather than dividing up the text of the *Didache* based on a picture of Christian history we decided

³⁴ This is true of the landmark works Audet, *Didache* and Niederwimmer, *Didache*. Further, the discussion in Draper, *Modern Research* confirms this trend.

³⁵ On the note of a dialogue between generations, we must also recall the insightful critique of Georg Schöllgen concerning the tendency in scholarship to imagine the *Didache* as a church order by genre, and therefore, a text providing a comprehensive view of the church. Schöllgen argues convincingly that the text rather only engages matters that are contentious within the community. Thus, despite the genre, the text does not provide a comprehensive view of a Christian community. Georg Schöllgen, "The *Didache* as Church Order" in *The Didache in Modern Research*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 43-71.

upon in advance, we will attempt to construct a portrait of how this text may fulfill the four primary functions we saw as foundational for an association in the ancient Mediterranean world without discarding any section as no longer applicable.³⁶ So we will pursue a reading of the *Didache* as it stands and compare and contrast that reading with what we saw from the Corinthian epistles and Matthew.

Applying the Four Functions

Member Initiation and Management of Membership

Member initiation is the most natural place to begin a discussion of our four primary functions in the *Didache* because the text itself begins here. Scholarly consensus agrees that the so-called Two Ways section (ch 1-6) of our text shows us at least some of the training an initiate would receive prior to baptism.³⁷ The phrase ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες βαπτίσατε in *Did* 7:1 indicates this fact first because the most logical antecedent for the demonstrative ταῦτα πάντα is the large block of text that comes before it and, second, because *Did* 9:5 requires the baptism of anyone who would take

³⁶ The pursuit of this goal is in line with the suggestions made by both O'Loughlin, "The *Didache*" and Milavec, "Distinguishing" when they suggest making the *Didache* a primary object of research for the construction of Christian origins rather than a supplementary backdrop to the canonical texts.

³⁷ See e.g. Milavec, *Didache*, 235-239 and Van de Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 280-81.

part in the ritual meal. The natural order for initiation is some period when the initiate hears the teaching in *Did* 1-6, a time when they are baptized, and then a time to participate in the ritual meal.³⁸

This process would have required more than two individuals' active participation. First, there must be an initiate, second there must be someone to teach them *Did* 1-6 and someone to baptize them, and finally there must be a community to receive them.³⁹ The teaching and baptism could be performed by the same person as Aaron Milavec envisions or it could be two separate individuals.⁴⁰ This is one of the many instances where the text does not provide a clear instruction because the practice would have been familiar to the community and so did not require explanation. Further, this process could have been fluid, at times taking on more structured iterations wherein an official of some kind fulfills either or both the training

³⁸ Though the exact mechanics of this process may be debated (i.e. were the words in ch 1-6 intended to be read in full immediately before the baptism or was it simply a reference to a period of training), it remains clear that the prospective members received training prior to their baptism. The most extensive description of this process is Aaron Milavec's. Milavec calls the Two Ways section "the life transforming training program" and has developed a clear explanation for how each section builds on what precedes as an individual gradually learns how to follow the teaching and become a member of the community. See Milavec, *Didache*, 49-170.

³⁹ Though there are scholars who argue for an early Christian self-baptism, this cannot be the case in the *Didache* because *Did* 7:4 requires both ὁ βαπτίζων and ὁ βαπτιζόμενος to fast before the baptism. Thus, the text envisions both an actor and a recipient of the action. See also Draper, *Commentary*, 164-65

⁴⁰ Milavec, *Didache*, 234-84.

role in the Two Ways and the baptizing, and at other times taking on a more casual iteration wherein any member of the community could fulfill these roles.

Didache 9:5 provides further important information for membership management because it indicates a restriction or barrier between those who are in the community and able to participate fully and those who are not. This barrier means that there must have been some mechanism for keeping track of who had been baptized into the community or who had been baptized εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου somewhere else. Further, this means there must have been some mechanism for proving such a baptism from outside the community. In fact, we see this scenario in *Did* 12. A general outsider has come to the community ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου and therefore must be welcomed. The one measure the text gives by which an outsider should be evaluated is if they refuse to work, and so would live solely off the generosity of the community. The next chapter (13) considers such regulations for an outsider claiming authority who wants to remain permanently in the community. Here the measures of evaluation are a bit more extensive, though we still lack some evidence. Prophets or teachers must be ἄξιος and though some earlier passages (e.g. ch 11) have provided some measures of evaluation, the term itself is left undefined. The most clarity the text provides is that the individual's teaching must accord with the text's teaching (*Did* 11:1-2). The *Didache* does

not cover the exact measures for keeping track of members and for admitting outsiders already baptized εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου as members, but clearly evaluating outsiders and knowing who may claim full membership in the community are important functions for this community.

We may speculate that as many other associations in the ancient Mediterranean world maintained some scribal functions, often in an official termed γραμματεὺς, that this community had a similar functionary for its membership. Some member or members of the community, then, would maintain a membership roster. Even if the community were smaller and such a list were maintained collectively by, for example, facial recognition and boundary governing on the part of all the members, the function still remains. The responsibility for measuring outside teachers implies a requirement placed upon the entire community.⁴¹ The instructions in *Did* 11:1-2 are entirely in the second person plural.⁴² This linguistic strategy exhibits the hegemony the text claims

⁴¹ See below for an argument as to the addressees of this document, and thus the support for arguing communal responsibility through the framing of these instructions in the second person plural.

⁴² Though often the switching between singular and plural second person verbs and pronouns have been considered indications of redaction (see e.g. Audet, *Didachè*, 107), I maintain here that we should first examine the text with respect to the received form so that we may explore various ways of rendering the evidence. Here particularly, the plural indicates a communal responsibility and is significant for this fact. On redaction critical readings and for a list of scholars pursuing these types of readings, see above.

for itself over the entire membership and not simply over a leader or group of leaders.⁴³

So, without a specific audience addressed for these matters, effectively the entire community is charged with the duties, but they could still choose to allocate the functions directly into the hands of one or a few members.

When the duties were centralized into the hands of a select one or few, the fact that the functions of member initiation and member management are so intimately tied in this particular community show that there should reasonably be connection or overlap between these selected individuals. When one must be particularly trained and put through a ritual to be admitted to the community's primary activity or properly proven if coming from a connected community outside the immediate locality to be admitted to the community's primary activity, and even more so, the fact that the test

⁴³ Here is where Clayton Jefford's thesis falls short when he claims the presbyters as the intended audience of this text and therefore explains the lack of this term within the text itself. Although the thesis is attractive for many reasons, we must ultimately reject it because the scope of this document is the entire community, not a group of leaders. There are occasions when individual populations are singled out (e.g. *Did* 4:10-11, where slaveholders and then slaves are addressed in turn), but the text generally has the entire community in its scope of address. So, it is not only the presbyters who are called to fast twice a week and pray three times per day, just as it is not only the presbyters who should appoint the bishops and deacons or who should heed the warning of the little apocalypse in *Did* 16. These responsibilities are enjoined upon the entire community and the text gives no instruction for this supposed audience of presbyters to instruct the community on these matters, rather the instruction in the text is direct. This is why attempting to read this text with Jefford's presupposed audience often fails, as scholars lapse into treating the text as enjoining the entire community. See e.g., Thomas O'Loughlin, "*Didache*". Finally, we must remember that the pairing ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι also occurs in Phil 1:1, without πρεσβύτεροι, and we are not searching to fill in this missing term with presbyters as an audience of the letter. For Jefford's thesis, see Jefford, *Sayings*, 123-129.

for outsiders connects to the training and ritual, we would expect certain individuals to have the proper knowledge and skills to carry out these tasks. Further, it would be sensible for them to also maintain the records of who has been tested and approved (*Did* 12:1) and those who have properly completed the training and ritual.

Regular Meetings

Since proper membership is the requirement for participation in the meal discussed in *Did* 9-10 (*Did* 9:5), this meal represents the most obvious regular meeting of the *Didache* community.⁴⁴ This meal was held on a weekly basis and included all members of the community (*Did* 14:1 κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον).⁴⁵ The significant point here is that it is a weekly meeting and meal rather than the more common monthly meeting and meal seen throughout the ancient Mediterranean.⁴⁶ This

⁴⁴ Here I agree with Jürgen K. Zangenberg, who says we should avoid calling this meal a Eucharist. Such explicit proper naming implies an entire anachronistic tradition and imposes it upon this text. See Jürgen K. Zangenberg, “The Social and Religious Milieu of the *Didache*” pp 43-69 in *Matthew, James, and Didache: Three Related Documents in Their Jewish and Christian Settings*, ed. Huub van de Sandt and Jürgen K. Zangenberg (Atlanta: SBL), 2008, esp. 59-60.

⁴⁵ Once again, we note the importance of the second person plural address and the general audience of the text. What exactly this command in *Did* 14:1 κλάσατε meant as far as functionaries will be discussed in the next section.

⁴⁶ Recent scholarship presents almost a unanimous consensus on this point. See e.g. Audet, *Didachè*, 460-462.; Draper, “Commentary”, 269-280, Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 194-195; Milavec, *Didache*, 354-355, 533-534; Rordorf and Tulier, *Doctrine*, 64-65; and Van de Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 296-329. However, there are minority voices on the issue. See e.g. Neville L. A. Tidwell, “*Didache* XIV:1 (KATA

frequency can be easily explained with reference to the Sabbath gathering of Jewish communities. The *Didache* community, after all, was not the only group that bucked the monthly trend. Jewish communities throughout the Diaspora gathered weekly to celebrate the Sabbath.⁴⁷ Since many factors of the text can be related to Judaism and show intimate knowledge of Judaism, it is reasonable to connect the weekly meeting of the *Didache* community with the weekly recurrence of the Sabbath celebration in these Jewish groups.⁴⁸ We will return to this weekly rather than monthly frequency in the next section because it will provide a further point of contrast in how resources were managed.

Given that the weekly meeting was also a meal, there are a number of additional factors we should consider. First, depending on how we imagine the community as a group and the meeting in particular, we must ask about the location. If the community would meet together as one and if it were a larger group, then a sizable space would have been necessary. Further, since this meal was a functional meal and not simply a

KYPIAKHN ΔΕ ΚΥΠΙΟΥ) Revisited,” VC 53 (1999): 197–207. Tidwell claims the peculiar phrase in *Did* 14:1 refers to a Christian celebration of Yom Kippur, but his argument is ultimately unconvincing.

⁴⁷ See Levine, *Synagogue*. 135–73.

⁴⁸ See Del Verme, *Didache*; Van de Sandt and Flusser, *Didache* and Draper, *Commentary*. As Jonathan Draper claimed, it is even possible that the terminology κυριακή κυρίου was a polemical phrase used to indicate the replacement of the Sabbath celebrations. See Draper, “Commentary”, 270–271.

ritual meal (as most Christian practice is today and as was common by the close of the second century CE), then even more space would have been required.⁴⁹ If such a space were not available, however, then the community could have met in multiple locations.⁵⁰ Such an exigency would provide one motivation for writing down (and therefore standardizing) the practice around the meal. Unfortunately, the text does not provide us with a definitive view on these matters and so as in many other instances, we must proceed without deciding the matter completely, accounting for the possibilities as we are able.

Since the prayers in *Did* 9 and 10 connect with contemporary and *Did* 10:1, μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι, with later Judaism, both show that the meal would have been a functional meal rather than a ritual meal, we should consider what dining would have looked like in order to understand better the nature of this meeting.⁵¹ Since Greek and

⁴⁹ John W. Riggs, “The Sacred Food of *Didache* 9-10 and Second-Century Ecclesiologies” in *The Didache in Context: Essays on Its Text, History, and Transmission*, ed. Clayton N. Jefford (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 256-283.

⁵⁰ This is a familiar problem from our discussion of Corinth. See ch 3.

⁵¹ See Draper, “Commentary”, 210-288; Van de Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 271-329; Rordorf and Tuilier, *Doctrine*, 38-48, 174-182. Though Rouwhorst critiques this position on the point of the Jewish *Berakhot* being both later and not aligning perfectly with the form and content of the prayers in the *Didache*, the fact remains that the prayers are thematically and structurally closer to Jewish traditions than any other tradition. See Gerard Rouwhorst, “Table Community in Early Christianity” in *A Holy People: Jewish and Christian Perspectives on Religious Communal Identity*, ed. Marcel Poorthuis and Joshua Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2006): 69-84. Further, Jonathan Draper’s comparison with the Qumran literature stands against the critique.

Roman dining practices became standard throughout the ancient Mediterranean, this means we expect that the meal would take place with *triclinia*.⁵² Thus, either the community was small or the space where they met was quite large.⁵³ Scholars have often used the Pauline evidence to claim the households of wealthy individuals as the context for the earliest Christian gatherings.⁵⁴ However, given how some associations would share a space or rent a space for their meetings, it is possible that early Christian groups may have done this as well, especially if they lacked a wealthy member, thus precluding the use of such a space.⁵⁵ Finally, we should not overlook the possibility of

⁵² See Valeriy A. Alikin, *The Earliest History of the Christian Gathering: Origin, Development and Content of the Christian Gathering in the First to Third Centuries* (Boston: Brill, 2010), esp. 1-78, both for a review of recent literature on Christian and Jewish gatherings, on the rising trend of applying Greek and Roman dining practices to Christian and Jewish groups, and for a survey of what this would look like.

⁵³ Robert Wilken estimated that on average associations in the ancient Mediterranean were under fifty people, though a few were as large as several hundred. Similarly, he asserts that at the beginning of the second century some Christian groups were as large as several hundred, though most would be much smaller, amounting to several dozen members. Such a size could be accommodated in a single space and could also explain an impulse to standardize, if additional satellite groups developed to keep the size manageable. See Robert Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1984), 31-47.

⁵⁴ e.g. Rom 16:5.

⁵⁵ The reticence about shared space with groups other than Jewish groups in 1 Cor 8:10 does not show up in the same way in this particular document. Here it is only about food and does not explicitly mention space. Though Milavec reads the shape of the Two Ways training program as gradually withdrawing the initiate from their earlier Greek and Roman life, mainly centered in the familial practices of dining (See Milavec, *Didache*, 70-170 and 249-251), the *Didache* lacks sufficient evidence to prove that there is an issue around space and not simply food. The focus in *Did* 6 does not depart from food and never does the text require members to remove themselves from fellowship or interaction with

an outdoor locale.⁵⁶ The *Didache* does not specify a location, much as it does not specify an individual as a leader or host of the group, so ultimately, we must leave this question open, but what is remarkable is that this text does not close off any of these options either. Though it would be unthinkable for Paul to sanction the church at Corinth renting a shared space with a group who ate idol meat, this text does not display the same concern about the location, only the meat (*Did* 6:3).⁵⁷

So, with the regular meeting and meal, we are left with the question of location(s) and size. This implies that for this official meeting, there would be the need for someone to pay attention to the size of the group, working with those managing the membership, and ensuring a space that was appropriate for this gathering. Before we leave this section, though, let us consider additional meetings of the community we see in the *Didache*.

outsiders. Rather, they are positively instructed to seek out fellow members each day, perhaps as support for an existence that required interacting with outsiders. It is possible that it was more desirable not to share space with Greek, Roman or Jewish groups at all, but it is also possible that the language in 6:3 could account exactly for a situation where the group is sharing space with another group who eats food sacrifices to idols. In this case, the adverb *λίαν* operates clearly because the danger of excess food from another group's meeting would have been thoroughly present.

⁵⁶ e.g. Acts 16:13 where women have gathered by the river because it was a known *προσευχή*.

⁵⁷ Contrast 1 Cor 8:10: *ἐὰν γάρ τις ἴδῃ σὲ τὸν ἔχοντα γινῶσιν ἐν εἰδωλείῳ κατακείμενον, οὐχὶ ἡ συνείδησις αὐτοῦ ἀσθενοῦς ὄντος οἰκοδομηθήσεται εἰς τὸ τὰ εἰδωλόθυτα ἐσθίειν* with *Did* 6:3 *ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε*. Though the reasoning for abstaining from the food is remarkably similar (idols don't really exist as gods because there is only one God vs. they are dead gods), the concern with space is conspicuously absent from the *Didache*.

Additional regular meetings that we notice in the text are baptisms, prophetically ordained feasts, and subsets of the membership or gatherings of probationary membership groups. It is possible, as Aaron Milavec suggests, that baptisms would have been held before the regular weekly gathering, but there is no definitive evidence for this.⁵⁸ So, baptisms could have happened at other occasions or they could have been held in conjunction with the Sunday meeting. *Didache* 11:9 mentions another impromptu gathering the ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι. Here a prophet, when possessed by the Spirit, would command the community to hold a meal and the community would obey. The best explanation for why this verse would label a prophet who ate from such an event a false prophet is because eating from the table would mean the prophet was taking advantage of the community's hospitality and imposing an undue burden on their resources.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Milavec, *Didache*, 232-237. See especially the helpful diagram on p. 233. The advantage of Milavec's position is that he is able to explain why and how fasting would receive the treatment it does between the baptismal instruction and the instructions around thanksgiving prayers. However, others see the topical progression as less intentional and designed than Milavec claims. See e.g. Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 131. Niederwimmer thinks the key word "fasting" in the baptismal instruction triggered an excursus on the topic.

⁵⁹ Against Milavec, *Didache*, 464-470, who claims the traditional explanations of scholars are insufficient. Milavec thinks the exclusion is so as to preserve the community presiding over the Eucharist rather than allowing a prophet to take over. Milavec follows Audet, *Didachè*, 450-451. In thinking that this ordered meal would be a Eucharistic meal. It seems Milavec intends that this would be outside the regular weekly schedule, though Audet is less clear. On the other hand, Draper, Niederwimmer, and Rordorf and Tuilier consider the table to be ordered in some way for the economically disadvantaged. See Draper, "Commentary", 246; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 179; Rordorf and Tuilier, *Doctrine*, 186. However,

Finally *Did* 16:2 and *Did* 4:1-2 show that the community or subsets of the community gathered more frequently than once a week. *Didache* 16:2 exhorts the audience to gather πυκνῶς. Looking at other uses of this word and considering both the eschatological urgency and the multiplication of fearsome scenarios outlined in *Did* 16, it stands to reason that here the time scale would be something more like daily meetings and so the translation “constantly” would be effective.⁶⁰ *Didache* 4:1-2 similarly exhorts the pupil τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας... ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ’ ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀγίων. Between these two

the easiest explanation, for whomever the table was intended, is that prophets regularly demanding economic support for themselves in the form of money or food would be taking advantage of the community and their resources. This further aligns with the underlying economic theme of the chapter.

⁶⁰ LSJ s.v. πυκνῶς, Hebrews 10:25 comes to mind where the exhortation to meet together takes on increasing urgency and is for more frequency as the eschatological moment draws nearer. Also, the example of Acts 2:42-46 where believers met together on a daily basis. Niederwimmer recognizes the command in *Didache* as “traditional” from early Judaism.

This possibility is against Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 215, who claims that this would refer either to “frequent attendance” at the regular meeting or “attendance in large numbers”. For the latter interpretation, see further Taras Khomych, “The Admonition”. Khomych proposes taking πυκνῶς as a reference to the unity of the group, preferring the density/spatial meaning over the temporal meaning. His interpretation is necessary, though, only if *Did* 16:2 references the weekly meal gathering. For then a temporal interpretation would contradict the instructions in *Did* 14. However, if the communal members continued to meet together in more informal circumstances, especially since they were taught during their initiation period in *Did* 4 to seek out other members daily, then this simply serves as a reminder to not stop this type of regular informal contact for support in being perfected. See also Milavec, *Didache*, , whom Khomych is criticizing because he does not find Milavec’s interpretation of *Did* 16:2 to be a development of thought despite Milavec’s underlying principle of interpretation that the *Didache* shows a progression of thought and training.

separate instructions, we see that members and prospective members would have gathered in a more ad hoc manner between instances of the weekly meeting.⁶¹

So here, we are left with the question of location and size for the additional prophetically ordained meals and the baptisms of new members. If a system were already in place for the regular weekly meeting, then this same system could have functioned for these other times. However, the requirement of ὕδωρ ζῶν for the baptism could easily indicate an outdoor location for this meeting. Finally, the more ad hoc meetings on a daily basis likely would have been organized by individuals or subsets of the membership and so these meetings are the most unlikely to involve a particular role needing fulfillment.⁶²

Resource Management

The sheer number of regular meetings would have required careful management of resources. Holding a communal meal once a week would neither have allowed any one

⁶¹ Milavec envisions even more structure for this because in his read the members are only allowed to eat with other members. Thus, they would have been ousted from their familial meal gatherings and so would have gathered for meals with other members of the community. See Milavec, *Didache*, 100.

⁶² Only in Aaron Milavec's most extreme case of needing constant dining together would some amount of formal organization be needed. This would simply consist, though, of those with the appropriate space and food resources hosting a meal for those in the community who lacked such resources.

patron to support the activity nor would it have allowed for the rotation among individual members.⁶³ In the ancient Mediterranean, members provided the resources for both regular and special banquets in a few set patterns: the regular payment of dues, the purchasing of offices, the payment of fines, and donations meant to achieve honor.⁶⁴ We have no record of a first-century Christian community requiring the payment of dues, and we have no record of members purchasing offices.⁶⁵ Further, as we saw in the previous two chapters, discipline in Christian communities regularly involved isolation and shunning, not the financial or material fines seen in many other associations. The *Didache* similarly shows no collection of dues, purchasing of offices or financial punishment. We would expect that *Did* 1-6 with its thorough instruction prior

⁶³ For one family to provide the meal once per year would require approximately 52 families as members of the community – far exceeding Wilkens’ estimate for Christian groups and the average association. Further, if Aaron Milavec is correct in his postulation that part of the Two Ways training program requires the severing of ties with family, particularly around meals, then many members of the community would lose access to familial wealth and, therefore, would be unable to contribute, but would definitely partake. See Milavec, *Didache*, 98-99. All this means that the size of the community would be such that the demand on any one family, even if only once per year, would require wealthy families to be the providers of the meal and it is unlikely that so many wealthy families would be members of the Christian community at this time.

⁶⁴ See e.g. *IG II²* 1368; *SEG* 31 (1981), no. 122; *IJO* II 191, 205, 206.

⁶⁵ Despite Richard Last’s valiant argument in his dissertation, there still remains no direct evidence for a dues paying ancient Christian group. See Last, “Money”. Last’s argument is based on comparative and analogous argumentation with respect to associations. If this was how associations survived financially, then it must have been how the Christians survived financially. This is possible, but we do not know with certainty.

to baptism or *Did* 7 in its discussion of baptism would have included something around dues if there were such a mechanism. *Didache* 15 would have been the place where purchasing of offices would have arisen, but again the qualifications have nothing to do with a certain amount of resources donated to the community.⁶⁶ *Didache* 14:2 displays a practice of exclusion when it forbids those having ἀμφιβολία with another member of the community from the shared meal, but the mechanism for re-admittance to the community was confession, not financial. Further, the motivation for isolation and for this type of re-admittance was a concern for the purity of the community (*Did* 4:14 and 14:1-3) rather than a concern for restitution towards other members as we see in many of the examples around the ancient Mediterranean.⁶⁷

Luke-Acts shows us examples of donations by wealthy individuals in the form of the ancient Mediterranean honor economy, but the form in the *Didache* is not identical

⁶⁶ Though Draper is likely correct that ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι were not paid or supported by the community and therefore had sufficient resources without such support, unlike the prophets and teachers, his argument that the qualification ἀφιλαργύρος of bishops and deacons indicated that they would be sufficiently wealthy to be patrons is unconvincing. This is especially the case when all initiates were trained with a particular ethic around the sharing of money and resources in *Did* 1-6, including the description of those following the way of death as παράκλητοι πλουσίων in *Did* 5:2. Jonathan A. Draper, “Social Ambiguity and the Production of Text: Prophets, Teachers, Bishops and Deacons and the Development of the Jesus Tradition in the Community of the *Didache*” in *The Didache in Context: Essays on Its Text, History and Transmission*, ed. Clayton N. Jefford (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 284-312.

⁶⁷ See e.g. IG II² 1369 where entrants must first be examined to ensure they possess ἀγνός και εὐσεβής και ἀγαθός, but when they violate community standards, they are charged with financial and even physical punishment, not with confession so as to achieve restoration of purity.

with this.⁶⁸ Rather, *Did* 4:5-8 outlines a community of common goods, where anyone who has needs received from those who have the goods or materials to assist. *Didache* 13:3, 5-7 requires the donation of the first fruits for the upkeep of resident prophets or, lacking prophets, for the poor.⁶⁹ The instructions in these verses are detailed and extensive, instructing members exactly how to provide first fruits from a wide variety of goods. Also, *Did* 11-13 instructs the community as to how they should offer hospitality to outsiders who are members of or officials in other Christian communities. Therefore, though dues are not required, the community members end up providing more resources to the community's general resource pool than in the average association. Even more, these cases do not cover the resources needed for the weekly meal.

Though the members may end up contributing a greater amount of resources than other dues-based associations, the use of the community's resources differed substantially. Where dues and donations collected by associations went only toward the benefit of the association or its individual members, the *Didache* commands the first

⁶⁸ e.g. in Luke 8:1-3 where wealthy women supported the ministry of Jesus and in Acts 4-5 with the examples of Barnabas and Ananias and Sapphira.

⁶⁹ Marcello Del Verme explains the distinction here in both passages from the broader ancient Mediterranean world by centering the reflected practices in Judaism. See Del Verme, *Didache*, 113-42 and 189-220.

fruits go to support the poor if there are no resident prophets (*Did* 13) and also commands that communal resources go towards hospitality (*Did* 11-12). In contrast to the average association, the responsibility for allocation of resources in this community would be more diverse in general because the use of resources was different, the frequency of a regular meeting and meal was higher, and, therefore, the resource pool was probably greater in general. Since associations with much less complicated resource management needed to charge someone with responsibility over these matters, we expect that this community would charge someone with governing and managing these resources.

Even if we consider the most low maintenance scenario of how the members managed these major resource management needs, we still see the need for some administration. For example, if the hospitality mechanism were the hosting of outsiders by individual families, someone would need to work in concert with the membership manager(s), who ensured those who came were worthy and had in fact come in the name of the Lord, in order to arrange a place. Further, if the community members each individually brought their first fruits offering to the prophets and teachers, it would not be unreasonable for someone to coordinate when that would happen. That could be the prophet or teacher themselves, but based on the pattern of

teaching in the *Didache* wherein prophets are not permitted to ask for money or food, this seems unlikely. Rather, an individual from the community would likely be charged with or take on the responsibility for coordinating when this would take place. Thus, even in the case of minimal need, we see that someone would be needed to provide some administrative work around the resources of hospitality and the first fruits.

Finally, let us turn to the remaining questions of how the more frequent communal meals would have been provided and the circumstances around their performance. Regardless of where the meal was held or how many meals were held simultaneously, each meal required a host or presider.⁷⁰ It would be unthinkable in the ancient Mediterranean to make do without one, but even if this community were to completely buck the trend, someone would need to provide a space and organize the food. Further, hosts would provide structure and oversight for the actual performance of the meal. Most clearly, we see this through the required prayers in *Did* 9 and 10, both before the meal and after. *Didache* 10:7 τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν and *Did* 11:9a καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι both indicate that when prophets were present they would naturally preside over the meals and

⁷⁰ See Alikin, *Gathering*, 57-58.

provide that structure.⁷¹ However, it is clear from the entirety of *Did* 11:9 καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς εἰ δὲ μήγε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν that the prophets were not the ones who either arranged for the space or provided the food. After all, if they provided the resources there would be no need to label them as false prophets for enjoying their own resources. Rather the necessity that they not partake of a meal they ordered shows concern for abuse of the community's hospitality.

The answer to the provider of the food for the meal most likely lies in the model of communal goods outlined in *Did* 4:8 οὐκ ἀποστραφήση τὸν ἐνδεόμενον συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοὶ ἐστε πῶς μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς. The community members would have

⁷¹ I read *Did* 10:7 as an adversative δέ, so that when a prophet was present then the established forms were not required. However, it is also possible to read the δέ as connective and therefore to read it as if the prophets eucharistized after these written prayers. See e.g. Milavec, *Didache*, 430ff. Milavec considers the written prayers of *Did* 9-10 to be necessary precursors to the prophet's ability to fulfill 10:7. I find such a reading that places the prophet's prayer after those written in *Did* 9-10 to be unconvincing as it would have been quite easy to make it clear that this was a progressive step. Rather, the use of the same verb, εὐχαριστέω, from *Did* 9:1 indicates that the prophets, when present, could put aside the authorized prayers recorded in the text. Of course, the grammar here is challenging and at issue is how we should understand the final phrase ὅσα θέλουσιν. Most regularly, the pronoun ὅσα has to do with some version of quantity. So many understand *Did* 10:7 to allow the prophets to pray as often as they wish or as long as they wish. See e.g. Milavec, "Distinguishing True and False Prophets: the Protective Wisdom of the *Didache*" *JES* 2 (1994): 117-136. Michael Holmes, however, translates it "however they wish", understanding it in a similar manner to the one advocated above. See Michael Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999), 262-63. Audet, *Didachè*, 432-433. reads it the same way. Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 164 allows for both possibilities, preferring not to make a final decision.

pooled their resources in a particular fashion and perhaps some who possessed greater resources than others would contribute more to the meal. Since the impulse to share would have been cultivated in the probationary training period for membership, once full membership was achieved, the natural act would be to contribute food for oneself and for others. Thus, at different periods in the community's history, some members may have taken on more of the status of a benefactor, though it is doubtful that one member would have emerged as the provider of the entire meal on a regular basis.⁷²

Public Relations

Though the *Didache*'s major audience is internal and its orientation rarely turns from this internal perspective, as we argued in ch 2, public relations remains one of these primary functions that nevertheless is present for all ancient Mediterranean associations.⁷³ What comes to the fore from this text is the inter-association relationship between this group and Jewish groups. The *Didache* is interested in defining itself against other groups and maintaining strict boundaries against

⁷² On the nature of benefaction and benefactors in the ancient Mediterranean, see Danker, *Benefactor*. Though, as we discussed above, moving all the way to the status of a patron would be unlikely given the amount of resources needed.

⁷³ As Harland argued, Christian congregations and Jewish synagogues participated in public honors of officials and *polis* life because they were part of the public. These groups were engaged in public life because it was part and parcel of being in this context. See Harland, *Associations*, 213-215.

outsiders. This is distinct from the public relations function we have seen in previous discussions, where we have focused primarily on the ways the group is concerned about public perception. Here, though, the focus is much more on bolstering internal group identity.

We have already discussed the closed regular meeting where non-members are unwelcome.⁷⁴ *Didache* 8:1 identifies fast days and distinguishes them from the fast days of the ὑποκριταί. The community members must not even fast on the same days as these others. Further, in *Did* 8:2, they cannot pray like them, but must pray according to the instructed text. Van de Sandt and Flusser argue strongly for identifying the ὑποκριταί here with pious Jews and these passages as showing this community's break with Jewish groups.⁷⁵ The exact terms of whom the text is interested in defining the community against have been lost to the sands of time, though van de Sandt and Flusser's case seems most likely. The important point is that from the perspective of public relations, these two acts of fasting and prayer are public acts to a certain extent. Why does it matter if these members fast on the same day as the ὑποκριταί or if they

⁷⁴ This is quite distinct from the picture in Corinth. See ch 3.

⁷⁵ See van de Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, esp. 291-96. For an alternative perspective, see del Verme, *Didache*, esp. 143-88. Del Verme sees this passage as indicating a quarrel between members of the same Jewish-Christian community, rather than an irrevocable break between Jewish groups and Christian groups.

pray in the same way? They cannot be seen following the same rituals as these groups. Their very identity is at stake, both for themselves and for their place in society.

Summary

We have seen that our four functions once again gain traction within the *Didache* community and arise even more explicitly than in Matthew or Corinthians as particular addressed concerns in the text itself. Member initiation and membership management were active concerns over which this text exercises authority. Those who would enter the community must first be trained by the material in the text and then undergo the ritual described in the text. Travelers who would seek admittance to the community or residence with the community must be evaluated according to the text. And the text in providing a rule for who may share in the meal necessitates careful attention to maintaining an active list of who qualifies. In addition, the text is actively interested in regulating the ritual and sacrificial action around the regular meeting of the community. It standardizes the thanksgivings (εὐχαριστίας), which are the community's sacrifices (*Did* 14:1) when they gather and even allows an exception to the standard. It further standardizes the time and frequency of meeting. Finally, the text carefully outlines the process for how resources are to be shared. Despite the missing evidence for the exact mechanism of oversight on this matter or for the exact way

resources are provided for the meeting meal, the volume of resources requiring management are greater than the average ancient Mediterranean association. What sketch of weekly life and fulfillment of these functions, then, may we draw?

A Community Sketch

Time will serve as a useful tool for organizing our sketch. We will consider how the schedule of the various functions and activities described in the *Didache* can help us understand the discharging of the numerous duties required to accomplish the vision outlined above. Once we have this in view, we may turn to the named officials within the *Didache* itself, postulating how they would relate to the community's functions and timeline. These two bases provide the bare bones for a sketch that we may compare and contrast with the sketches we already have from chapters 3 and 4.

Time

Each of the functions we considered above are intimately bound up with time, but they are not the only functions and activities we see in the *Didache*. The community operates on at least three different time scales. From narrow to broad, they are the daily schedule, the weekly schedule, and the initiation cycle. The daily schedule regulates prayer, informal meetings, and also the hospitality of the community. The weekly

schedule regulates the formal meeting times and fasting days. The initiation cycle however is undefined by nature. Nevertheless it regulates the training of new members and their baptism. Part and parcel with its undefined nature is the possibility that initiation cycles could be individually tailored, overlapping one another based around the individual being initiated, or they could be strongly regulated by an authority. On this particular front, the text displays some remarkable flexibility.

The daily schedule requires community members to pray three times (*Did* 8:3 τρις τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε). Naturally, who is the audience of this directive and how would these individuals follow it? Against Clayton N. Jefford's interesting proposal, this passage indicates the audience of the *Didache* could not be the missing presbyters.⁷⁶ Rather, the rhythms of communal life described in *Did* 8 are those expected from all community members. The fact that it serves as the natural successor to the topic of initiation and the fast preceding baptism indicates this. *Didache* 7 outlines the baptismal rite, which all community members complete, and explains how each person to be baptized should fast beforehand. The final word on the pre-baptismal fast lists three groups who are urged to fast using the third person imperative: the one being baptized, the baptizer and finally καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλοι δύναται (though only the one being baptized

⁷⁶ See above n. 34.

is commanded in the strongest language of *κελεύειν*). The mention of fasting in ch 7 serves to introduce the general pattern of fasting brought up in *Did* 8:1, followed by the instructions on prayer in the following verse.⁷⁷ So, reasonably, we have moved from baptism that everyone underwent to the fasting that everyone participates in each week to the prayer that everyone says three times per day.

Fasting and prayer do not require any particular oversight and the text does not seem to be concerned about providing any supervision over these activities. It instructs and expects the community members to obey. The informal meetings of the initiates and their trainers, however, differ from this slightly and the hospitality of the community differs greatly. As we saw above, *Did* 4:1-2 instructs the initiate to “honor the one speaking God’s message” to them and also to “daily seek out the faces of the holy ones”. Should we imagine that after the initiate is baptized this pattern of life ends or that they continue with regular instruction? It is likely, rather, that they continued to meet regularly, perhaps daily, with other members of the community or new initiates, and even received encouragement to hold to the Way of Life or further instruction in pursuing it.⁷⁸ After all, nothing else in the Two Ways training would

⁷⁷ These instructions on prayer also serve to standardize the prayers. One outcome of this is that it helps to ensure everyone knows how to pray.

⁷⁸ Also, see above on *Did* 16:2, especially n. 48.

appear to be the Way of Life only during the initiate period. Part and parcel with this training is the continuation of the Way of Life throughout the person's life. What remains, then, is the question of whether the individual in *Did* 4:1, the one speaking the message of God, is just a member of the community or has some official role.

Ultimately, there are good reasons to think this person would be at least one of the διδάσκαλοι mentioned later in the text, but it is also important to note that 4:2 does not require the presence a διδάσκαλοι for the daily informal meetings and also exhibits the high value of the words of any member of the community.⁷⁹

The final daily measure of time concerns the amount of hospitality that should be rendered to outsiders. Here it is *Did* 11-13 that concerns us. An ἀπόστολος should be welcomed and receive hospitality for one day, two if circumstances require, but once a third day arrives, such an apostle is labeled ψευδοπρόφητης (*Did* 11:5). As Jonathan Draper points out, one or two days is hardly enough time to establish oneself as a major authority figure within the community or to take on much of a role at all.⁸⁰ Though the

⁷⁹ This is not the only text that refers to members of a Christian group as οἱ ἄγιοι. See e.g. Acts 9:32, 41; 26:10; Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:2.

⁸⁰ Jonathan Draper, "Apostles, Teachers, and Evangelists: Stability and Movement of Functionaries in Matthew, James, and Didache" in *Matthew, James, and Didache* (Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 155-58. Draper's additional observation that an apostle who violates the proper hospitality being a false prophet does not make apostles who behave according to the rules true prophets. Too often scholars have conflated the two (apostles and prophets) because of this and the heading in 11:3 περί δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων

word itself may tempt us to consider these individuals to be important Christian officials, the evidence from the first century does not support an office of some official capacity and definitely belies the prestige associated traditionally with the Twelve.⁸¹ After all, such a stringent regulation as *Did* 11:5 would not seem appropriate for an exalted official. Other outside travelers were to be given similar hospitality and required to work if they settled down for longer in the community.⁸² Unless travelers were quite infrequent, this hospitality would need to be arranged. Someone in the community would need (on an almost daily basis, since this is the level we are discussing) to organize a room and food for the traveler and instruct them on the regulations around the hospitality they have been offered. Further, accountability would be necessary so that some host did not decide to be overly gracious and break the standards of the community with respect to hospitality. The text provides no direct evidence for who might fill this role, but it is reasonable to think that the individual

καὶ προφητῶν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὕτως ποιήσατε. However, this command could stand on its own and just because the text goes on to discuss apostles in 11:4-6 does not mean the terms should be identifiable, especially because immediately after in 11:7-12 prophets take center stage for the discussion as the teaching about apostles has been completed.

⁸¹ H. Beyer, “ἀποστέλλω, ἀπόστολος, κτλ.” *TDNT* 1:398-447

⁸² Here the violator is called a χριστέμπορος. The term is also familiar from Lucian, *Peregrinus* 13, as many have observed, but we should not therefore use this reference to say this applies to the apostles under discussion in the previous chapter. Rather, this is about someone who claims to be a Christian (πᾶς δὲ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου) and thus presumes the hospitality of this community, not necessarily an apostle. This is against J. Zangenberg, “Milieu”, 63.

supervising the membership process and maintaining the roster would most easily fulfill the duty, especially since they would be familiar with judging someone's claim to come in the name of the Lord and with ensuring proper standards around the membership with respect to the weekly meal were maintained.

The weekly schedule provided the pattern both for fasting and for the gathering of the entire community for a meal. As discussed above, the regulations around fasting help us to see that the general community as the audience of the text would have fasted twice weekly. The practice of fasting shows us both how the community was embedded in Jewish ways of life, but also how they were interested in distancing themselves from Jewish groups and defining their own identity.⁸³ The *Didache* instructs community members to maintain the same frequency of fasting and of meeting as Jewish practice maintains, but disrupts the schedule. Fasting days are switched and the meeting day is altered from the Sabbath. So this community has destabilized the connection to the Jewish heritage, but also sought out some stability in connection to those practices by maintaining the same frequency. Thus the text draws some authority from the historical traditions familiar to the members because of their contact with Jewish groups, but simultaneously denies the authority of some Jewish contemporaries through labeling them hypocrites. This allows the community members once again to

⁸³ See van de Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 291-293 and Del Verme, *Didache*, 168-188.

recognize immediately who should and should not be accepted as a member or an authority. In other words, if the outsider fasts when the community member fasts, they can be accepted, but if they fast at the same times as the hypocrites, they must be rejected. It is similar with prayer and with the regular meeting schedule.

The regular meeting is the most discussed piece of the weekly schedule. Scholars have discussed the prayers in *Did* 9-10 at length, so we will forgo such a discussion here.⁸⁴ A few elements to remember, though, are the lack of a developed Christology, the order of cup, loaf, and post-meal thanksgiving, and the similarity between these prayers and the Jewish *berakhot* or meal blessings. These three pieces again witness to a preservation and connection with Jewish practices, but with some distinctive twists that show this group's break from some other Jewish groups.⁸⁵ The prayers further show us how one member of the community would become the

⁸⁴ See Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre Press, 1964), 90-93; Josef A. Jungmann, S.J., *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame, 2000), 35-38; Enrico Mazza, "Didache 9-10: Elements of a Eucharistic Interpretation" in *The Didache in Modern Research*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 276-299; Johannes Betz, "The Eucharist in the *Didache*" in *The Didache in Modern Research*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 244-275; Huub van de Sandt, "Was the *Didache* Community a Group Within Judaism? An Assessment on the Basis of Its Eucharistic Prayers" in *A Holy People*, ed. Marcel Poorthuis and Joshua Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 85-108; Willy Rordorf, *The Eucharist of the First Christians* (New York: Pueblo, 1978); Arthur Vööbus, "Regarding the Background of the Liturgical Traditions in the *Didache*," *VC* 23 (1969): 81-87; Dirk G. Lange, "The *Didache*: Liturgy Redefining Life" *Worship* 78 (2004): 203-225; Huub van de Sandt, "Why Does the *Didache* conceive of the Eucharist as a Holy Meal?," *VC* 65 (2011): 1-20.

⁸⁵ See the discussion in e.g. Carsten Claussen, "The Eucharist in the Gospel of John and in the *Didache*" in *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew Gregory and Christopher Tuckett (New York: Oxford, 2005), 135-63.

spokesperson of the entire community. The prayers open with the first person plural address to God: εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἅγιε. The person praying, then, becomes not only the spokesperson for the community, but the conduit for the relationship between the deity and the community. What does it mean if a prophet is allowed to perform this ritual without the boundaries imposed by the text? It is not necessarily that the text is recognizing prophetic authority as above its own, but there is some definite negotiation of authority happening. In the regulations of the text, the prayers for the weekly meeting (εὐχαριστία) are the community's sacrifices and so they take on a high level of importance. Prophetic status, when it is proper, relates in a special manner to this practice and allows the prophet hosting privileges of the regular meal, just as the prophet is allowed hosting privileges at any time the spirit ordains a meal through them (*Did* 11:9).

A prophet, however, would not be able to provide the resources for a meal as we discussed above. Two possibilities for filling the prophetically appointed table exist. One would be the community's stores supplied the meal. The other would be individual community members together supplying what was needed. Either way, the caution that the prophet must not eat from such a table (*Did* 11:9) makes sense because it was the communal resources, whether previously gathered or supplied at the time of prophetic

appointment that would be strained if a prophet's appetite were too great. In either of these scenarios, someone would need to coordinate the materials for the meal. If a titled functionary were fulfilling this role, it would likely be the ἐπίσκοποι or διάκονοι.⁸⁶

The final component of the meeting was the confession. As with prayer and fasting this activity remains incumbent on the entire community. The second person plural aorist participle in the phrase εὐχαριστήσατε προσεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν begins a temporal clause so that the confessing happens in sequence before the main aorist verb of the thanksgiving.⁸⁷ The final phrase of the

⁸⁶ LSJ s.v. ἐπίσκοπος; LSJ s.v. διάκονος.

⁸⁷ The exact participle (προσεξομολογησάμενοι vs. προεξομολογησάμενοι), informing how we interpret the practice, betrays a longstanding debate that rarely even bears discussion in the literature. Harnack originally proposed emending the text found in H from προσεξομολογησάμενοι to προεξομολογησάμενοι. (Adolf von Harnack, and Oscar von Gebhardt, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel: nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts* (J. C. Hinrichs, 1884), 54.) Most recently, Niederwimmer agreed, based on the similar forms in *Did.* 7:1 (προειπόντες) and 7:4 (προνήστευσάτω). (Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 196.) However, Rordorf and Tuilier rightly judged that such an emendation is not necessary as the force of the aorist participle clarifies the ordering. Therefore, along with them, we choose to maintain the text from H and ask whether or not the form preceded by the two prepositions πρὸς and ἔκ might tell us something about the nature of the confession. Rordorf and Tuilier prefer to maintain the text of H claiming the emendation was “tendentious” that the aorist nature of the participle itself enforces the ordering, not requiring the emendation to make this clear (Rordorf and Tuilier, *Doctrine*, 67-68, 192). Against our plan, however, they claim the verse in general does not tell us about the manner of confession. Ultimately, the text does not provide a road map, but perhaps the prepositions reveal a few minor aspects. The base verb here as the author chooses to treat it is ἐξομολογέομαι because the intended meaning has to do with confession and not the un-prefixed verbal form ὁμολογέω, whose field of meaning has more to do with agreeing. (LSJ s.v. ἐξομολογέομαι; LSJ s.v. ὁμολογέω) So, then, prefixing the verb ἐξομολογέομαι with the preposition πρὸς would indicate some sort of directionality to the action.

verse makes this clear by providing the reason for confession ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν.

Since *Did* 4:14 already directed that the confession should be done ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, most likely this prefix indicates that the action of the verb is meant to be reciprocal among the members of the community; their confession is in the presence of one another when they are gathered.⁸⁸ Practically, this could be as simple as saying the prayer from *Did* 8 (though the term in the prayer is ὀφειλή, not παράπτωμα), or, as is more likely, a more specific activity. What matters for our study, though, is that the practice was incumbent upon all members, it was done when the community gathered, and, therefore, would not require anything additional outside of the regular meeting.

Finally, let us consider the initiation schedule. No particular form for this time period exists, but the text does show a definite beginning and ending to the process. At some point, an initiate desires to become a member of the community. Such a person would then be trained according to *Did* 1-6 and ultimately, after fasting and being baptized, join the community in its most unifying ritual, the thanksgiving meal. Given the regulations around examining newcomers who claim to come in the name of the

⁸⁸ LSJ s.v. πρὸς, LSJ lists a few possibilities for composite verbal meanings. Here I intend meaning E.III “metaph. connexion and engagement with anything”.

Lord in *Did* 12:1, we should not assume that the initiation period was short.⁸⁹ The emphasis on action when it comes to the testing of prophets, apostles, and any outsider wishing to stay means it was likely this testing had to do with action as well. Therefore, such an initiate probably needed to display some actions in keeping with the Way of Life prior to baptism.⁹⁰ This means it is likely that more than one person would undergo initiation at a time, which has bearing on the personnel required for such training, as well as on the resources of the community, if an initiate were removed from their familial resources on account of their interest in joining the community.⁹¹

So the schedule leaves us with a few clear ideas. First, the amount of work and resources required to carry out what is expected regularly requires some specific persons devoted to those tasks. Second, there are some duties that do not require supervision outside of the original teaching. It is assumed that the members of the community would keep these practices such as fasting and prayer on the weekly and daily basis, but there is neither an outlined mechanism for enforcement nor an outlined punishment for failure to comply with the document's instructions. Finally,

⁸⁹ πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου δεχθήτω ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔξετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν *Did* 12:1

⁹⁰ Such a period of initiation was standard in the Ancient Mediterranean and also accords well with Aaron Milavec's portrait of the "life-transforming training program" as he calls it. See Milavec, *Didache*, 53-168.

⁹¹ See the discussion above on this topic.

despite the connections with Judaism, there is an effort to distance the community from Judaism in some fashion, so we should not expect a direct uptake of Jewish institutions in every right. This is especially true for something like the missing presbyters in the *Didache*. This does not surprise us because this community is not attempting to replicate the Jewish body of presbyters as an authoritative force.

Roles and Authority

What, then, can we say about authority and the roles required by such a schedule?

Since the *Didache* mentions quite a few titled individuals, it is reasonable to assume that the rigors of the schedule outlined above and the needs shown for the community would be connected to the titled functionaries listed explicitly in the text.⁹² We will not provide a full discussion of the ἀπόστολος because the nature of their position was that they were outsiders coming into the community. As such, their involvement in these regular functions of the community and the rigors of the schedule serve more as a rupture and an object of work than as a supportive or working force. The demands of the community schedule and of the daily schedule of the majority of people in the

⁹² Against Jonathan A. Draper, “Social Ambiguity and the Production of Text: Prophets, Teachers, Bishops and Deacons and the Development of the Jesus Tradition in the Community of the *Didache*” in *The Didache in Context: Essays on Its Text, History and Transmission*, ed. Clayton N. Jefford (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 284-312.

ancient world was such that it is unlikely any one of the titled functionaries or smaller group of them took on more than one of these major tasks. For any one person to take on more than one role, that individual would need a large amount of available time and fiscal resources. This would not be impossible, but it is unlikely. Therefore, we will proceed with such a case as the exception rather than the rule. We will begin by working through the tasks and which functionary would likely take on these roles. There may have been unnamed other functionaries who also assisted, but their lack of mention shows that they were not functionaries taking on the major tasks. Further, there is a strong tendency in this text to bolster local authority as a counter to outside authority that threatened the life of the community, so we will also discuss the dynamics around this. Finally, the very function of the text itself is one of authority so we will explore how those responsible for it may fit into the picture.

As detailed above, all community members performed many of the functions within the community. Everyone prayed. Everyone fasted. Everyone ate at the meal. Everyone gave first fruits. However, each of these also connects to a function that could not simply be performed by everyone. According to this text, people must be taught how to pray, when to fast, how to prepare for eating the meal, what constituted the first fruits. Further, the meal must be provided, the first fruits collected and

appropriately distributed. So, here we will leave the former type of functions by the way side and concentrate on the latter types, those requiring particular performance and/or preparation.

Let us begin with the initiation process and teaching. Since this is intimately connected with the testing of general outsiders (in form it is much the same as we mentioned above), it is most likely that the διδάσκαλος mentioned explicitly in *Did* 13:2 and 15:1-2 and implicitly in *Did* 4:1 fulfilled the function of teaching initiates and of testing outsiders.⁹³ The process would have likely required more than one διδάσκαλος as daily instruction was required along with the testing of outsiders. However, given the command to support the διδάσκαλος from community resources in *Did* 13:2, there likely were not many.⁹⁴ Such activities would not have allowed for the διδάσκαλος to be

⁹³ Against de Halleux, “Ministers”. The διδάσκαλος should be considered an independent position. De Halleux would unite it with the prophet, understanding 13:2 to be an elaboration of 13:1, so the prophet must be a true teacher to be worthy. The collapsing of the prophet, apostle, and teacher misunderstands the amount of work required of such a figure and the ability to be present as an authority in the community. De Halleux does point out that not all prophets would necessarily be missionaries and so they could be present in the community, but if the prophet is meant to be a charismatic office, drawing its authority and presence from a spiritual characteristic, then the text itself, especially if it is a product of prophet teacher as de Halleux proposes, works against this very enterprise. For, though it allows the prophet freedom in praying the thanksgivings, it would not allow the prophet much freedom in the teaching department, working very hard to control what was taught throughout the entirety of the document!

⁹⁴ A literal interpretation of this command could mean that the διδάσκαλος was simply provided with a meal, but it is more likely that their material needs were taken care of by the community given the initiating command around a prophet who wished to settle among the community being worthy of

a wandering figure, but rather meant that s/he would have been one of the core local authorities, acting particularly as a gatekeeper.⁹⁵

Now, the prophets also occasionally taught and it could be that a διδάσκαλος also filled the role of a prophet, but the particular role of διδάσκαλος as trainer of initiates and manager of the membership of the community should not be identified with the προφήτης.⁹⁶ We see that prophets taught because one of the main concerns facing the *Didache* was the content of prophetic teaching and how it related to prophetic action (*Did* 11:10). However, the prophetic teaching had a different focus than the teaching of the διδάσκαλος; the prophet's teaching, much like the role in general was focused much more on maintaining the relationship between the divine

his food. Moreover, the διδάσκαλος likely would not have had the time to work given the demands of teaching initiates and working with outsiders.

⁹⁵ Against e.g. Ray Robert Noll, *Christian Ministerial Priesthood: a Search for its Beginnings in the Primary Documents of the Apostolic Fathers* (San Francisco: Scholars Press, 1993), 267ff.

⁹⁶ The word family around διδασκ- does not necessarily need to be connected. In fact, διδάσκαλος itself has a long history as a technical term that the verb διδάσκω did not necessarily share. See Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, "διδάσκαλος," *TDNT*, 2:148-60. Rengstorf shows how the term διδάσκαλος has a technical meaning from very early in its Greek usage all the way through the Hellenistic period, including in Hellenistic Judaism. He writes, "The διδάσκαλος is not just a teacher in general, but a man who teaches definite skills like reading, fighting or music, developing the aptitudes already present. Thus, if the subject of instruction is not clear from the context, it has to be defined more precisely by an indication of the skills in question... The decisive point is that systematic instruction is given; if so, the word is apposite irrespective of the nature of the instruction or of the application of the term wither to men or in a more figurative sense." (149) In the *Didache*, the systematic instruction is the Way of Life.

and the community.⁹⁷ This contrasts with the role of the διδάσκαλος in preparing individuals to be members of the community. This role maintains the relationship between humans and other humans.⁹⁸ Further, it was not just prophets who could also teach. The major concern around teaching had to do with inside versus outside authority. What was at stake for the *Didache* was the very soul of the community, the basis of its entire life. For this reason, any outsider who would teach was to be judged according to whether their teaching built up what the *Didache* taught or if it destroyed what the *Didache* taught (*Did* 11:1-2). The διδάσκαλος particularly, though, had charge of teaching the initiates and vetting outsiders.

Though prophets could teach, the main role of the προφήτης sprang out of this idea of maintaining the community's relationship with the divine. One of the touchstones of this exact relationship was in the Thanksgivings offered weekly by the community as sacrifices (*Did* 14:1) so it is no surprise that as we outlined above the προφήτης took on a special authority in this realm. Where the text itself claims dominion over the ritual activity in its entirety (ordering the meal and dictating the

⁹⁷ The discussion on the prophet continues for the next several pages. For more on this particular aspect, the reader is urged to continue reading.

⁹⁸ I am indebted to Ramsay MacMullen for this idea of some roles maintaining the relationship with the divine while others focus on relationship between humans. See Ramsay MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1981), esp. e.g. 42-48.

prayers to be said), the text authorizes the prophet to stand outside of these regulations, giving them permission to εὐχαριστεῖν differently (*Did* 10:7).⁹⁹ The text also authorizes the προφήτης to order meals outside of the established and regular schedule (*Did* 11:9), to act outside of the expected manner of acting for the average community member (*Did* 11:11), and to order the dispensation of communal resources (*Did* 11:12) as part of this maintenance role.

Each of these aspects of the prophetic role draws their authority and their importance for community life from the position of the prophet as mediator of the divine-human relationship and therefore bears the mark of maintaining this relationship. The προφήτης is introduced with this fact in mind: καὶ πάντα προφήτης λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε (*Did* 11:7). We should not be confused by the previous discussions about outsiders generally and apostles specifically into thinking that all of these roles are the same. Chapter 11 opens with two verses about behavior towards outsiders who claim some authority, then introduces two types of outsiders who were often claiming authority: ἀπόστολοι καὶ προφήται. After several

⁹⁹ To be clear, I am not claiming that the προφήτης has authority that supersedes the text within the textual world. It is clear that the text claims supreme authority over each and every aspect of the prophetic activity, granting permission for certain elements, regulating others, and forbidding still others. The ultimate authority inside the world created by the *Didache* is the *Didache* itself. However, here the text grants special authority to the προφήτης in the realm of the εὐχαριστία.

verses on apostles, the text finally begins to discuss prophets.¹⁰⁰ Though the discussion here in *Did* 11 focuses on the προφήτης who comes from outside the community, we should not be confused into thinking either that all prophets were outsiders or that this discussion has nothing to offer us about the προφήτης who was not an outsider.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Against Halleux, “Ministers” and Milavec, “Distinguishing”, both of whom identify prophets and apostles as one and the same based on the non-repetition of the article in 11:3. However, this does not justify making every prophet an apostle because they are separated into regulations in 11:4 and 11:7. Each of these regulation sections begins with the same formula πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος and πάντα προφήτην. They each have their own distinctive set of duties and rules for identifying their genuine nature. It is, of course, conceivable that a prophet may be sent as an apostle like Judas and Silas who were sent with Paul and Barnabas from Jerusalem back to Antioch with the decision of the council and in Acts 15:32 are identified also as prophets.

On the argument where the apostle of *Did* 11 is identified as a prophet based on the use of ψευδοπροφήτης in *Did* 11:5 rather than ψευδαπόστολος, it is not so easily dismissed as Milavec would wish. Rather, the term ψευδαπόστολος does not occur in the LXX, and only has two occurrences in literature outside the NT prior to the end of the first century. The one exception in the NT is 2 Cor, so it is entirely possible that such a term would not be ready to hand for the author of our text. ψευδοπροφήτης on the other hand, occurs both in Jeremiah (9 times) and Zechariah (1 time) and is much more common in Greek and Roman literature prior to the *Didache* as well. In other words, Rordorf and Tuilier were correct to argue that the term ψευδοπροφήτης was used because the rarity of ψευδαπόστολος indicated that the term would not be current within the *Didache* community. See Rordorf and Tuilier, *Doctrine*, 52.

¹⁰¹ Regularly, the *Didache* has been read as showing the transition from wandering charismatic authority to established, local institutional authority. (On this history of interpretation, see Jonathan A. Draper, “Weber, Theissen, and ‘Wandering Charismatics’ in the *Didache*,” *J ECS* 6 (1998): 541-76.) For such a reading, it is important that all prophets are outsiders to the *Didache* community as Draper suggests in Jonathan A. Draper, “Social Ambiguity and the Production of Text: Prophets, Teachers, Bishops and Deacons and the Development of the Jesus Tradition in the Community of the *Didache*” in *The Didache in Context: Essays on Its Text, History and Transmission*, ed. Clayton N. Jefford (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 290-302. However, the very fact that the text concerns itself with outside prophets settling down within the community indicates that prophets living among them would not be unexpected. Further, the rhythms of life implied in the text at large such as prophets having the permission to εὐχαριστεῖν differently, the gift of the first fruits to the prophets, and the identity of a prophet as a high priest witness to their intimate ties to the community. There is not sufficient evidence to claim that here the prophet was an entirely foreign figure.

Rather, the tests for such an outsider who would claim the authority to mediate the community's relationship to the divine shows us what some of the regular activities of such a figure within the community would be generally.

So, the προφήτης would regularly λαλεῖν ἐν πνεύματι and *Did* 11:7 instructs the community members that they should not πειράζειν or διακρινεῖν the outside prophet because to treat the προφήτης in the same manner as the general outsider claiming authority or the ἀποστόλος would be ἁμαρτία. The most reasonable explanation for this is that the prophet's particular role of mediating the divine to the community places her/him in a different category than others. Therefore, the προφήτης must be treated and evaluated differently. This is most clearly seen in *Did* 11:11 where the standard of behavior for the προφήτης is not identical with the standard for the general community member. However, the text still provides some key indicators for whether or not the outsider claiming prophetic authority was a true προφήτης. The evaluative mechanisms provide some additional key insights into what a προφήτης would do in the community because it is the improper performance of these activities that would indicate one of them to be a ψευδοπροφήτης.

As the mediator and maintainer of the divine relationship with the community, the prophet's regular activities reflect the communal concerns about this relationship.

We mentioned the particular authority and role in the εὐχαριστία above and also some of the particular privileges prophets had in mobilizing communal resources and communal instruction. Each of these has to do with how the deity relates to the community. The προφήτης may order an additional meal (probably a εὐχαριστία itself or an activity in caring for those without food), would instruct the community about truth (*Did* 11:10), and would direct the community's charity. Each of these concerns shows up in the Two Ways instruction that each community member would have received. This was the work of the prophet and as such they were to be supported with food and goods from the community members who had different work (*Did* 13). Finally, this aspect of the προφήτης is most clearly displayed when the text identifies the προφήται with the high priests (*Did* 13:3), whose role was to mediate the relationship between the divine and the community in the Torah.

This leaves us with the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι as the remaining named officials and the quite large responsibilities of managing resources, presiding at the regular meeting/meal when a προφήτης was not present, and managing the hospitality of the community. We should not forget also that if the *Didache* were to have any force of normativity over the community itself, someone would need to ensure that it was followed. In contrast to the διδάσκαλος and προφήτης, the *Didache* itself provides very

little with respect to these final two named functionaries. *Didache* 15 is the only place they are mentioned. Here we learn that they are locally elected and should embody a particular catalogue of virtues and they are to be considered similarly to the διδάσκαλος and προφήτης by the community. Since we lack much evidence here, the avenues down which we may proceed are limited. Though it is tempting to define these roles by their later Christian manifestations, which was the original way both Harnack and Sohm read the text,¹⁰² we will rather elucidate the role of the ἐπίσκοποι and the διάκονοι from what limited evidence we have in the *Didache* along with the communal remaining needs.

An ἐπίσκοπος generally supervised money or construction in the ancient Mediterranean world.¹⁰³ However, the attestation to the role as a human official prior to the first century CE is limited.¹⁰⁴ The LXX does show a consideration of the deity as an

¹⁰² So the readings of Harnack, *Lehre* and Rudolph Sohm, *Kirchenrecht I: Die geschichtlichen Grundlagen* (Leipzig: J.C. Henrich, 1892). A more recent example of this method is Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 164-65, 200-1. Niederwimmer claims the ἐπίσκοποι would clearly preside at the meal. It seems he is influenced still by the ultimate role that bishops took on, imagining that there was a conflict between the charismatic itinerants and the locally elected leadership, particularly played out in the weekly meal and worship of the community. Of course, we should keep in view the eventual manifestation of the monarchical bishop in second century Christianity, for the structure likely does not spring wholesale out of a completely different role. But to allow the destination to over-determine the history would not be sound methodologically.

¹⁰³ Albrecht Oepke, “ἐπίσκοπος,” *TDNT* 2: 608-20. In Attica, it seems the analogous official would be the ἐπιμελητής and this title was quite common throughout our database, much more so than ἐπίσκοπος, which does not appear at all. See the Appendix for specific epigraphic evidence.

ἐπίσκοπος, watching over and guarding creation, but we cannot impose the divine image wholesale on to a human role within the community.¹⁰⁵ The imagery can indicate the sense this word may have had for an official. The *Didache* itself identifies the role as plural, instructing χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἀξίους τοῦ κυρίου. Having more than one means that the role likely required more than one person to handle the duties. The election by the community indicates that, unlike the προφήτης, this role is concerned intimately with human-to-human relationships. Whereas the deity chooses the προφήτης, the community chooses the ἐπίσκοποι. The list of character qualifications can also show us something about the role. Certainly Niederwimmer is correct to connect the qualification of ἀφιλάργυρος to a handling of money and/or resources at some point.¹⁰⁶ However, we should not overstate the case, making the bishops into patrons as Draper does.¹⁰⁷ The additional characteristic πράϋς could be indicative of dealing with sensitive situations, such as outsiders or strife within the community. The final two qualifications ἀληθής and δεδοκιμάσμενος are familiar from the discussions around the προφήτης and the διδάσκαλος, which employ

¹⁰⁴ See previous note.

¹⁰⁵ See Oerke, “ἐπίσκοπος”.

¹⁰⁶ Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 201.

¹⁰⁷ Draper, “Social Ambiguity,” 292.

similar language, so they appear to be standard qualifications of any leader.¹⁰⁸ So the word itself and the qualifications the *Didache* puts on the official indicate that this person oversaw human relationships, most likely having to do with resources and communal wellbeing.

An official acting in such a capacity is a prime candidate for managing the resources of the community and overseeing hospitality and communal discipline. This is a tall order with much attached to it. For this reason, we should not consider all of these matters as solely in the hands of the ἐπίσκοποι. After all, they are paired with the διάκονοι both in form of appointment as in qualification. The pairing itself eventually takes on a peculiar Christian identity and it is not attested prior to this Christian identity.¹⁰⁹

Prior to the particular Christian identity, a διάκονος was often associated with the service of food.¹¹⁰ Two of our inscriptions from ch 2 included διάκονοι, but they are

¹⁰⁸ See *Did* 11:11, 13:1-2. Niederwimmer proposes that they are particular to the Didachist since they appear around each of these officials. See Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 201. However, since we are pursuing a reading without this brand of redaction criticism, our explanation seeks a different ground for explanation.

¹⁰⁹ See Hermann W. Beyer, “διάκονος,” *TDNT* 2: 88-93.

¹¹⁰ Hermann W. Beyer, “διάκονος,” *TDNT* 2: 88-93.

both from the second century CE or later.¹¹¹ These two instances both are monuments set up to *Zeus Hypsistos* and the *διάκονοι* are mentioned with the named official who set up the monument. Here they had something of a cultic function. Finally, since they have the same requirements as the *ἐπίσκοποι* in *Did* 15:1, we could also associate them with the handling of money and/or resources and the dispensation of hospitality and/or communal discipline.

If we take seriously the strong association between the *διάκον-* family of words with food, then it is reasonable that these two offices would be connected with the weekly meal. The linguistic background of *ἐπίσκοπος* suggests this official as the regular presider/host over the meal and as such the one charged with arranging a place.¹¹² The *διάκονοι* would assist with the serving of the food to all the various community members and the basic administration of the meal itself. With respect to hospitality, we could also imagine these functionaries working hand-in-hand in a similar fashion. The *ἐπίσκοπος* overseeing the administrative duties around distributing hospitality, whether the location where an outsider was to stay or the food needed to nourish them, while the *διάκονοι* performed the more hands-on work of taking the outsider to the home where they would stay or delivering the food. As the

¹¹¹ See appendix, *AGRW* 36 and 38.

¹¹² See LSJ s.v. *ἐπίσκοπος*.

more hands-on officials, the δίακονοι probably also worked with the διδάσκαλος in vetting outsiders who would claim authority. Finally, if we consider the ἐπίσκοποι as guardians of the community, employing the sense background of the term in the LXX, we could see these officials as mediating disputes within the community and helping to enforce regulations around those in conflict not attending the weekly meal (*Did* 14:2, 15:3). This is especially true considering the topics surrounding the discussion of these officials in *Did* 14 and 15.

These two roles took on quite a bit of responsibility in the daily life of the community, which shows us why there would be more than one of each of them. This is all the more true in that unlike the roles of the διδάσκαλος and the προφήτης, the ἐπίσκοπος and the διάκονος did not receive material support from the community. In many ways, they maintained the human-human relationships that were the undergirding for the work the διδάσκαλος and the προφήτης did to maintain the human-divine relationship. It is for this reason that all these roles are connected in *Did* 15:1, with the immediate command to honor the ἐπίσκοπος and the διάκονος with the διδάσκαλος and the προφήτης. The connection with the λειτουργία τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων in *Did* 15:1 simply indicates that all of these officials share in the same

duties, namely the maintenance of the community's relationships, with one another and with the deity.

Finally, a word about the author(s) behind the text of the *Didache* itself. De Halleux raised the question of the author as operating in a particular position, namely as a διδάσκαλος.¹¹³ I think he is correct in this. Not only would a διδάσκαλος be the official most interested in ensuring all these materials were passed on, but the particular role of membership initiation and management would likely require some literacy at some point. It is for this reason that a γραμματεὺς regularly served in this role in the ancient Mediterranean world. The διδάσκαλος, out of any of the officials would likely have the skills necessary to record all of this information and impose the regulations on the community. Also, it would not be difficult to imagine competition between the προφήτης and the διδάσκαλος, hence leading to some of the curbing of prophetic authority in *Did* 11. Finally, as an official intimately involved in the training of many new members, the διδάσκαλοι would likely not see their duty ending at baptism, but rather would continue training and admonishing the community, much as this text does.

¹¹³ de Halleux, "Ministers".

Summary and Conclusion

We have seen that the *Didache* reflects a robust community life, one bustling with daily and weekly requirements and a tall order of a weekly communal meal supported by the community at large. We saw how important the training of new prospective members was and how the *Didache* was interested in preserving much of its Jewish heritage while simultaneously transforming these things to make them something new and different from what some of the other Jews in the area were doing. We saw the importance of maintaining both the human-divine relationship and the human-human relationships of the community itself. Finally, we saw how the named officials would carry out these regular tasks of the community life.

The διδάσκαλοι served to carry out the new member initiation process and continued to train the community as a whole. The προφήται served most directly to mediate the divine to the community taking a hand in the hosting of the εὐχαριστίαι and in the administration of hospitality and almsgiving, as well as the training of the community. In maintaining the human-human relationships, though, the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι took on the lion's share of the on-the-ground work of the community life. The ἐπίσκοποι would arrange for the community meetings, finding a space and presiding as was befitting a host, while the διάκονοι made sure everyone had food to

eat. These officials also worked hand-in-hand to administer the community's hospitality to outsiders, with the διδάσκαλοι serving as the testers and approvers of outside authority. In the culmination of this human-human relationship, the ἐπίσκοποι would guard the community's well-being by overseeing community discipline and ensuring that conflicts among the members were resolved.

One may suggest that this text simply constitutes an outlier from the Christianity common in the first and early second centuries CE. After all, scholars have lamented again and again the challenge of this text because it does not fit into what we know about earliest Christianity. The prayers are wrong. The mention of prophets and apostles does not match the mention of bishops and deacons. The eschatology is somewhat developed, but the Christology is all but entirely lacking. However, such a claim should not be substantiated because if it were true, it would be unlikely that the text would have been preserved until the eleventh century or that it would have been circulated so that it could have been preserved. On the other hand, one could approach the problem of the *Didache* like Gerd Theissen and the adherents to his model of wandering charismatics. In their view, similar to Harnack's original pronouncement, the *Didache* becomes the key to what we still did not understand of earliest

Christianity.¹¹⁴ The problem with each of these suggestions, however, is that they both function within the same all or nothing dichotomy. Either the *Didache* is completely outside normative Christianity or the *Didache* becomes the norm through which to view Christianity.

Rather than such an approach, I suggest considering the *Didache* as one of a number of possible instantiations of earliest Christianity. For, if we consider Christianity to be one thing in the ancient world, we must inevitably function within the aforementioned all or nothing dichotomy. But, if Christianity were multiply developed and manifold in its earliest stages, then we may escape such totalizing views. The *Didache* as much as Corinthian Christianity or Matthean Christianity has its own emphases and its own way of organizing community life and community functions. Each of these has some points of contact, but they also have quite a bit of difference, for ultimately, the way that earliest Christian communities related to one another was not in the straight evolutionary line of development of historian's reconstructions.

¹¹⁴ See e.g. Gerd Theissen, *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), 19-21; John Dominic Crossan, "Itinerants and Householders in the Earliest Jesus Movement" in *Whose Historical Jesus*, ed. William E. Arnal and Michel Desjardins (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997), 7-24, and John Dominic Crossan, *The Birth of Christianity: Discovering What Happened in the Years Immediately After the Execution of Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper, 1998), 363-406. Though Crossan's interpretation is distinctive, it still places the *Didache* as a missing piece in the puzzle of Christian Origins and links everything together in a similar manner and so I include him here among the others.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

We have now seen three examples of early Christian life in First Corinthians, the Gospel of Matthew, and the Didache. The dating of these texts shows that they can be ordered either as First Corinthians, Matthew, Didache or First Corinthians, Didache, Matthew from earliest to latest. Therefore, if the evolutionary, developmental model holds, we should be able to take the results of our analysis and show either or both of these orders in the development of the communities. In addition, we should be able to show an increasing specificity in roles from the earlier texts to the later. Does this hold true?

Evolutionary Development

Corinth

First Corinthians showed us a community that was organized around the regular meeting. The conglomeration of groups who gathered in homes on the first day of the week for a meal and the display of gifts of the Spirit had few highly developed roles and mostly ad hoc functions. Their initiation process was undeveloped. New members heard the proclamation of the gospel perhaps at a meeting of the group or in some

other forum and eventually were baptized. Once they were baptized, then they were more formally trained by a teacher. Members paid regular dues that financed the meal at the meeting and it was unclear whether or not non-members participated in the meal.

It was clear, however, that non-members were present for the exercising of gifts of the Spirit. In this part of the meeting, anyone could exercise their gift and anyone could be gifted. The potential to prophesy was equal among all members just as the potential for any other gift was equal. So there were no particular prophets. Similarly, all members were participants in the public relations of the groups. As all members exercised gifts, so all members participated in publicly bringing honor to the group or publicly bringing shame, as Paul is quick to remind his addressees on multiple occasions.

The meetings were held in the homes of members and it is possible that the varied status of the membership itself could have caused some tension as to which group meeting one was invited to attend.

Regardless, the most highly developed function was the treasurer for maintaining the finances for the meal would have required some consistency as would the tracking of who had paid their dues. Thus, either the treasurer would also have

maintained the membership list or would have worked hand-in-hand with such a
functionary.

Finally, we wondered at the mechanism for discipline. Paul seemed
disappointed at the community as a whole in 1 Cor 5 rather than at any particular
individual for failing at their role. Does this mean there was not a particular
functionary or simply that if one functionary failed the next should've fulfilled it down
to the most junior member of the community? It was unclear ultimately.

Matthew

In Matthew's community, the most striking differences were the meeting day and the
mechanism for the teaching ministry. Matthew's group met on the Sabbath and the
group of γραμματεῖς were the most prominent officials in the teaching ministry (with
perhaps a senior γραμματεὺς known as a σοφός who trained other γραμματεῖς). The
γραμματεῖς had charge over the newly baptized, who somewhat similar to Corinth had
little to no training program prior to baptism. The γραμματεῖς also managed the
membership roster and carried out some other administrative duties such as
administering the alms.

There was also a developed prophetic position in Matthew. The prophet was
both an outside threat and also an inside bolster to the community. Approved prophets

would teach the more senior membership of the community and had a strong role in the public relations of the community given their ability to gain attention and a following in the public sphere.

A particularity of the Matthean group was the forbidding of certain titles. No one was to be called teacher or master. Rather, there was a strong emphasis on all members sharing a sibling-hood that put them on the same level and promoted a philosophy of greatness through service.

So, we could see on the lines of initiation, a development from First Corinthians to Matthew, but it is difficult to imagine a line of development that takes the meeting from the first day of the week back to the Sabbath. Further, the strong development of a prophetic ministry could have come out of the Corinthian context, as could the aversion to the title of teacher and some others, but coming back to the *Didache* where the διδάσκαλος is so prominent would require some complex lines of development indeed. Finally, if the Matthean group were the middle term, where would the γραμματεῖς have originated and to where would they have disappeared?

The *Didache*

The *Didache* community has the most developed pre-initiation program of all. We saw an extensive teaching and training program prior to baptism and an extensive

baptismal ritual followed by the Eucharistic meal. This initiation process was supervised by the διδάσκαλοι and the community at large continued to be taught by these διδάσκαλοι as well as the prophets when they were present. The prophets also served as the mediators of the divine relationship with the community and administered some of the community's gifts to the poor.

The ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι were defined as sharing in the work of these two offices and so we saw that these roles were not explicitly defined. Based on their qualifications, these two functionaries likely handled many of the day-to-day communal tasks such as food logistics and the meeting place.

If the *Didache* were the second term in our development, it would be difficult to imagine such a developed initiation process disappearing before Matthew. Such a highly detailed and vital component of communal life could not simply be removed and replaced with the more simple form if the two presuppositions of the evolutionary, developmental model are to hold true.

If the *Didache* is the third term, where did the γραμματεῖς go and how did we go from a somewhat prominent διδάσκαλος to a forbidden title to a prominent διδάσκαλος? The development of the prophet would make sense, but these other two simply do not fit the evolutionary, developmental scheme. Did the role of the γραμματεῖς

simply split among all the various functionaries of the *Didache*? This is not the ordered development toward specificity that the evolutionary model theorizes.

Increasing Specificity of Roles

First Corinthians showed some highly developed roles as well as some quite undeveloped roles. The most developed roles were the treasurer and the management of current membership rolls. These two (or perhaps one) functionaries had highly developed task-oriented jobs within the community. However, the initiation process more broadly showed marked lack of development in comparison with many other associations in the ancient Mediterranean world. The process prior to baptism was ad-hoc with formal training and a formal position only after baptism. Similarly, the roles in the meeting itself were undeveloped with any member of the community potentially able to be a prophet or a speaker in tongues, for example. These were not so much roles as they were manifestations of power.

In Matthew, we saw a highly developed teaching function that the γραμματεῖς fulfilled. But rather than being overly specialized, this class of functionary was broad in its orientation. The γραμματεῖς not only taught the recently baptized, but they also took on administrative duties having to do with the common fund from the almsgiving practice and the membership roster. Moreover, there was also a prophetic teaching

role involved in the Matthean community for the more senior members so that teaching was not even a specialized function to one class of functionary.

Similarly, in the *Didache*, there was a highly developed teaching process, but it was before initiation. The διδάσκαλοι fulfilled this role, but they also continued to teach the entire community. So, in this text we find the most developed specificity for any of the roles. But we also see roles that have not been so highly specialized. The prophets of the *Didache* continue to fulfill a teaching function, so it is not the sole provenance of one office. The prophets also bear the responsibility of maintaining the community's relationship with the divine. The ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι worked more on the community life details, arranging for the meeting places, the food and hospitality to outsiders, as well as overseeing community discipline. While there was some division of work, the specialization of roles was not that highly developed as can be seen particularly in *Did* 15:1 where the work of ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι is defined as sharing the work of the prophets and teachers.

Therefore, the second of the presuppositions of the standard position fails to hold true. We do not see in these texts an increasing specialization and specificity of roles as time proceeded.

Since these two presuppositions fail to hold, it is time to reconsider our picture of earliest Christian community life. What if we reimagined these communities and these texts as diverse from the beginning rather than necessarily fitting along a single line of development? What if we imagined them as relating to one another in a variety of complex manners rather than in one simple manner? What if we looked at them once again with fresh eyes and read them to see what we could find?

These communities clearly have much in common. In fact, functional model of analysis works from a basis of commonality throughout the ancient Mediterranean world. Yet, they are also distinct. The way forward in future study needs to pay attention to these distinctions and not only hold them up in their individual communities and text worlds, but put them together and show the rich diversity of earliest Christian communal life as we have it in our canon and in our extracanonical sources.

APPENDIX

This appendix took as its departure point the most recently published source book on Ancient Mediterranean Associations, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: a sourcebook (AGRW)*. As the editors' goal in their selection was to be representative rather than exhaustive, these selections of inscriptions and papyri function as an appropriate starting point for a manageable amount of material to exhibit the broad patterns of group life in the ancient Mediterranean world.¹ Each table, then, follows a distinctive pattern. For this first table of epigraphic and papyrological evidence, the first column provides a catalogue of the identifying collection numbers, utilizing the same abbreviations as *AGRW*.² The second column provides the date. The third column provides a catalogue of the terms used to refer to the groups themselves, whether as entities or to their particular meetings, buildings or other common resources. Terms referring to the entities themselves or to their episodic meetings are left plain, but those that could reference resources are placed in parentheses so as to distinguish the two (e.g. occasionally an entity is referred to as κοινόν, but at times context clarifies

¹ Ascough, et. al., *Associations*, 7.

² For a list of abbreviations, see *ibid.* xxviiff.

that what is intended by the same Greek word is a common treasury). The fourth column provides a catalogue of any terms used for particular individuals who fulfill particular roles. Here, if a verbal form that refers to a particular person or group fulfilling a particular role without a nominal title, the verbal form is placed in parentheses. Finally, the fifth column provides notes and exhibited functions. This column is the main material for this study, especially as it compares to the terminology used for officials. Due to the nature of our sources, any given column may be empty. Yet, even if no terminology is used, functions may still be extracted from the evidence.

Preliminary results indicate that there is no set terminological bank which all of these groups use. Even if one were to attempt to classify the groups regionally, temporally, or as subsets (see the discussion in ch. 2), the terminology does not break down into a representative grouping. There are some terms that are more common than others, but usage remains inconsistent enough to belie such easy taxonomies.

Second, as J.G. Barclay observed, the groups do exhibit at a basic level the two functions of meeting together and dealing with money. The latter part of this may be discerned by the evidence and the former is definitional. However, there are two other broad functions which the nature of the evidence indicates as basic functions: first record keeping of some kind. The fact that inscriptional evidence or papyri exist at all

indicates this function. Second, these groups are necessarily invested in some type of public relations. Whether they are honoring an individual with an inscription or monument, proclaiming their own allegiance to the empire or a deity, or memorializing a member, they are claiming a public presence and representing themselves in the public sphere.

Finally, a preliminary look at the evidence shows us that it is reasonable to assume a fifth constitutive function of these groups: membership management. Each group needs some way of accounting who is in the group, how they got in, and whether they remain in good standing within the group.

Inscriptions and papyri – table 1

Identifying Collections and Numbers	Date	Group Term(s)	Official Term(s)	Notes and exhibited Function(s)
Southern and Central Greece				
<i>Attica Region</i>				
GRA I 1 = IG II ² 2343 =	ca. 400 BCE	κοινόν, θιασωταί	ἱερέως (Ἡρακλέος)	Inscribed around the edge of a table of Pentelic marble; Membership mgmt.: records; Worship: sacrifices;

				Regular meetings: banquets
GRA I 2 = IG II ² 1255	337/36 BCE	ὀργεῶνες	ἱεροποιοί, ἄρχων, γραμματεὺς	PR: honors – public official or private person (unclear); Worship: festivals, sacrifices; Regular Meetings; Record keeping; Resource mgmt.: finances, physical property
AGRW 1 = PH232990 = GRA I 14 = LSCGSup 20	early 3rd c. BCE	ὀργεῶνες κοινωνία κοινόν	ἔστιάτωρ, ἀκολουθῶν	Regular Meetings: banquets; Resource Management: finances; Leadership Duties: oversight
AGRW 2 = PH3539 = GRA I 31 = SIG ³ 1103 = RIG 971 = IG II ² 1323	194/19 3 BCE	θιασῶται	ταμίας γραμματεὺς	Resource Management: Finances; Worship: sacrifices; Burials: burial rites; Record keeping
AGRW 3 = PH294182 = SEG 36 (1986), no. 228 = GRA I 38	159/15 8 BCE	σύνοδος	civic positions: ἄρχοντος, ἱερέως	Membership mgmt.: initiation; Resource mgmt.: Finances; PR: development
AGRW 4 = PH229685 = SEG 42 (1992) no. 157 = SIRIS 5 = GRA I 41	ca. 116/11 5 - 95/94 BCE		ἱερέως, κλειδουχοῦντος, ζακορεύοντος, κρίνοτος τὰ ὀράματα	Mother setting up a marble monument on behalf of her children. Worship: commands/visions
AGRW 5 =	112/11	βουλή,	ταμίας, πρόεδρος	Professional guilds that

PH3232 = IG II ² 1012 = CIG 124 = RIG 1052 = GRA I 42	1 BCE	σύνοδος	(members of the council), civic: ἄρχοντος, verb: γραμματεύω, επιμελητής	have a council of various presidents voting together to set up a shield in the civic record office (civic scribe). PR: govt relations, inter-society relations
AGRW 6 = PH3555 = IG II ² 1339 = Foucart 1873, no. 21 = RIG 1562 = GRA I 46	57/56 BCE	Ἡροϊσταί, κοινόν, ἔράνος	ταμιεύοντος, ἀρχεραμιστής, civic: ἄρχοντος;	worship: sacrifices; Resource mgmt.: finances; Membership mgmt: contributions; Leadership Duties: rule enforcement
AGRW 7 = PH3584 = IG II ² 1368 = LSCG 51 = GRA I 51 (Also, B2)	164/16 5 CE	ἀγορά, Βακχείοι, ἰοβάκχοι, κοινόν (as recipient of payments); various civic positions (γερουσία, θεσμοθεσία, etc.)	ἱερεὺς, ἀνθιερεὺς, ἀρχιβάχχος, προστάτης, συνιερεὺς, πρόεδρος, προεστῶτες; εὐκόσμος; ταμίας; βουκολικός; ἵπποι; γραμματέυς civic: ἄρχοντος	General members pass rules put forward by the priests; council of smaller group (priests, chief bacchant, προστάτης); civic and life events/appointments celebrated together; Leadership duties: rule enforcement (προεστῶτες, priests, ἰοβάκχοι), meeting mgmt. (πρόεδρος), oversight and appointment (ἱερεὺς); Membership mgmt.: dues (ταμίας); Regular meetings: banquets; Worship: sacrifices

				(ἀρχιβάχχος), sacred activities (by lot, some play the part of various deities); Resource mgmt.: Finances, physical property (ταμίας, γραμματέυς)
AGRW 8 = PH3585 = IG ² 1369 = LSCG 53 = GRA I 49	2 nd c. CE	ἔρανος/ ἐράνισται, φίλοι ἄνδρες, σύνοδος	ἄρχων, προστάτης, ἀρχιερατιστής, γραμματεύς, ταμίας, σύνδικοι (All examine candidates for membership)	Positions chosen by lot except for the president. Record keeping: bylaws; Membership mgmt.: initiation, dues; Leadership duties: rule enforcement; Burials: grave guardianship
AGRW 9 = PH293233 = SEG 31 (1982), no. 122 = NGSL 5 = GRA I 50	early 2 nd c. CE	σύνοδος, συνερανισταί , ἔρανος	ἄρχοντος, ἱερέως, ἀρχερατιστής, ταμίας, ἱερεύς, ἐργόλαβος, παννυχιστής, πράκτωρ, ἐλογιστάς	Regular meetings: general meetings, banquets; Record keeping: bylaws (Approval of regulations by ἀρχερατιστής); leadership duties: rule enforcement (πράκτωρ); Resource mgmt: finances (mostly donated by ἀρχερατιστής, auditing by ἐλογιστάς), physical property (παννυχιστής, ταμίας); Membership mgmt: records (ταμίας); Worship: sacrifice (ταμίας)
AGRW 10 = IG	333/	βουλή,	ἄρχων, πρόεδρος	A smaller group serves as

II ² 337 = LSCG 34 = GRA I 3 = PH2554	332 BCE	ἐκκλησία (meaning a particular meeting),		voting members on policies, political decrees about establishing a temple to Aphrodite by immigrants on certain land. Regular meetings: general meetings; Record keeping: bylaws
AGRW 11 = IG II ² 1361 = LSCG 45 = GRA I 4 = PH3577	330- 324/ 323 BCE	ὄργεῶνες, κοινοί, ἱερός	ἱέρεια/ἱερεύς, ἐπιμεληταί, ἱεροποιοί	worship: sacrifices; Resource mgmt.: finances, buildings; Membership mgmt.: dues, records;
AGRW 12 = IG II ² 1256 = GRA I 5 = PH3471	329/ 328 BCE	ὄργεῶνες, ἱερός	ἐπιμεληταί, ἄρχων	Honoring of members/leaders (financial and inscriptional). Resource mgmt.: finances, building; PR: private persons
AGRW 13 = IG II ² 1275 = LSCG ^{Sup} 126 = GRA I 8 = PH3489	325-275 BCE	θιασῶται, θίασος, φίλοι, κοινόν		Burials: burial rites; Leadership duties: rule enforcement
AGRW 14 = IG II ² 1261 = SIG ³ 1098 = GRA I 9 = PH 3476	302/ 301 BCE; 301/ 300 BCE; 300/ 299 BCE	θιασῶται, κοινόν	ἄρχων, ἐπιμελητής, ἱεροποιός	Resource mgmt.: finances; Worship: sacrifices, festivals; Membership mgmt.: initiation, records; PR: private persons;

AGRW 15 = IG II ² 1262 = GRA I 10 = PH3477	300/29 9 BCE	θιασῶται, κοινόν	ἄρχων, ἐπιμεληταί	Resource mgmt: finances; Worship: sacrifices; PR: private persons; Membership mgmt.: initiation, records;
AGRW 16 = IG II ² 1263 = GRA I 11 = PH3478	300/29 9 BCE	θιασῶται, κοινόν	ἄρχων, γραμματεὺς (accounting), ἱεροποιοί, (ἐπιμελέομαι), (κυριεύω), (ἐκλογίζομαι), ταμίας (responsible for the monument)	Membership mgmt.: initiation, records; Resource mgmt.: finances, physical property; Leadership Duties: meeting mgmt.; PR: private persons
AGRW 17 = IG II ² 1284 = GRA I 22 = PH3498	241 BCE	ὀργεῶνες	ἄρχων, γραμματεὺς (inscribe honors on the stele; manage matters), ταμίας (disburse the rewards)	PR: private persons; Regular meetings: general meetings; Resource mgmt.
AGRW 18 = IG II ² 1283 = LSCG 46 = GRA I 23 = PH3497	240/ 239 BCE	ὀργεῶνες	ἄρχων, ἐπιμεληταί, ἱερέυς, ἱέρεια,	Worship: sacrifices, festivals, sacred activities; PR: intersociety relations; Resource mgmt.: finances, building/physical property;
AGRW 19 = IG II ² 1328 = LSCG 48 = CCCA 263 = GRA I 34 = PH3544	183/ 182 BCE; 175/ 174 BCE	ὀργεῶνες	ἄρχων, ἱέρεια, φιαληφόροι, ζάκορον (coadministers with the priestess), γραμματεὺς	Worship: sacrifices, sacred activities; PR: private persons; Regular meetings: general meetings; Resource mgmt.: finances; Leadership duties: rule enforcement

AGRW 20 = IG II ² 1327 = CCCA 264 = GRA I 35 = PH3543	178/ 177 BCE	ὄργεῶνες	ἄρχων, ταμίας (being honored; managed/collect ed funds, funded sacrifices, repairs), ἐπιμεληταί (inscribe the monument)	Worship: sacrifices; Burials: burial rites; Resource mgmt.: building; Membership mgmt.: contributions; PR: private persons;
AGRW 21 = IG II ² 1326 = LSCG 49 = GRA I 36 = PH3542	176/ 175 BCE	σύνοδος, Διονυσιαταί, ὄργεῶνες	ἄρχων, ταμίας (cost for monument), ἱερέως	Worship: sacrifices; Resource mgmt.: finances, building; Record keeping; PR: private persons;
AGRW 22 = IG II ² 1365 + IG II ² 1366 = CMRDM I 12 + CMRDM I 13 = GRA I 53 = PH3581 + PH3582	Late 2 nd or early 3 rd c. CE	ἕρανος, ἐρανισταί		Founder of the sanctuary has all authority; Worship: sacrifices, sacred activities; Regular meetings: banquets; Resource mgmt.: building; Membership management
AGRW 23 = GRA I 60	141 CE	σύνοδος, θιασῶται, θίασος	ἱερέυς	Regular meetings; Membership mgmt.: dues; Resource mgmt.: building
<i>Peloponnesos Region</i>				
AGRW 24 = IG IV 581 = CIG 1134 = PH28100	Roman Period	σπατολησατ αί	κτίστης, ἥρως	PR;
AGRW 25 = IG IV 207 = PH27703	Roman Period	βουκόλα		Burials: burial rites; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 26 =	44 BCE	θίασος	ἀγορανόμος	PR;

PH179295	- 267 CE			Leadership duties: rule enforcement
AGRW 27 = IG IV ² , I 688 = PH29129	2 nd - 3 rd c. CE	θίασος		PR: govt relations
AGRW 28 = IG V, 1 1175 = PH31591	Roman Period	θίασος, κοινόν,	ἐπιμελητής	PR: private person; Worship; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 29 = IG V, 1 209 = PH30559	1 st c. BCE	σιτηθέντες,	ἱέρεια, ἱέρους, βίδυος, γερουσίας, ἔφορος, νομοφύλαξ, γυναικονόμος, κᾶρυξ, μάντις, αὐλητάς, κιθαριστάς, διδάσκαλος κατὰ νόμον, ἀρχιτέκτων, γλυφεύς, χρυσωτάς, κλωστάς, παιανίας, ψιλινοποιός, καθαρτής, γραμματεύς, ῥογεύς, ἀναγνώστας, ὑπερέτας, πάροχος, ἀρτοκόπος, στεφανοπωλῖς, μάγιρος,	many of these titles as professions rather than roles in the society (?) bc Sparta had required all to be enrolled in such banqueting societies. Membership mgmt.: initiation, records; Regular meetings: banquets;
<i>Central Greece</i>				
AGRW 30 = IG	Mid-2 nd	θίασος,	μαινάς, βούκολος	Regular meetings:

IX/1 ² 670 = LSCG 181 = GRA I 61 = PH43568	c. CE	σύνοδοι, θιασῶται, κοινόν,		general; Worship: festivals; Resource management: finances; Leadership duties: rule enforcement
AGRW 31 = IG VII 685-88 and SEG 32 (1982), no. 488 = GRA I 57 and 58	3 rd – 1 st c. BCE	Ἄθαναϊστή, Διωνιουσιασ τή, σύνοδος (τῶν Ἄθαναϊστῶν) , Διωνιουσιασ ταί, ἀμπελουργοί		Burials: burial rites
Macedonia				
AGRW 32 = SEG I (1923), no. 282 = GRA I 62 = PH152541	27 BCE – 14 CE	συνπραγματε ύμενοι, παροικοῦντε ς		City, guild and inhabitants honoring Augustus; PR: govt relations, intersociety relations; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 33 = SEG 48 (1998), no. 716ter =PH 312526	90/89 BCE	κοινόν τῶν τεχνιτῶν	ἱερεῖς, συνιερεῖς	PR: govt relations; Resource mgmt.: finances; Worship
AGRW 34 = SIG ³ 1140 = SIG ² 773 = BCH 55 (1931) 179,8 = PH150499	Roman Period	τέχνη		dedication to gods by a member of a guild; perhaps private versus association action (?)
AGRW 35 = IBeroia 22 = SEG 48 (1998),	7 BCE	θίασος, θιασῶται, κοινόν	ἀγορανομήσας,	imagery of inscription: offering of a libation and a man holding a scepter

no. 751 = PH149497				and the libation cup PR: private persons; Leadership duties: oversight; Worship: sacrifices
AGRW 36 = <i>IBeroia</i> 26 = SEG 35 (1985), no. 714 = PH149501	ca. 100- 150 CE		διάκονοι, κριτεύων	Worship
AGRW 37 = <i>IBeroia</i> 372 = GRA I 64 = PH149851	2 nd c. CE	συνήθεια		society/guild of donkey (drivers); Burials: burial rites
AGRW 38 = <i>IBeroia</i> 28 = PH149503	2 nd -3 rd c. CE		διάκονοι	Worship; Membership mgmt.:
AGRW 39 = <i>CIG</i> II 2007f = <i>IMakedD</i> 747 = GRA I 66 = PH151763	2 nd c. CE	κολλήγιον	ἀρχισυναγωγός	Worship
AGRW 40 = <i>Philippi</i> II 410/G258 = SEG 2 (1924), no. 421 = GRA I 67 = PH152562	undate d	ἀργενταρίοι (loan from Latin)	αρκαρίς (Latin loan word)	memorial for a treasurer of a guild of silversmiths; Burials: burial rites; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 41 = <i>CIL</i> III 633 = <i>Philippi</i> II 164/L001, 163/L002, 165/L003,	2 nd c. CE	<i>sodales</i> , <i>cultores</i> , <i>collegium</i> (? should have two i, but only one in	<i>aedilitas</i> , <i>sacerdos</i> ,	Membership mgmt.: records, contributions; Resource mgmt.: finances, building; Worship; PR: development;

166/L004 = GRA I 68		the inscription, so perhaps perfect verb?)		
AGRW 42 = <i>Philippi</i> II 029/G215 = BCH 24 (1900) 305, 2 = PH150480	2 nd c. CE	κουπίασιν		memorial; money bequeathed to guild (grave-diggers) Burials: grave guardianship; Resource mgmt.: finances; Worship: festivals
AGRW 43 = <i>Philippi</i> II 340/L589 = GRA I 71	1 st -2 nd c. CE (?)	<i>thiasus</i> , <i>maenae</i>		memorial to deities; Worship; Resource mgmt.: physical property
AGRW 44 = <i>Philippi</i> II 696/M580	undate d	πορφυροβάφ οι, πόλις	εὐεργέτης	City honored a member of the guild of purple dyers as a benefactor; PR: govt. relations
AGRW 45 = SEG 46 (1986), no. 800 = <i>NewDocs</i> I, pp 26-27 = GRA I 72 = PH151223	250 CE	θηρσκευταί,	λογιστεύων, ἄρχων, ἀρχισυνάγωγος, προστάτης, γραμματεύς, ἐπιμελητής (as identified with γραμματεύς and ἀρχισυνάγωγος as agents of the monument?)	Regular meetings; Worship; Membership mgmt.: records; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 46 = <i>IJO</i> I Mac1 = <i>CIJ</i>	2 nd – 3 rd c. CE	συνάγωγος	ὁ πατήρ τῆς συναγωγῆς,	Resource mgmt.: finances, building;

694 = DFSJ 10 = GRA I 73 = PH150506			παρτριάρχης	Leaderships duties: rule enforcement;
AGRW 47 = IG X/2.1 58 = SIRIS 109 = PH137240	1 st c. BCE – 1 st c. CE	συνκλίται	ἱεραφόροι, ἄρχων (as the head of the association)	Membership mgmt.: records; Resource mgmt.: building Regular meetings: banquets
AGRW 48 = IG X/2.1 70 = GRA I 74 = PH137252	66-67 CE	συνκλίται	ἱερατεία	Resource mgmt.: building; Regular meetings: banquets; Worship: sacred activities
AGRW 49 = SEG 42 (1992), no. 625 = GRA I 75 = PH 153298	90-91 CE	δοῦμος	ἀρχισυνάγωγος, γραμματέων, ἐξεστατής, ἐπιμεληταί	Burials: burial rites;
AGRW 50 = IG X/2.1 259 = GRA I 76 = PH137441	1 st c. CE	μύσται	βησαρτης, θρεψαντες, ἱερητεύων	found in the shrine of Serapsis, so some cultic functions; Membership mgmt.: initiation, records; Resource mgmt.: finances, buildings, physical property; Regular meetings: banquets
AGRW 51 = IG X/2.1 68 = PH137250	late 1 st c. CE	συνκλίται	τρικλινιαρχος	Membership mgmt.: records; Regular meetings: banquets
AGRW 52 = IG X/2.1 255 = NewDocs I,6 = GRA I 77 =	1 st – 2 nd c. CE			Worship: sacrifices; Regular meetings: banquets; Membership mgmt.:

PH137437				initiation
AGRW 53 = <i>EpThess</i> II.12 = GRA I 78	ca. 100- 150 CE	φιλοπαικτόρ οι		Burials: burial rites; Membership mgmt.: records;
AGRW 54 = BE (1972) 263 = <i>NewDocs</i> IV, p. 215 no. 17 = PH150313	159/ 160 CE	συνήθεια	ἀρχισυναγωγός, ζυγοποιόν, ἱερεὺς	decoration indicates a guild of transport professionals (image of donkey cart) Burials: burial rites; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 55 = IG X/2.1 291 = <i>IMakedD</i> 439 = GRA I 79 = PH137473	late 2 nd c. CE	συνήθεια τῶν πορφυροβάφ ων		guild of professionals from a single geographic area Burials: burial rites;
AGRW 56 = <i>EpThess</i> II.10	ca. 150- 200 CE	κολλήγιοι		
AGRW 57 = IG X/2.1 506 and p 288 = <i>IMakedD</i> 387 = GRA I 80 = PH137690	209-210 CE	θίασοι	βουλευών, ἱεραμενος	Burials: burial rites; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 58 = IG X/2.1 260 = <i>IMakedD</i> 396 and 729 = GRA I 81 = PH137442	3 rd c. CE	μύσται, θίασος	ἱέρεια	Membership mgmt.: records; Resource mgmt.: physical property; Worship: sacrifices; PR: govt relations, intersociety relations
AGRW 59 = <i>IJO</i> I Mac15 = <i>SEG</i> 44 (1994), no. 556 = GRA I 82 =	late 3 rd c. CE	συναγωγοί		Burials: grave guardianship; Resource mgmt.: finances;

PH153445				
Thracia				
AGRW 60 = GRA I 83 = PH295285	3 rd c. CE	μύσται	ἀρχιβούκολος	building mgmt.; membership mgmt.: initiation, records;
AGRW 61 = SEG 39 (1989), no. 649 = GRA I 84 = PH171860	2 nd -3 rd c. CE	μαγαρεῖς	γερουσιαστής	Resource mgmt.: building; Membership mgmt.: initiation, records
AGRW 62 = IGBulg III,2 1626 = GRA I 85 = PH169720	2 nd -3 rd c. CE	συμποσιαστα ί		Membership mgmt.: records; Regular meetings: banquets
AGRW 63 = IPerinthos 49 = IGRR I 782 = GRA I 86 = PH167259	1 st c. CE and 2 nd c. CE	συναγωγή	διοικητής, ἀρχισυναγωγός, ἱερεὺς	guild membership (barbers and goldsmiths); Resource mgmt.: building;
AGRW 64 = IPerinthos 56 = IGRR I 787 = GRA I 87 = PH167267	196-198 CE	βάκχειος	ἡγεμονέων, ἱερομνημονῶν, ἀρχιμυστῶν, ἱερατεύων	public notice of loyalty to the emperor; PR: govt relations
AGRW 65 = IPerinthos 57 = GRA I 88 = PH167268	2 nd c. CE (?)	βάκχος	ἀρχιβούκολος, ἀρχιμυστῶν, σπείραρχος	Worship: sacred activities; Resource mgmt.: physical property
AGRW 66 = IPerinthos 55 = SEG 26 (1976), no. 826 = PH167266	2 nd - 3 rd c. CE	συνέδριον		Resource mgmt.: physical property; Worship: sacrifice
AGRW 67 =	2 nd - 3 rd	συνήθης		Altar dedicated by a

IGBulg V 5434 = SEG 47 (1997), no. 1089 = GRA I 89 = PH170564	c. CE			private person to an association of Harmonia
AGRW 68 = IByzantion 31 = SEG 18 (1962), no. 280 = GRA I 90 = PH 170872	85-96 CE	μύσται	ἱερομνήμων (public official); ἱερατεύων	Worship: festivals; Membership mgmt.: initiation
Lower Danube and Bosporan Kingdom				
<i>Moesia, Dacia, and Scythia</i>				
AGRW 69 = ILS 7215a ³ = CIL IX 924- 927, no. 1	Feb 9, 167 CE	<i>collegium</i>	<i>magister, quaestores, commagister, consul</i>	Burials: burial rites; Regular meetings; Membership mgmt.: records, dues; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 70 = CIL III 1174 = ILS 7255a	202/ 203-205 CE	<i>collegium centonarioru m</i>	<i>consul</i>	Resource mgmt.: building;
AGRW 71 = IGBulg I ² 23 = PH167880	222-235 CE	σπεῖρα (tactical unit in military LSJ)	ἱερονόμος	
AGRW 72 =	ca. 150-	Βουλή,	ὑμνωδοί	Regular meetings:

³ Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg list this entry as ILS 7216 (*Associations*, 56), but it is actually ILS 7215a. Their mistake can perhaps be traced to the index by Andreas Fassbender, which makes the same mistake. (A. Fassbender, *Index numerorum : ein Findbuch zum Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (New York: De Gruyter), 2003.)

<i>IGLSkythia</i> I 167 = PH172833	200 CE	δήμος	πρεσβυτέροι, ιερώσυνος, μεσοχορῶν, μουσάρχων, γραμματεὺς, εὐθυνῶν	banquets (the inscription dedicates a dining room); Worship: sacred activities; Resource mgmt.: building
AGRW 73 = <i>IGLSkythia</i> III 35 = PH173603	Late 3 rd c. BCE	θιασίται	πραισιμνῶν, (αἰρέω)	building project (the inscription calls for the appointment of three men to oversee all this, including the reward for contributing which is to be named on the inscription); Membership mgmt.: contributions; Resource mgmt.: finances; Leadership duties: oversight
AGRW 74 = <i>IGLSkythia</i> III 44 = PH173612	12-15 CE	θιασίται, θιάσος, συνόδος (refers to individual meetings), πολίτας	εὐεργέτης (as a title of honor for deeds performed. Here both civic and for the group); (ἐνγράφω)	Mixing of building up the city and building up the society, so very political in nature; honoring of Dionysos PR: govt relations; Regular meetings;
AGRW 75 = <i>IGLSkythia</i> III 68,A = PH173637	50-100 CE	θοινηται	εἰερεύς	Regular meetings: banquets; Worship
AGRW 76 = <i>IGBulg</i> V 5364 = SEG 28 (1978), no.	1 st half of 3 rd c. CE	θιασίται,		honoring of a god

603 = PH170537				
AGRW 77 = <i>IGBulg</i> II 480 = PH68530	2 nd c. CE (?)	σπείρα	εἰρεύς	immigrant group from Asia honoring a god/hoping for benefaction from the god.
AGRW 78 = <i>SEG</i> 53 (2003), no. 726 = <i>AÉ</i> (2003), no. 1563 = PH326459 ⁴	early 3 rd c. CE	βαχχίοι	ἱερεύς	PR;
AGRW 79 = <i>IGBulg</i> I ² 77(2) = <i>AÉ</i> (1928), no. 146 = PH167955	Imperia I Period		ἱερεύς, ἐπιμεληταί	Hero worship; professional guild or dining group (depending on whether θοινεῖται (banqueters) or θυνεῖται (tuna-fishermen) is meant.
AGRW 80 = <i>IGLSkythia</i> II 120 = PH173220	1 st half of the 1 st c. BCE	θιάσος, μυστικός, Βακχοί		Membership mgmt.: initiation, records; Worship
AGRW 81 = <i>IGLSkythia</i> II 60 = <i>IGRR</i> I 610 = PH173159	139-161 CE	οἶκος		Resource mgmt.: finances; PR: govt relations
AGRW 82 = <i>IGLSkythia</i> II 153 = <i>IGRR</i> I 604 = PH173253	160 CE	οἶκος	ἱερεῖς	Worship; Resource mgmt.: physical resources, buildings
<i>Bosporan</i>				

⁴ Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg list this entry as PH32659 (*Associations*, 61), but it is actually PH326459.

<i>Kingdom</i> (Dating according to βασιλεύς)				
AGRW 83 = <i>IJO</i> I BS20 = <i>CIRB</i> 1123 = <i>IPontEux</i> II 400 = PH183859	41 CE (October/November)	προσευχή		Resource mgmt.: bldg., physical property (slaves)
AGRW 84 = <i>CIRB</i> 1134 = PH183870	173-211 CE	θιάσος, θεασεΐται	ιερεύς, συναγωγός, φροντιστής, ιερών οικονόμος, στρατηγός, ένκυκλίων οικονόμος (x3)	guild of shippers; Membership mgmt.: records; Resource mgmt.: money, building;
AGRW 85 = <i>CIRB</i> 75 = <i>IPontEux</i> II 19 = PH182790	ca. 150-125 BCE	θιασΐται	άρχων, βασιλεύς, βασίλισσα, συναγωγός	Resource mgmt.; Membership mgmt.: records; PR: govt relations
AGRW 86 = <i>CIRB</i> 70 = <i>IJO</i> II BS5 = <i>PontEux</i> II 52 = PH182785	81 CE (January/February)	προσευχή, συναγωγός τών Ίουδαίων	βασιλεύς	authorization of freeing slaves; continued monitoring of such freedom/agreements Leadership duties: oversight, rule enforcement
AGRW 87 = <i>CIRB</i> 79a = <i>IPontEux</i> II 63a = PH182794	Late first to early 2nd c. CE	σύνοδος, θιασεΐται	συναγωγός, φιλάγαθος, πραγματάς	Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship;
AGRW 88 = <i>CIRB</i> 104 =	ca. 200-250 CE	σύνοδος, αδελφός	ιερεύς, πατήρ	Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship;

PH182821				
AGRW 89 = SEG 43 (1993), no. 510 = IJO I BS18 = PH339520	52 CE (March /April)	προσευχή, συναγωγή τῶν Ἰουδαίων	βασιλεύς,	authorizing and monitoring of freed slaves Leadership duties: oversight, rule enforcement
AGRW 90 = CIRB 1259 = PH184000	104 CE	θιεσεῖται	βασιλεύς, ἱερεὺς, συναγωγός, φιλάγαθος, παραφιλάγαθος	Membership mgmt.: records; Resource mgmt.
AGRW 91 = CIRB 1277 = IPontEux II 445 = IGRR I 917 = PH184019	ca. 173- 211 CE	σύνοδος, θιασίται	βασιλεύς, ἱερεὺς, πατήρ, συναγωγός, φιλάγαθος, παραφιλάγαθος, νεανισκάρχη, γυμνασιάρχη,	Membership mgmt.: initiation; Worship (of Highest God);
AGRW 92 = CIRB 1283 = IPontEux II 452 = IGRR I 920 = PH184025	228 CE	εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι	βασιλεύς, πρεσβύτερος	Worship (of Highest God); Membership mgmt.: records, contributions; Resource mgmt.: finances
Asia Minor				
<i>Bithynia and Pontus</i>				
AGRW 93 = SEG 35 (1985), no. 1327 = PH265443	Aug 31, 155 CE	κῶμος		Burials: burial rites; Worship: festivals
AGRW 94 = BCH 25 (1901) 36,184 PH265198	imperia l age	οἶκος	προστάτης	guild of shippers; PR: private persons
AGRW 95 =	119 or	θιασίται καὶ	ἱερωτεύσασα	Image above inscription:

<i>IApamBith</i> 35 = PH277592	104 BCE	θιασίτιδες, συναγωγή		sacrifice, dining, music and dance during banquets; Worship: sacrifice; Regular meetings: banquets; PR: private persons; Resource mgmt.: building
<i>AGRW</i> 96 = <i>IApamBith</i> 103 = PH277623	ca. 250-300 CE	συνμύσται		Image: funerary meal; Burials: burial rites
<i>AGRW</i> 97 = <i>IKios</i> 22 = PH277701	Late Hellenistic or early imperial period	θιασῶται, συνόδοι	τριηραρχήσας, φιλαγαθήσας, ἐπιμηνιεύσας	Regular meetings: general meetings; Worship: festivals; Resource mgmt.: physical property (including a ship);
<i>AGRW</i> 98 = <i>SEG</i> 42 (1992), no. 1112 + <i>SEG</i> 28 (1978), no. 1585 = PH278747	Late Hellenistic or early imperial period	Ἰσιακοί		Burials: burial rites, guardianship of graves
<i>AGRW</i> 99 = <i>IPrusaOlymp</i> 24 = PH278515	1 st c. CE	ἐταῖροι, συνήθεις φίλοι, κοινόν	πρεσβύτερος, ἀρχιερεύς, γυμνασίαρχον, εὐεργέτης	image: libation offerings; holding multiple titles/positions at once; Worship: sacrifice; Resource mgmt.: building, physical property
<i>AGRW</i> 100 = <i>IPrusaOlymp</i> 48 = PH278539	ca. 150 CE	μύσται, δεκατισταί	εὐεργετής, ἱερεύς, τροφεύς	Resource mgmt.: bldg. (temple pictured in the inscription); Membership mgmt.:

				initiation, records; Worship: festivals; PR: development, private persons
AGRW 101 = <i>IPrusaOlymp</i> 1036 = SEG 43 (1993), no. 898 = PH278755	2 nd c. CE	σακοπλοκοί, συνθιασείται		Burials: burial rites
AGRW 102 = <i>IPrusaOlymp</i> 159 = SEG 36 (1986), no. 1114 = PH278647	late 2 nd pr early 3 rd c. CE	συνμύσστε		Burials: burial rites
<i>Mysia, Troad, and Aeolis</i>				
AGRW 103 = <i>IKyme</i> 17 = SEG 18 (1962), no. 555 = PH268287	ca. 28/27 BCE	<i>thiaseitae</i>	ὑπάτοι; <i>proconsul</i> ; <i>magistratus</i> ; ἄρχων	Restoration of dedicated objects to sacred sites by emperor; Worship (of Dionysos); Resource mgmt.: building, physical property (of sacred sites/materials)
AGRW 104 = <i>IKyme</i> 39 = PH268310	2 nd – 3 rd c. CE	φράτρα		Worship (of two deities)
AGRW 105 = <i>IJO</i> II 36 = <i>CIJ</i> 738 = <i>IKyme</i> 45 = PH252856	3 rd c. CE	συναγωγή τῶν Ἰουδαίων		Resource mgmt.: building, physical property; PR: development
AGRW 106 = <i>IMT</i> 1181 = <i>IKyzikos</i> I 312	3 rd – 2 nd c. BCE	συνμύσται		Burials: burial rites (for members)

= PH288557				
AGRW 107 = IMT 1435 = SEG 28 (1978), no. 953 = PH288713	ca. 25- 50 CE	(ιερά), (τεμένη), (ναοί) (These three meant to encompass all sacred buildings); ἐφήβοι, πολείτες, πολείτιδαι (All three specific civic classes alongside the remainder of free people); Πυθαϊστρίδες	πρεσβεύσας, ἡγεμῶν (Both in a fragmentary section), ἄρχοντες, πρυτανεύοντες, ἀρχῆος τῶν τειμητῶν, ἀγορανομίος, κοσμοφύλαξ, ταμίας Definite offices of the assoc.: ἱερωσύνη, ἱέρηαι, ἱεροποιοί,	Mixing of local civic affairs with assoc. life; regular festivals put on by assoc for broader civic context; recognition of civic authorities of the association's positive public influence in this woman in particular; PR: govt relations, development Worship: festivals
AGRW 108 = IMT 1431 = IGRR IV 144 = PH288709	41-54 CE	βουλή, δῆμος,	ἱπάρχεω (civic official for dating), ἱερήα	Worship: festivals; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 109 = IMT 1542 = SIRIS 318 = PH288822	1 st c. BCE or 1 st c. CE	θεραπεῦται		Membership mgmt.: records; Worship
AGRW 110 = PH289198	1 st c. BCE - 2 nd c. CE		ἐπώνυμος	Image: banqueting, dancing, music; dedication of a monument to deities Regular meetings: banquets; Worship

AGRW 111 = IMT 1937 = IKyzikos I 291 =PH289217	undate d	συνεδρίον τῶν σακκοφόρων		burials: grave guardianship; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 112 = IMT 1801 = IKyzikos I 211 = PH289084	undate d	συνεδρίον τῶν γναφέων		burials: grave guardianship; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 113 = IPergamonSup p, AM 27, 1902, no. 86 = PH316398	after 158 BCE	βάκχοι	βασιλεύς, εὐεργέτης	PR: govt relations, development
AGRW 114 = IPergamonSup p, AM 24, 1899, no. 16 = IGRR IV 314 = PH316328	27 BCE – 14 CE (time of August us)	ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἄμισηνῶν, οἱ συμπολιτευό μενοι Ῥωμαῖοι		PR: govt relations
AGRW 115 = IPergamon II 485 = SIG ³ 1115 = PH302149	1 st c. CE	βουκόλοι	ἀρχιβούκολος, ὕμνοδιδάσκαλοι, Σειληνοί, χορηγός	Worship: sacred activities; By association with other Dionysiac assoc. (esp see B6 a bldg.): Regular meetings: banquets; Resource mgmt.: Building
AGRW 116 = IPergamonSup p, AM 24, 1899, no. 31 = PH316343	Post 109/11 0 CE	βουκόλοι	ὑπάτος, ἀνθύπατος, ἱερεὺς, διαταξίαρχος, ἀρχιβούκολος,	Membership mgmt.: records; Worship: festival;
AGRW 117 = IPergamon II 374 = PH302029	129-138 CE	ὕμνωδοί,	θεολόγος, εὐκοσμος, ἄρχων/ἄρχοντες, ἱερεὺς,	Membership mgmt.: initiation, records, dues/contributions (certain officers are

			γραμματεὺς	required to contribute certain amounts as are other individuals); Worship: festivals; Resource mgmt.: finances;
AGRW 118 = <i>IPergamonSup</i> <i>p</i> AM 27, 1902, no. 102 =OGIS 491 = PH316413	Post- 142 CE	κατοικοῦντες	ὑπάτος, εὐεργέτης, κτίστης (terms for the honoree); ἐπιμεληθέντες	PR: private persons, development; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 119 = <i>IPergamon</i> II 321 (notes) = <i>CIG</i> 3540 = PH317090	Roman Imperial Period	συμβίωσις	προεστῶτος, γραμματεῶν	Worship;
AGRW 120 = PH303090	Roman Imperial Period	συμβίωσις	ἱερατεύουσα	Worship
<i>Lydia</i>				
AGRW 121 = <i>LSAM</i> 20 = <i>SIG</i> ³ 985	late 2 nd – early 1 st c. BCE	οἶκος (as temple),		Resource mgmt.: building; Leadership duties: rule enforcement; Worship: sacrifices, sacred activities;
AGRW 122 = <i>ISardBR</i> 22 = PH263133	ca. 100 BCE	θεραπευταί	ὁ πρῶτος τῆς πόλεως	Worship; PR: private persons
AGRW 123 = <i>SEG</i> 46 (1996), no. 1519	ca. 150 BCE	μύσται,	βασιλεὺς; ἀρχιερεὺς, ἱερεὺς, οἰκονόμος	manager outside the Apollo group who manages the temple Membership mgmt.: initiation, records;
AGRW 124 = <i>SEG</i> 46 (1996),	late 1 st c. to	δῆμος Σαρδιανῶν	ἀρχιερεὺς	guild from slave market honoring a high-priest

no. 1524 = AÉ (1996), no. 1452	early 2 nd c. CE			PR: govt relations
AGRW 125 = SEG 46 (1996), no. 1528	1 st c. CE	μύσται		Resource mgmt.: finances, physical property
AGRW 126 = SEG 29 (1979), no. 1205 = CCCA 456 = NewDocs I 3 = PH277091	2 nd c. CE (claiming to be a copy from ca. 365 BCE)		ὑπαρχος; νεωκόροι	Leadership duties: enforcement of rules
AGRW 127 = ISardBR 17 = PH263128	ca. 200 CE	γερουσία, συναγωγή		collection of water from various fountains; PR: intersociety relations
AGRW 128 = TAM V.2 924 = PH264354	50-1 BCE	δῆμος, πραγματευόμενοι		council of the people and a guild group honoring an individual PR: private person
AGRW 129 = TAM V.2 972 = IGRR IV 1242 = PH 264402	ca. 50 CE	βαφεῖς,	γυμνασιάρχος, ἱέρεια, ἀρχιέρα, ἀγωνοθετήσας	PR: private person
AGRW 130 = TAM V.2 1098 = IlydiaKP II 74 = IGRR IV 1276 = PH264529	1 st c. CE	δῆμος, Ἰουλιασται	ἥρωσ, εὐεργέτης, ἀρχιερεύς, σωτήρ, κτίστης, πατήρ, πρῶτος	dedicated shrine to a hero cult; Resource mgmt.: building
AGRW 131 =	late 1 st	σκυτοτόμοι,	ἀγορανομήσας,	honors by a guild

TAM V.2 1002 = IGRR IV 1169 = PH264433	c. CE	κονβέντος	πρεσβεύσας, κουρατορεύσας, ίερασάμενος	PR: govt relations
AGRW 132 = TAM V.2 978 = IGRR IV 1239 = PH264408	ca. 106- 114 CE	βαφεῖς	ἀρχιερεύς, ἀγωνοθέτης, γυμνασίαρχον, ἐπιμεληθέντες	PR: govt relations
AGRW 133 = TAM V.2 989 = CIG 3496 = PH264420	ca. 120- 130 CE	βαφεῖς	εἰρηναρχήσας, ἀγορανομήσας, στρατηγήσας, δεκαπρωτεύσας (all civic positions); ἐπιμεληθέντες	PR: govt relations, development; Resource mgmt.: finances, physical property
AGRW 134 = IJO II 146 = CIJ 752 = TAM V.2 1142 = PH254573	2 nd c. to early 3 rd c. CE		δημόσιος	Burials: Grave guardianship (done by civic officials, though rather than an assoc.); Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 135 = TAM V.2 959 = I LydiaKP II 51 = PH264389	2 nd c. CE	Ἡρακληαστα ί	Βασιλεύς	PR: private person
AGRW 136 = TAM V.2 935 = CIG 3497 = IGRR IV 1213	Post- 199/20 0 CE	βαφεῖς	ἐπίτροπος, ἄρκη; ἔπαρχον, πραιπόσιτος, χιλίαρχος, ἰπέα (all military terms); ἀρχιερεύς, νεωκόρος, λογιστής, στρατιωτικός,	PR: govt relations, development; Resource development: finances

			ιερεύς,	
AGRW 137 = TAM V.2 984 = PH 264414	ca. 220 CE	ξυστος	ἀρχιερεύς, ξυστάρχη, ιερεύς, εὐεργέτης	PR: govt relations, private person, development
AGRW 138 = TAM V.2 966 = IGRR IV 1244 = PH264396	2 nd to 3 rd c. CE	ἀρτοκόποι	ἀγωνοθέτης, ἀσιάρχης, ἀρχιερεύς, τριτεύσας, ἀγορανομήσας, πρεσβεύσας, ἀρχιερεῖς, οἰκιστής, ἐπιμεληθέντες	PR: govt relations
AGRW 139 = TAM V.2 1055 = PH264486	2 nd to 3 rd c. CE	μύσται	ιερεία	Burials: burial rites, grave supervision; Resource mgmt.: finances; supervision of a grave
AGRW 140 = TAM V.2 995 = CIG 3507 = PH264426	2 nd to 3 rd c. CE	βουλή, δῆμος	ιερεία	Worship: sacrifices, sacred activities;
AGRW 141 = TAM V.2 1019 = IGRR IV 1252 = PH264450	ca. 218- 222 CE	ἀθλητοί, λανάριοι	πρεσβευτής, ἐπιμελησαμένος	PR: private person; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 142 = TAM V.2 955 = I LydiaKP II 49 = PH264385	3 rd c. CE	ὕμνωδοί		PR: govt relations; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 143 = TAM V.2 932 = IGRR IV 1257 = OGIS 524 =	undate d	ἐργασταί, προξενηταί, σωματέμπορ ος	ἀγορανομήσας	guild of slave markets honoring a market supervisor for his service; PR: govt relations;

PH264362				Resource mgmt.: finances; Worship: festivals
AGRW 144 = TAM V.2 1148 = PH264579	undate d	υίοί, φράτορες		Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship
<i>Phrygia</i>				
AGRW 145 = MAMA VI, 264 = IJO II 168 = CIJ 766 =PH270132	late 1 st c. or early 2 nd c. CE	οἶκος, συναγωγή	ἀρχισυνάγωγος, ἄρχων; (συνκαταθεμένοι)	Resource mgmt.: finances, building;
AGRW 146 = MAMA VI, p 149 (no. 164) = IGRR IV 643 = PH272554	98-117 CE	τεχνειτοί, κοινόν, συνεργασία	ἔπαρχος, ἀρχιερεύς, Σεβαστοφάντη, ἀγωνοθέτης, εὐεργέτης	guild honoring a public official; PR: govt relations Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 147 = SEG 41 (1991), no. 1201 = PH273100	ca. 100- 150 CE	βουλή, τέχνη, βαφεῖς		PR: govt relations
AGRW 148 = SEG 41 (1991), no. 1202 = PH 273101	2 nd c. CE		ἱεροφάντης	Worship
AGRW 149 = IJO II 191 = SEG 49 (1999), no. 1827 = AÉ (1999), no. 1585a-b	ca. 200 CE (A); post- 250 CE (B)	Ἰουδαϊκή, Ἰουδαίος, συναγωγή		Burials: grave guardianship
AGRW 150 = IJO II 205 = IHierapJ 212 = CIJ 775 = PH271826	ca. 150 – 200 CE	κατοικία Ἰουδαίων		Burials: grave guardianship
AGRW 151 =	ca. 150-	Ἰουδαῖοι,		Burials: grave

<i>IJO</i> II 206 = <i>IHierapJ</i> 69 =	200 CE	λαὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων		guardianship
<i>AGRW</i> 152 = <i>IJO</i> II 196 = <i>SEG</i> 46 (1996), no. 1656	150 – 250 CE	πορφυραβαφ εἷς, συνεδρίον τῶν ἀκαιροδαπισ τῶν	προεδρία	Worship: festivals; Resource mgmt.: finances; PR: development
<i>AGRW</i> 153 = <i>IHierapJ</i> 32 = <i>IGRR</i> IV 818 = PH271647	pre-212 CE	βουλή, δῆμος, γερουσία, συνέδριον, νέοι, σύνοδοι,	βουλευτοί, στρατηγήσας, ἀγορανομήσας, δεκαπρωτεύσας, κονβενταρχήσας, ἐλαιοθετήσας, ἐξεταστής, ἐργεπιστατήσας	PR: govt relations, intersociety relations
<i>AGRW</i> 154 = <i>IHierapJ</i> 195 = PH271809	ca. 138- 212 CE	ἱερωτάτον ταμείον, ἐργασία τῶν βαφῶν	ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ σοφοῦ	Burials: grave guardianship; Resource mgmt.: finances
<i>AGRW</i> 155 = <i>IHierapJ</i> 227 = PH271841	ca. 190- 250 CE	ἱερωτάτον ταμείον, γερουσία, τὸν συνεδρίον τῆς προεδρίας τῶν πορφυραβάφ ων, ἐργασία τῆς θρεμματικῆς	προεδρία	γερουσία: Burials: grave guardianship; Resource mgmt.: finances; συνεδρίον: Worship: sacred activities; Resource mgmt: finances
<i>AGRW</i> 156 = <i>IHierapJ</i> 40 = <i>IGRR</i> IV 821 = PH271655	3 rd c. CE	ἡ ἐργασία τῶν ἐριοπλυτῶν	στρατηγός, ἀγωνοθέτης, γραμματέα, πρεσβευτής,	subset of the guild planned and erected the monument honoring a well-decorated individual;

			ἀρχιερέα, εὐεργέτης	PR: govt relations;
AGRW 157 = <i>IHierapJ</i> 41 = <i>IGRR</i> IV 822 = PH271656	3 rd c. CE	ἡ ἐργασία τῶν πορφυραβάσ φων	στρατηγός, ἀγωνοθέτης, γραμματέα, πρεσβευτής, ἀρχιερεύς, εὐεργέτης	PR: govt relations
AGRW 158 = <i>IHierapJ</i> 133 = PH271749	Post- 212 CE	ἡ συντεχνία τῶν ἡλοκόπων; ἡ συντεχνία τῶν καλκέων; πορφυραβάφ εις; γερουσία, ἱερωτάτον ταμίον	(ἐπιμελέομαι); (ἐκδικέω)	Burials: grave guardianship; PR: intersociety relationships
<i>Ionia</i>				
AGRW 159 = <i>IEph</i> 4337 = <i>SEG</i> 4 (1930), no. 515 = PH247714	ca. 19- 23 CE	δῆμος, Δημητριαστα ί, βουλή	κοσμητεία, γυμνασιαρχία, νυκτερινεΐα, ὕδροπαροχία; ἱερεΐς (male and female)	Resource mgmt.: finances, physical property; PR;
AGRW 160 = <i>IEph</i> 3801 = <i>SEG</i> 4 (1930), no. 641	41-54 CE	A: δῆμος, σύνοδος B: Ἕλληνες, σύνοδος	A: γραμματεΐς, νεωκόρος, ὕμνωδοί ***left out titles for emperor B: ἀρχιερεύς, ἀγωνοθετής	Record Keeping; Worship: festivals, sacrifices, sacred activities; Regular meetings: banquets; PR: govt relations
AGRW 161 = <i>IEph</i> 2212 = <i>NewDocs</i> IV 1	41-54 CE or later	ἀργυροκόποι , τὸ συνέδριον	νεοποιός	Burials: grave guardianship; Resource mgmt.: finances

= PH249888		τῶν ἀργυροκόπων		
AGRW 162 = <i>IEph</i> 20 = <i>NewDocs</i> V 5 = PH247975	54-59 CE	δῆμος (Romans and Ephesians), ἀλιεῖς, ὀψαριοπῶλοι	παραφυλαξ; (ἐργεπιστατήσας, ἐξευρών)	PR: development, govt relatoin; Membership mgmt.: contributions; Resource mgmt.: building; Leadership duties: oversight; Record Keeping;
AGRW 163 = <i>IEph</i> 213 = <i>NewDocs</i> IV 22 = PH247918	88/89 CE	μύσται	ἀνθύπατος, ἱερίαι	PR: govt relations; Worship: festivals, sacred activities, sacrifices; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 164 = <i>IEph</i> 425 (<i>IEph</i> 636 with notes for a correction to line 10) = PH248044	ca. 81- 117 CE	ἀργυροκόποι	ἀρχιερεύς, πρύτανις, νεωκόρος, ἐπιμεληθεῖς	PR: govt relations; Resource mgmt.: finances;
AGRW 165 = <i>IEph</i> 719 = PH249247	ca. 102 -114 CE	ἰατροί	ἀρχίατρος, ἐπίτροπος, ἱερεύς, ἄρχων τῶν ἰατρῶν	PR: private person; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 166 = <i>IEph</i> 3329	early 2 nd c. CE			PR: govt relations; Membership mgmt.: records; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 167 = <i>IEph</i> 1182 = PH249615	early 2 nd c. CE	φамиλίας μονομάχων	ἀσιάρχης	
AGRW 168 = <i>IEph</i> 275 =	117-138 CE	μύσται	***excluded imperial titles	PR: govt relations, development;

SEG 26 (1976), no. 1272 = PH248718			ἱερέων, ἱεροφαντῶν, ἐπιμελητῆς, μυσταγωγός, ὕμνωδός	Membership mgmt.: initiation, records, contributions;
AGRW 169 = IEph 1503 = SIRIS 301 = PH248503	138-161 CE		πρυτανέων	Worship: sacrifices; Resource mgmt.: building, physical resources; (but by whom? no assoc. mentioned, just an individual.)
AGRW 170 = IEph 728 = PH249108	162/16 3 CE	βουλή, δῆμος,	πρύτανις, γυμνασιάρχης, γραμματεὺς, ἀσιάρχης, πανγυριάρχης, πρεσβεύσας,	PR: govt relations, development; Regular meetings: banquets;
AGRW 171 = IEph 727 = PH249109	mid-2 nd c. CE	ἡ συνεργασία τῶν λαναρίων	κτίστης	PR: govt relations;
AGRW 172 = IEph 454a, b (+addenda p. 12), c, d, e, f = SEG 4 (1930), no. 541a-f	Post- 160 CE	τραπεζεῖται, κανναβαρίοι, λινοπλόκοι ἐριοπωλοί, λεντιύφαντε ς, συνεργασίαι κανιτῶν		PR: govt relations
AGRW 173 = IEph 293 = PH248767	ca. 180- 192 CE	μύσται	ἀρχιερεὺς, πρυτανίς	Membership mgmt.: initiation; Worship
AGRW 174 = IJO II 32 = CIJ 745 = IEph 1677 = PH250100	150-250 CE	Ἰουδαῖοι	ἀρχιατρός	Burials: grave guardianship

AGRW 175 = <i>IEph</i> 2304 = PH250309	undate d	συνέδριον (of Epheisan physicians)		Burials: grave guardianship; Resource mgmt.: finances;
AGRW 176 = <i>SEG</i> 17 (1977), 503 = PH252546	late 3 rd to 2 nd c. BCE	βάκχαι	ἱερεία	Worship: festivals, sacred activities;
AGRW 177 = <i>IMilet</i> 797 = <i>SEG</i> 30 (1980), no. 1339 = PH252320	1 st c. BCE	τεμενίζοντες	χρυσονομῶν, γραμματεῦων,	Membership mgmt.: records
AGRW 178 = <i>IMilet</i> 156 = <i>GCRE</i> 29 = PH252173	48 CE	ἱερονεΐκαι, τεχνεΐται	ὑπατος	PR: govt relations
AGRW 179 = <i>IMilet</i> 935 = PH252569	ca. 120 CE	οἰκοδόμοι, ἐργολάβοι	προφήτης, ἐργοδοτεΐ, ἀρχιτέκτων	Record keeping; Resource mgmt.: building Leadership duties: oversight
AGRW 180 = <i>IDidyma</i> 107 = <i>OGIS</i> 472 = PH247174	1 st to 2 nd c. CE	τεχνεΐται, Ἄσῖα, δῆμος, γερουσία	γυμνασιαρχήσας, πρεσβεύσας	PR: private person
AGRW 181 = <i>SEG</i> 36 (1986), 1051 = PH252448	late 2 nd c. CE	τὸ συνέδριον τῶν λινουργῶν	εὐεργέτης	PR: development, private person
AGRW 182a = <i>OGIS</i> 755 = PH252479	ca. 130 CE	ὁ στατίων τῶν κηπουρῶν	ἱερεὺς, βουλευτής, εὐεργέτης	PR: development; private person; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 182b = <i>OGIS</i> 756 = PH252480	ca. 130 CE	ὁ στόλος τῶν σωληνοκεντ ῶν	προφήτης, εὐεργέτης	PR: development; private person; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 183 =	various	ἀύραριοι,		PR: govt relations

<i>IMilet</i> 940	dates 2 nd to 5 th c. CE	είουδέοι, θεοσεβίοι, Διοδότος, θηλυμίτρος		
AGRW 184 = <i>IEph</i> 22 (side A only) = M. Clerc, “Inscription de Nysa,” <i>BCH</i> 9 (1885): 124-131 = PH261503	ca. 142 CE	συνόδος, τεχνειταί, συνλόγος (meetings)	ποιητής, μελοποιός, ράψωδός, θεολόγος, ἀγωνοθέτης, ἀρχιερεύς, (ἀναγράφω), πρεσβευτοί, εὐεργέτης	Worship: festivals; Resource mgmt.: buildings, physical property, finances;
AGRW 185 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 765 = <i>SIRIS</i> 305 = PH255005	3 rd to 3 nd c. BCE	συνανουβιασ ταί	βασιλίση	Membership mgmt.: records
AGRW 186 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 721 = <i>SIG</i> ³ 1263 = PH254932	ca. 14- 37 CE	ἡ συνεργασία τῶν ἀργυροκόπω ν καὶ χρυσοχόων	στρατηγῶν	PR: development; Resource mgmt.: physical property
AGRW 187 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 331 = <i>SEG</i> 18 (1978), no. 518 = PH255489	1 st c. to early 2 nd c. CE	φιλαγρίππαι συμβιωταί		Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship
AGRW 188 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 653 = PH255060	1 st to 2 nd c. CE	βουλή, δῆμος, σύνοδος, μύσται	θεολόγοι, τάμιαι	Membership mgmt.: initiation; Worship: festivals
AGRW 189 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 652 = PH255058	ca. 1 st c. CE	σύνοδος	ἀγωνοθετήσας	PR: govt relations
AGRW 190 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 731 =	80 CE (lines	δῆμος, πατρομύστης	***omitted titles of emperor;	Membership mgmt.: initiation, dues;

PH254991	1-20); 83 CE (lines 21-27)		ἱερατεύων, στεφανηφόρος, ἀγωνοθέτης, ξυστάρχης, διοικῶν	Worship: festivals;
AGRW 191 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 622 = PH255039	ca. 129- 132 CE	μύσται	***omitted imperial titles; τάμιας, ἐπιμεληθεῖς	PR: govt relations
AGRW 192 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 600, lines 1-18 only = <i>SEG</i> (1984), no. 1191 = PH254910	Mar 3, 158 CE or earlier	σύνοδος	***imperial titles omitted ἀνθύπατος, ταμιεύων	PR: govt. relations, development; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 193 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 639 = <i>CIG</i> 3190 = <i>IGRR</i> IV 1433 = PH255050	ca. 150- 200 CE	σύνοδος τῶν τεχνειτῶν καὶ μυστῶν	ἀσιάρχης, στεφανηφόρον, νεωκόρος, βάκχον; ταμιεύων, ἐργεπιστατήσας	Membership mgmt.: initiation, records; PR: private individual
AGRW 194 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 697 = <i>IGRR</i> IV 1431 = <i>SEG</i> 32 (1982), no. 1203 = PH254946	ca. 124 CE	βουλευτηρίο ς, γερουσία, Ἰουδαῖοι	στρατηγῶν, ἀγωνοθέτης, ἀσιάρχης, πρύτανις, ἀρχιέρεια, στεφανοφόρος, ἀρχιερεύς, θεολόγοι, ὕμνωδοί	PR: govt relations, inter- society relations, development; Resource mgmt.: finances, physical property
AGRW 195 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 728 = PH255128	2 nd c. CE	μύσται	θεοφάντης	Worship: sacrifices, festivals; Membership mgmt.: initiation; Leadership duties: rule

				enforcement
AGRW 196 = <i>IJO</i> II 43 = <i>CIJ</i> 741 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 295 = PH255755	2 nd to 3 rd c. CE	Ἰουδαία, ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἱερωτάτον ταμείον	ἀρχισυνάγωγος	Burials: grave guardianship; Resource mgmt. finances;
AGRW 197 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 204 = <i>IGRR</i> IV 1459 = PH255205	ca. 150- 200 CE	φορτηγοί		Burials: grave guardianship; Resource mgmt. finances;
AGRW 198 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 595 = <i>IGRR</i> IV 1436 = <i>SEG</i> 26 (1986) no. 1299 = PH255002	ca. 200 CE	συνυμνωδοί, ὕμνωδος	βουλευτής, πρύτανις, ἱερεὺς, ἀλυτάρχης	Worship: sacred activities, sacrifices; Resource mgmt.: building
AGRW 199 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 713 = <i>IGRR</i> IV 1414 = PH254989	225 CE	βουλή; φορτηγοί	ἀνθυπάτος, ταμιεύων	PR: govt relations; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 200 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 655 = <i>CIG</i> 3194 = PH255068	undate d	ἡ σύνοδος τῶν μυστῶν	συμμάρτυρα, στεφανηφόρος	Member mgmt.: initiation; PR: development, private person
AGRW 201 = <i>ISmyrna</i> 218 = PH255722	undate d	ἡ συμβιώσις τῶν συππινάδων, συνεργασία		Membership mgmt.: Burials: grave guardianship; Resource mgmt. finances;
<i>Caria</i>				
AGRW 202 = <i>IMagnMai</i> 215 = <i>SEG</i> 17 (1977), no. 495 = PH 260765 (A) +	ca. 150 CE (dealin g with suppos ed	ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μαγνήτων, θιάσοι Βάκχοιοι, μύστης	πρύτανις, θεοπρόποι, ἱερεὺς, Μαινάδες,	recording of oracles (here it is an origin story for various Bacchic societies - different societies will be consecrated in a city but come from a common

PH260613 (B)	incidents of the 4 th or 3 rd c. BCE)			source); Worship: sacrifices, festivals;
AGRW 203 = <i>IMagnaMai</i> 117 = SEG 17 (1977), no. 496 = PH260567	2 nd c. CE	μύσται, οἶκος,	στεφανηφόρος, ἀρχιμύστης, ἄππας, ἰέρια, ἱεροφάντης, ὑπότροφος, (διεσημειώσας)	Member mgmt.: initiation, contributions; Worship: sacrifice
AGRW 204 = <i>ITrall</i> 80 = CIG 2927 = PH262950	Post-127 CE	βουλή, δῆμος, κατοικοῦντες,	στρατηγῆσας, σειτωνῆσας, στεφανηφόρος	civic institutions and settlement of Romans honor a benefactor who had a good amount of involvement with the Egyptian grain trade; PR: inter-society relations, govt relations; Leadership duties: meeting mgmt.; Resource mgmt.: physical property
AGRW 205 = <i>ITrall</i> 86 = <i>SIRIS</i> 295 = PH262929	Post-132 CE	μύσται	ἱερεὺς	Membership mgmt.: initiation; Worship of deity; PR: govt relations
AGRW 206 = <i>ITrall</i> 50 = <i>OGIS</i> 501 = PH262933	ca. 150-200 CE	σύνοδος	ἐπιτρόπος, συνκλητικός, στρατηγός, ἀγωνοθέτης, λογιστής, εὐεργέτης, ἐπιμεληθέντες	PR: private persons; Membership mgmt.: records; Resource mgmt.: physical property
AGRW 207 =	2 nd to	ἡ συντεχνία	ἀγορανόμος	honors by a guild for the

<i>I</i> Trall 79 = PH262924	3 rd c. CE	τῶν λινύφων		market overseer PR: govt relations
<i>Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia</i>				
AGRW 208 = <i>SEG</i> 36 (1986), no. 1207 = <i>AÉ</i> (1986), no. 688 = PH282515	5-4 BCE	Μιλυάδεις, Ῥωμαῖοι, Θραῖκες	ἀρχιερεύς, δημαρχική, αὐτοκράτορ, σωτήρ, ὕπατος	different regional/immigrant groups came together to honor Augustus PR: govt relations, inter- society relations
AGRW 209 = <i>IGRR</i> III 360 = PH281875	undate d	συντεχνία Βαφέων, βουλή, δῆμος	ἀγνοθητής, ἀρχιερεύς, εὐεργέτης, ἐπιμελησαμένος	passage of the honors by different groupings of the guild based on civic divisions – council, people, etc (?) PR: private person
<i>Cilicia and Galatia</i>				
AGRW 210 = <i>IGRR</i> III 896 = PH311573	136 CE	συντεχνία λινουργοί	Imperial Titles: ἀρχιερεύς, δημαρχικός, αὐτοκράτωρ, ὕπατος, πατήρ, εὐεργέτης	honors by a guild for the emperor PR: govt relations
AGRW 211 = <i>IAnazarbos</i> 4 = PH311574	207 CE	ἱεραφόροι, ὄστειάριοι	***Imperial Titles excluded	honors by various groups for the emperor PR: inter-society relations, govt. relations
AGRW 212 = <i>IAnkyraBosch</i> 128 = <i>IGRR</i> III	128 CE	τεχνειταί, ἢ ἱερά θυμελική	ἀγνοθητέσαι τὸν ἀγῶν τὸν μυστικόν,	celebration by a guild of successful games/contests and

209 +211 = PH267069		σύνοδος; βουλή	έλλαδάρχης, πρώτος ἄρχων, ἀρχιερεύς, γραμματεὺς, νομοδείκτος, ὑπάτοι	honors for the coordinator; PR: govt relations, development; Resource mgmt.: finances, physical property; Record keeping;
AGRW 213 = OGIS 573 = LSAM 80 = PH285719	late 1 st c. BCE to early 1 st c. CE	ἑταῖροι, Σαββατισταί	συναγωγεύς, δυνάστης, ἱερεύς (allocates funds for this)	Leadership duties: rule enforcement; Resource mgmt.: finances, building, physical property;
AGRW 214 = KilikiaBM I 34 + KilikiaBM II 172n38 (for lines 1-6) + IKilikiaBM II 175n41 (for line 17) = PH285154	1 st c. CE	τεχνεῖται ἀδελφοί, δῆμος,	(γράφω)	Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship (but benefits the People, not a particular association and grave for family members); Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 215 = IKilikiaBM II 201 = PH285220	1 st c. CE	δῆμος; (κοινόν – as treasury), ἀδελφοί, κοινόν		Example of very basic association bc a group of men put together a common memorial (?) Resource mgmt.: finances; Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship; Leadership duties: rule enforcement;
AGRW 216 = IPessinous 17 = OGIS 540 = PH267445	2 nd c. CE	μύσται	ἀρχιερεύς, ἱερεύς, ἀγωνοθέταις, σεβαστοφάντης, γυμνασιαρχήσας,	honors for a well-titled priest PR: govt relations

			ἔπαρχος, χειλίαρχος,	
AGRW 217 = <i>IPessinous</i> 22 = PH267454	Roman Imperia I Period	συστήματος κηπουρῶν, (ταμεῖον)	ἐπιμελούμενοι,	Resource mgmt.: finances; Worship
AGRW 218 = <i>IKilikiaHW</i> 183 = PH285461	1 st to 2 nd c. CE	μύσται	ἀρχεβάκχος, ἱερεύς	Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship; Membership mgmt.: initiation;
AGRW 219 = PH285125	undate d	φίλοι	ἀρχιερεύς	Burials: grave guardianship; Worship
Greek Islands of the Aegean				
<i>Southwestern Islands (off the coast of Attica)</i>				
AGRW 220 = <i>IG XII, 7 396</i> = <i>SIG</i> ³ 866 = PH79047	153-154 CE	βουλή, δῆμος, πολείται (for members of the group?)	ἄρχοντες, στρατηγοί, δεκαπρώτοι, πρυτανικής, ἄρχαι καὶ λιτουργία (hendiadys for all functionaries?), ὑπάτοι (officials for dating), ἄρχων	An immigrant group who patterned themselves off the structure of a typical πολις. Posthumous care for a man's family. Resource mgmt.: finances; Record keeping: voting records; Leadership duties: meeting mgmt.;
AGRW 221 = <i>IG XI,4 1299</i> = <i>SIG</i> ² 663 = <i>SEG</i> 24 (1974), no. 1158 = PH63784	ca. 200 BCE	(θεραπεύων)	ἱερεύς, (ἀναγράφω)	Founding account of a Temple for Sarapis: need for obtaining a building/land, building of the temple;

				Resource mgmt.: building, finances; Regular meetings: banquets; PR
AGRW 222 = <i>IJO I Ach 66</i> and 67 = <i>SEG 32 (1982), 810</i> and 809 = <i>NewDocs VIII 12b</i> and 12a = <i>PH215712</i> and <i>PH215711</i>	ca. 250-175 BCE (A); ca. 150-50 BCE (B)	Ἰσραηλιῖται	(προσευχή)	contributions to Gerazim from Delos. Resource mgmt.: finances; Worship: sacred activities
AGRW 223 = <i>IDelos 1519</i> = <i>IDelosChoix 85</i> = <i>PH63955</i>	153/152 BCE	ἐκκλησία, σύνοδος, κοινόν, δῆμος, βουλή, θιασιταί, ἡ σύνοδος τῶν Τυρίων ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων	ἄρχων, ἀρχιθιασίτης, πρεσβεία/πρεσβευτής, εὐεργέται, καθιστάμενοι, ἀρχιθιασίται, ταμίαι, γραμματεὺς, ἱερατεῶν	ἐκκλησία seems to refer to the specific meeting of the group or a subgroup, σύνοδος to the general group to which one belongs, κοινόν to the abstract association; PR: govt relations, development; Record keeping; Membership mgmt.: dues, records; Worship: sacrifices; Resource mgmt.: building, finances
AGRW 224 = <i>IDelos 1520</i> = <i>PH63956</i>	Post-153/152 BCE	κοινόν, σύνοδος, (οἶκος), (συντέλεια), κοινον	ἄρχων, εὐεργέται, ἀρχιθιασίτης, ἀργυροταμίαι	PR: development, private persons; Resource mgmt.: finances, building; Worship: sacrifices and

		Βηρυτίων Ποσειδωνιασ τῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων, θιασίται		festivals; Leadership duties: rule enforcement; Membership mgmt.: records; Regular meetings: general meetings
AGRW 225 = IDelos 1783 = PH64223	After 153 BCE		εὐεργέτης	Individual's donation of a statue
AGRW 226 = IDelos 1778 = OGIS 591 = PH64218	130-69 BCE	τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτίων Ποσειδωνιασ τῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων	εὐεργέτης, ἀρχιθιασιτεῦν	*same association as PH63956 (?) PR: govt relations
AGRW 227 = IDelos 1779	130-69 BCE	τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτίων Ποσειδωνιασ τῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων	ἀρχιθιασιτεῦν	Worship: sacrifices; PR: govt relations
AGRW 228 = IDelos 1782 = PH64222	Pre-128 BCE, or pre-87 BCE	τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτίων Ποσειδωνιασ τῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων	ἀρχιθιασιτεῦν, εὐεργέτης	PR: govt relations
AGRW 229 =	166-88	(οἶκος),	ἱερεὺς, ἱέρεια,	Regular meetings: general

Gérard Siebert, "Sur l'histoire du sanctuaire des dieux syriens a Délos," <i>BCH</i> 92 (1968), 359-374	BCE	(ναός), τὸ κοινόν τῶν θιασιτῶν,		meetings; Resource mgmt.: finances, building; Worship
AGRW 230 = <i>IDelos</i> 1528 = PH63964	Post-127 BCE	ἡ σύνοδος τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐγδοχέων	βασιλεύς, βασιλίση, ναύαρχος, σταρτηγός, αὐτοκράτωρ, ἀρχιερεύς;	PR: private persons, development; Worship
AGRW 231 = <i>IDelos</i> 1730 = <i>IDelosChoix</i> 97 = PH64170	ca. 125 BCE	Ἀπολλωνιασται		Membership mgmt.: records; Worship
AGRW 232 = <i>IDelos</i> 1733 = <i>IDelosChoix</i> 96 = PH64173	ca. 125 BCE	Ἑρμαιοσται		Membership mgmt.: records; Worship (of Hermes)
AGRW 233 = <i>IDelos</i> 1751 = <i>IDelosChoix</i> 98 = PH64191	ca. 125 BCE	Ποσειδωνιασται/ <i>Neptunales</i>		Membership mgmt.: records; Worship (of Poseidon)
AGRW 234 = <i>IDelos</i> 1713 = PH64153	ca. 100 BCE	ἐλαιοπῶλαι, (ναός),	καθεστάμενοι	Membership mgmt.: records; Worship (of Herakles and Hermes)
AGRW 235 = <i>IDelos</i> 1760 = PH64200	ca. 100-98 BCE	κομπεταλιασται	ἄρχων (for dating)	Membership mgmt.: records
AGRW 236 = <i>IDelos</i> 1711 =	98/97 BCE	οἰνοπῶλαι	ἐπιμελητῆς, ἐπὶ τὸ ἐνπόριον	Worship; Leadership duties:

PH64151				oversight (of trade)
AGRW 237 = <i>IDelos</i> 1758 = PH64198	74 BCE	Ἑρμαιοῦνταί, Ἀπολλωνιασ ταί, Ποσειδωνιασ ταί	ὑπατοὶ (for dating)	Membership mgmt.: records; Worship; PR: govt relations
AGRW 238 = <i>IDelos</i> 1641 = PH64080	Post-65 BCE	δῆμος, σύνοδος	αὐτοκράτωρ; ἄρχων, συναγωγεὺς, γραμματεῦν	Worship; Regular meetings; PR: govt relations
AGRW 239 = <i>IDelos</i> 1705 = PH64145	undate d	ἔμποροι καὶ ναύκληροι		guild honoring an official; PR: govt relations; Worship;
AGRW 240 = <i>SEG</i> 50 (2000), no. 876	ca. 150 BCE	τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀγδοῖστῶν		Regular meetings Worship: sacred activities; Burials: grave guardianship
AGRW 241 = <i>SEG</i> 31 (1981), no. 807 = PH323310	ca. 150 BCE	τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφιαστῶν		Worship
AGRW 242 = <i>IG</i> XII,5 912 = <i>CIG</i> 2339b = PH78269	undate d	φίλοι, συμβίωσις φιλία	ναύαρχος, ἀγγέλος, γραμματεὺς, ἱερὸς ἰατρός,	Membership mgmt.: records;
AGRW 243 = <i>IG</i> XII,3 330 = <i>LSCG</i> 135 = PH75847	210-195 BCE	(Μουσεῖον), (συναγωγῶν), κοινόν (entity), συναγάγοχα (meeting?); συναγωγή (used at a later time),	ἐφορῶν, (διοικέω), ἱερατεία, ἐπιμήνιος/ἐπιμήν ιοι, ἀρτυτήρ (allocation/collec tion of funds and enforcement of rules/penalties),	formation of an association by relatives; Worship: sacrifices, festivals, Regular meetings: general meetings, banquets; Resource mgmt.: building, finances;

		σύλλογος (meeting),	ἐπίσοφος (plan, execute and record/account festivals, meetings, etc. can appoint another as scribe/secretary), γραμματοφύλαξ (guard over records/decision s)	Membership mgmt.: dues; Leadership duties: rule enforcement, oversight and appointment, meeting mgmt (formation of an executive committee; executive officers who plan, account, and execute the events)
<i>Southeastern Islands (off the coast of Caria)</i>				
AGRW 244 = IG XII,3 178 = PH75690	late 3 rd to 2 nd c. BCE	κοινόν (episodic meeting), θιάσος (entity)	ἱερεὺς/ἱερατεία, ἐπιστατεῶν	gods imagined as having an association and voting as humans do; Leadership duties: meeting mgmt; Worship: sacrifices, festivals; PR: private persons
AGRW 245 = <i>IKosPh</i> 155- 158 and <i>SEG</i> 55 (2005), no. 937bis	155, 156 and 157: 1 st c. BCE to 1 st c. CE 158: Roman imperia l period <i>SEG</i> : 3 rd c. CE	A: θιάσος Ἀφροδισιαστῶν B: θιάσος Ἐρμαῖστῶν C: Ἀθαναῖσταί D: θιάσος Ἀθαναῖστῶν E: θιάσος Ὀμονοῖατῶν		Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship
AGRW 246 =	Roman	βουλή,	civic positions:	honors for a man who has

IG XII,3 104 = IGRR IV 1110 = PH75614	Imperia I Period	κοινεία	ἱερατεύσας, δαμιουργήσας, γυμνασιαρχήσας	been honored by other associations; view from the other side of the PR associations do through their honoring of officials – so not just needed for an association, but also used by the honoree PR: private persons
AGRW 247 = TitCam 84 = PH193388	Post- 167 BCE	Καμιερέοι, Ἄσκληπιαστ αί, Ἑρμαιοῦνταιί, Σαραπιασταί, Κουραιοῦνταιί, Τρικτοῖνοι	civic positions: ἱερατεύσας, δαμιουργήσας;	again view from the other side of one honored by associations PR: private persons
AGRW 248 = TitCam 87 = PH193391	ca. 27 BCE – 14 CE	Καμιερέοι, Ὀμονοείων κοινόν, Ἄσκληπιαστ αί, Πασιφωντεί ων κοινόν		Other side of associations’ honoring an individual PR: private persons
AGRW 249 = ILindos 251 = PH190969	ca. 115 BCE	Ἑρμαῖοῦνταιί Ἄλκιμεδόντε ιοι	ἱερατεύσας, ἱεροθυτήσας, εὐεργέτης	honors by an association for their own priest and benefactor; PR: private persons; Worship: sacrifices; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 250 = ILindos 252, lines 222-27, 250-59 =	ca. 115 BCE	Ἄθαναῖοῦνταιί Τιμαπολείων κοινόν; Τιμαπολείων	ἀρχιεροθύτας, ἱερεῖς, ἱεροθυταί;	Long and fragmentary list of donors, many are individuals and families, but there are quite a few

PH190970		κοινόν, Ἄγαθοδαιμο νιαστᾶν κοινόν, Ἄγεστρατείω ν καὶ Λευκαρείων κοινόν, Ἄπολλωνιαστᾶν κοινόν, Ἄρσινοείων καὶ Ἄφροδισιαστᾶν (and lost name?) κοινόν, Σωτηριαστᾶν		associations. Harland, et. al. claim that Timpolis is a man associated with various groups and shows a case of one man belonging to more than one association (could this not also indicate a city, though?); PR: development;
AGRW 251 = <i>ILindos</i> 264 = PH190982	ca. 125- 100 BCE	κοινόν τῶν ἱεροθυτᾶν καὶ ἀρχιεροθύτα; Ἄθαναϊστᾶν κοινόν; τεχνιταί; τὸ κοινόν τὸ Λητοδωρείω ν Παυσιστρατε ίων (?); κατοικεῦντες	ἱερατεύσας; ἄρχων, στρατευομένοι; ἀρχιερουθήσας, χοραγῆσας	Another individual with varied honors by varied associations mentioned Resource mgmt: finances, building; Worship: sacrifice; PR
AGRW 252 = <i>ILindos</i> 285 = PH191003	93 BCE	κοινόν	ἱερεὺς	honors for a priest; PR: private person
AGRW 253 = <i>ILindos</i> 292 = PH191010	ca. 88- 85 BCE	κοινόν, σύσσιτοι		honors for a naval soldier; PR: govt relations;

				Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 254 = <i>Ilindos</i> 630 = PH191359	ca. 51- 50 BCE	Σωτηριασταί		gravestone honoring a man; Burials: burial rites; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW 255 = <i>IG XII,1</i> 155 = PH138693	2 nd c. BCE	Ἄλιασταί καὶ Ἄλιαδαί, Διονυσιασταί , Βακχείοι, συνεραμισταί , κοινόν; τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Πανιαστᾶν, ἔρανος; πλῆθος, σύνοδος (individual meetings), συλλόγος	ἀρχεραμιστάς, εὐεργέτης; ἀρχεραμιστήσας; ἱερεύς, γραμματεὺς, ἄρχοντες, αἰρούμενοι, ἐπιστάτας, ἱεροκᾶρυξ, λογισταί,	Note the multiplication of titles in the fourth over the previous three – development of structure? Resource mgmt.: finances, physical property; Leadership duties: oversight, rules enforcement; PR: development, private persons, govt relations; Membership mgmt.: initiation, records, dues; Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship; Regular meetings: general meetings; Record keeping
AGRW 256 = <i>IRhodM</i> 46 = PH191495	2 nd c. BCE	κοινόν, τὸ κοινον τὸ Ἄλιαστᾶν, τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Διονυσιαστᾶ ν	εὐεργέτης, ἀρχεραμιστής	Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship; PR: private persons;
AGRW 257 = <i>IG XII,1</i> 127 = PH138664	early 2 nd c. BCE	φύλα Νικασιωνηίς, φύλα Βασιληίς,	ἀγωνοθετής, φύλαρχος, γυμνασίαρχος; εὐεργέται καὶ	Immigrant association; Worship: festivals; PR: development

		φύλα Ὀλυμπηίς (various victorious groups in the contests); κοινόν	εὐεργέτιδες, κτίστας	Resource mgmt.: financial, physical property
AGRW 258 = IG XII,3 6 = PH75516	late 1 st c. BCE	τὸ κοινὸν Σαμοθρακίαι τᾶν Ἀφροδισιαστ ᾶν Βορβοριτᾶν, Ἀδωνιασταί Ἀφροδισιαστ αί Ἀσκλαπιαστ αί Σύρων, κτοίνα	εὐεργέτης	honors by varied groups for a man; PR: private persons Resource mgmt.: finances
<i>Northern Islands (off the coast of Macedonia and Mysia)</i>				
AGRW 259 = SEG 26 (1976), no. 891 = IG XII,2 108+109 = PH322710	undate d	οἱ τὴν σκυτικὴν τέχνην ἐργαζόμενοι		statue dedicated to Artemis by a guild; PR: govt relations; Resource mgmt.: physical property
AGRW 260 = IG XII,8 643 = PH79850	Imperia I Period	μύσται		Resource mgmt.: building; Worship
AGRW 261 = IMT 1306 = PH288610	138-161 CE	μύσται		dedication to emperor, deity and initiates;

				Worship; Membership mgmt.: initiation, records; PR: govt relations
AGRW 262 = SEG 2 (1924), no. 505 = PH322429	early 5 th c. BCE	Ἡρακλες θασίος		Worship: sacrifice; Leadership duties: meeting mgmt.; Record Keeping: bylaws
AGRW 263 = IG XII, Suppl 365 = PH79925	2 nd c. BCE	Σαραπιασταί, κοινόν, σύνοδος,	ἔπωνυμίας, ἱεροκήρυξ, ἱερεύς, γραμματεύς,	Regular meetings: banquets, general meetings; Resource mgmt.: building, finances; Record keeping;
AGRW 264 = IG XII, Suppl 447 = PH80009	150-200 CE	βαρχεῖον	δουκηνάριον, πρωτον τῆς πόλεως, ἀρχιερεύς δι' ὄπλων, ἱεροφάντης	Honors for a public official; Worship: sacred activites; Regular meetings; PR: govt relations
AGRW 265 = IG XII, 8 387 = IMakedD 1412 = PH79580	211-217 CE	Βακχῖον	ἱεροφάντης	Honors for an official of an assoc.; Resource mgmt.: finances, physical property; Regular meetings
Greater Syria and the East				
AGRW 266 = SEG 48 (1998), no. 1844 = AÉ (1976), no. 686 = PH305967	117-138 CE - time of Hadria n	σύνοδος τῶν τεχνειτῶν ἱερονεικῶν στεφανειτῶν καὶ συναγωνιστ ῶν	ἀρχιερεύς, στεμματηφόρος	Honors for a performer; Regular meetings; PR;
AGRW 267 =	100-250	οἴκος/οἶκος		memorial for a guild

SEG 51 (2001), no. 2016	CE	(as guild?)		member; Burials: burial rites
AGRW 268 = SEG 44 (1994), no 1354	1 st c. CE (or later)	συντεχνία οικοδόμων		signature of a guild on a building (?)
AGRW 269 = SEG 7 (1934), no. 827 = PH305125	ca. 250 CE	τέχνη λινύφων	πάτρων, πρόεδρος	guild honors; PR: govt relations
AGRW 270 = CIJ 1404	Before 70 CE	συναγωγή,	ἱερεύς, ἀρχισυνάγωγος, πρεσβύτεροι, Σιμωνίδης	Synagogue dedication; Resource mgmt.: building, finances; Regular meetings (for reading of the Law and teaching of commandments); PR: private persons (hosting of guests);
AGRW 271 = OGIS 592	early 2 nd c. BCE	πολίτευμα, πολίταις		grave stone by immigrant society; Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship
AGRW 272 = Th. Macridy, "A travers les necropolis sidoniennes, " <i>Revue Biblique</i> 13 (1904): 549- 50 (B) = Gustave Mendel,	Early 2 nd c. BCE	ἑταῖροι		gravestone for a soldier; Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship

<i>Catalogue des sculptures grecques romaines et byzantines</i> (Constantino ple: En vent au, 1912-1914), 263-64 (no. 104)				
AGRW 273 = Th. Macridy, "A travers les necropolis sidoniennes," <i>Revue Biblique</i> 13 (1904): 551 (no. 2) = Gustave Mendel, <i>Catalogue des sculptures grecques romaines et byzantines</i> (Constantino ple: En vent au, 1912-1914), 262-63 (no. 103)	early 2 nd c. BCE	σύμμαχος, πολείτευμα, πολείτης		grave for a soldier by a group of immigrants; Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship
AGRW 274 = Th. Macridy, "A travers les necropolis sidoniennes,"	early 2 nd c. BCE	πολίτευμα		grave for a soldier by a Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship

” <i>Revue Biblique</i> 13 (1904): 551-52 (no. 3) = Gustave Mendel, <i>Catalogue des sculptures grecques romaines et byzantines</i> (Constantinople: En vent au, 1912-1914), 266-67 (no. 106)				
AGRW 275 = SEG 55 (1995), no. 1660 = Waltzing 1895-1900, vol. 3, no. 94	48/47 BCE	μαχαιροποιῶν, κοινόν	ἄρχων	dedication to a deity by a guild; PR: development; Worship
AGRW 276 = SEG 55 (1995), no. 1654 = AÉ (2005), no. 1569	98 CE	τέχνη κλεινοπηγῶν, κοινόν		building dedicated to emperor by a guild; Resource mgmt.: building; PR: govt relations
AGRW 277 = SEG 54 (1994), no. 1628	104 CE	τέχνη ψειλωτῶν		building cstr by a guild; Resource mgmt.: building, financial; PR: development
AGRW 278 = SEG 55 (1995), no. 1655	132 CE	κουρέοι, κοινόν (?)	ἀρχίτεχνος	honors for a leader of a guild; PR: private person
Egypt				

<i>Delta Region</i>				
AGRW 279 = <i>IAlexandriaK</i> 96 (with plate XLVII) = PH227188	30 BCE – 14 CE	μυροπώλης, σύνοδος	προστατήσας	dedication by a former leader of assoc. (perhaps a guild or just the profession of the dedicator); PR: govt relations
AGRW 280 = SB XXII 15460 = Brashear 1993, 14-15	5 BCE (Aug 21)	συναγωγή, οἶκος τῶν ἀρχακολούθ ων συνόδου,	συναγωγός, προστάτης, πάμφιλος	decree by a group to honor a member; shows a title that is honorary and not functional; PR: private persons; Regular meetings; Resource mgmt.: building
AGRW 281 = BGU IV 1137	6 CE (Nov 19)	σύνοδος	συναγωγός, προστάτης, ἱερεὺς, γυμνασίαρχος,	Same association as previous; Resource mgmt.: financial; Record keeping; Regular meetings;
AGRW 282 = <i>IAlexandriaK</i> 70 = PH227160	early 1 st c. CE	Ἀπολλωνιακ ή γυναῖκες σύνοδος	ἀρχιέρηρα, προστάτις	dedication of a statue by an exclusively women's group; Resource mgmt.: financial
AGRW 283 = <i>IEgJud</i> 20 = <i>IAlexandriaK</i> 92 = <i>CIJ</i> 1447 = PH 227184	Imperia l Period	συναγωγή	προστάτης	dedication of a statue to a synagogue; Resource mgmt.: physical property
AGRW 284 = <i>IAlexandriaK</i>	7 CE	πλήθος ἱατρῶν	ἀρχιατρὸν	statue dedication for chief of the guild;

97 = PH227189				Resource mgmt.: financial, physical property
AGRW 285 = IGRR I 1095 = IDelta I 11 = PH228250	29/28 BCE	(συναγωγέω)	ποστατήσας	statue dedication by founder/president; Regular meetings; Resource mgmt.: building, physical property
AGRW 286 = IGRR I 1106 = IDelta II 28 = IEgJud 26	30 BCE - 14 CE	σύνοδος Σαμβαθική	συναγωγός	statue dedication;
AGRW 287 = IDelta I 446 = PH228299	67, 64 BCE	συναγωγή τῶν συγγεώργων, σύνοδος, (γυμνάσιον), (οἶκος), ἢ τῶν γεούχων σύνοδος, κοινόν	ἱερεὺς	Honors for an important benefactor; Regular meetings: banquets; Resource mgmt.: buildings; PR: development, private persons; Membership mgmt.: initiation, records, dues; Worship: festivals, sacrifices; Record keeping; Burials: burial rites
AGRW 288 = IEgJud 24 = CIJ 1441 = PH229360	140-116 BCE	προσευχή	προστατοί	dedication of a prayer house by a group of Judeans; PR: govt relations for approval; Resource mgmt.: building;

				Regular meetings; Worship: sacred activities
<i>Fayum Region</i>				
AGRW 289 = <i>PMich IX 575</i>	184 BCE (July 25)	συνοδείτοι, κοινόν	ἐπιμελητής	Membership mgmt.: dues, records; Resource mgmt.: financial;
AGRW 290 = <i>PPetaus 28</i>	2 nd c. CE	ἀδελφός, φίλος		A letter concerning the transportation of a corpse seemingly between members of a transportation guild PR: inter-society relationships
AGRW 291 = <i>IFayum III</i> 204 = SB I 4211 = PH216120	68 BCE	σύνδοδος (κωμαστηρίο ς), (ιερός)	συναγωγός	dedication of a statue; Resource mgmt.: buildings, physical property; Regular meetings
AGRW 292 = <i>PEnteuxeis 21</i>	218 BCE	συνθιασιτίδα ι, θιάσος	ἱεροσύνη, στρατηγός (civic authority), ἐπιστάτης,	Burials: burial rites (here failure to properly act); PR: private persons, govt relations; Worship: sacrifices
AGRW 293 = <i>PEnteuxeis 20</i>	215 BCE	συνθιασιτεύ ων	ἱερεύς, ἀρχιθιασίτης, στρατηγός (civic authority),	Burials: burial rites (again failure to do so); Leadership duties: rule enforcement; Record keeping: bylaws; Worship: sacrifices; PR: govt relations
AGRW 294 = <i>IFayum III</i> 171-72 =	1 st to 2 nd c. CE	σύνδοδος		dedications to deities along a processional way; indicates that dedications

PH216087 – PH216088				do not necessarily indicate building or physical property
AGRW 295 = <i>PLond VII</i> 2193 = <i>NewDocs I 5</i>	69-58 BCE	σύνοδος, κοινόν, συνλόγοι, συναγωγή, ἀποδημία, φράτρα, συμποσίον	ἡγούμενος, ὕπηρέτης	Regular meetings: general meetings, banquets; Leadership duties: rule enforcement; Membership mgmt.: dues, record; Resource mgmt.: buildings; Worship: sacrifices
AGRW 296 = <i>BGU VII 1572</i>	139 CE (Dec 17)	γεργίδιοι, ἐργασία	στρατηγός (civic position)	letter from a guild (12 members, reduced to 8 by public service summons) requesting exemption from public service; PR: govt relations, private persons; Resource mgmt.: physical property
AGRW 297 = <i>OGIS 50 = RIG</i> 1018 = PH218975	ca. 269- 246 BCE	τεχνίται, σύνοδος,	πρύτανις, (ἀναγράφω), οἰκονόμος	honors for a leader of performers; Resource mgmt.: bldg., finances; Membership mgmt.: records
AGRW 298 = <i>OGIS 51 = RIG</i> 1017 = PH218976	269 – 246 BCE	τεχνίται, κοινόν, φιλοτεχνίται	ἱπάρχης, πρύτανις, φιλανθρώπος, γραμματεὺς (records and inscribing), οἰκονόμος	Honors for a member of a group of performers; Worship: festivals; Resource mgmt.: finances, physical property; Record keeping;

			(financing), χοροδιδάσκαλος	Membership mgmt.
AGRW 299 = <i>PCairDem</i> 30606 = de Cenival 1972, 45-58	158/ 157 BCE	original demotic text unavailable (trans. is English of de Cenival's translation)		Shows an association with complex rules and many regulations concerning inter-assoc. treatment; Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship (regular gatherings at a cemetery); worship: festivals, sacrifice; Membership mgmt.: dues; Leadership duties: rule enforcement;
AGRW 300 = <i>PMich V 243</i>	14-37 CE (time of Tiberiu s)	κοινόν, συλλόγος, συνοδιταί	προστάτης (can enforce penalties for dues problems),	Also shows regs concerning treatment of other members and collection of dues for major life events; Worship: banquets; Membership mgmt.: dues, records; Resource mgmt.: finances; Leadership duties: rule enforcement, meeting mgmt.; Burials: burial rites;
AGRW 301 = <i>PMich V 244</i>	43 CE	ἀπολυσίμοι, πλήθιοι, κυνόν	ἐπιμελητής, ἡγούμενος	Regular meetings: banquets, general meetings; Burials: burial rites; Resource mgmt.: finances; Membership mgmt.: dues, records;

				Leadership duties: rule enforcement; Record keeping
AGRW 302 = <i>PMich V 245</i>	47 CE (Aug 18)	άλοπολοί, έργασία, (ήμῶν μετρός), (θησαυρός),	έπιμελητής, είσακτος τῶν δημοσίων,	regulations for a guild of salt merchants; Regular meetings: banquets, general meetings; Membership mgmt.: records, dues; Leadership duties: rule enforcement; Record keeping
<i>Upper Egypt</i>				
AGRW 303 = <i>PLond III 1178</i> , lines 1-37 = <i>GCRE 27</i> , 28, and 37	194 CE (collecting letters by Claudius from 46 CE and 47 CE, and by Vespasian from ca. 69-79 CE)	ξυστική περιπολιστική ή σύνοδος, συνοδείτης, (οίκουμένη κοινή)	ἀρχιερεύς, ἄρχων, ἀργυρουταμίας, γραμματέων, ἀρχιγραμματεύς, ἄρχων τῆς ἱερᾶς,	Letters between emperors and athletic associations (shows a network of these that appear to have similar titles and structures); PR: govt. relations; inter-society relations Regular meetings: general meetings; Membership mgmt.: records, dues; Resource mgmt.: finances Record keeping: bylaws and decrees
AGRW 304 = <i>PRyl IV 586</i>	99 BCE (Oct 17 – Nov 15)	κοινὸν χρῆμα, κοινόν,	δεδανεικότες, χειρισθησομένος, χρηματοφύλαξ	money lending by an association to an individual; Resource mgmt.: finances;

				Record keeping; Membership mgmt.: dues/contributions; and/or PR: development
<i>Cyrenaica</i>				
AGRW 305 = <i>IBerenike</i> 18 = SEG 16 (1976), no. 931 = CJZC 70	late 1 st c. BCE (March 30)	κοινόν, πολίτοι, πολίτευμα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, σύνοδος (for individual meetings),	ἄρχοντες	Regular meetings: general meetings; Record keeping: voting records; Leadership duties: meeting mgmt.; Membership mgmt.: records; Resource mgmt.: building;
AGRW 306 = <i>IBerenike</i> 17 = CJZC 71 = IGRR I 1024	24 CE or 41 BCE	πολίτευμα τῶν Ἰουδαίων,	ἄρχοντες, ἐπαρχεία, προστασία, φιλόανθρωπος, (ἀναγράφω)	PR: govt relations; Record keeping: voting records; Leadership duties: meeting mgmt.; Membership mgmt.: records; Resource mgmt.: finances Regular meetings
AGRW 307 = <i>IBerenike</i> 16 = CJZC 72 = SEG 17 (1977), no. 823	55 CE (Dec 3)	συναγωγή τῶν Ἰουδαίων,	(ἀναγράφω), ἄρχων (multiple), ἱερεύς,	women among the donors for restoration of the synagogue (same <i>Berenike</i> Jewish group as last two?); Resource mgmt.: building, finances; PR: development; Record keeping
Italy and the Western				

Provinces				
<i>Italy</i>				
AGRW 308 = <i>CIL</i> X 444 = <i>ILS</i> 3546 = Waltzing 1895-1900, vol. 3, no. 1636	81-96 CE (time of Empero r Domiti an)	<i>cultus</i> , <i>collegium</i> ,	**Imperial titles omitted; <i>magistri</i>	Resource mgmt.: lands/buildings, finances; Worship: sacrifices; Regular meetings: banquets; Membership mgmt.: records; PR: govt relations
AGRW 309 = <i>CIL</i> V 7906 = <i>ILS</i> 8374 = Waltzing 1895-1900, vol. 3, no. 608	Uncert ain date	<i>collegium centonarioru m</i>		Worship: sacrifices; Regular meetings: banquets; Resource mgmt.: finances, building, building; Burials: burial rites
AGRW 310 = <i>CIL</i> XIV 2112 = <i>ILS</i> 7212	136 CE (June 9)	<i>cultor Dianae et Antinoi</i> , <i>collegium salutare</i> , (<i>arca</i>), <i>populous</i> , <i>album</i> (membershi p list)	<i>consules</i> (for dating), <i>patronus</i> , <i>quinquennalis</i> (among other duties, conduct worship), (<i>perscribo</i>), <i>dictator</i> , <i>quinquennalis</i> , <i>magistri</i> (in charge of monthly dinners), <i>scriba</i> , <i>viator</i> ,	Note the clause from the decree of the Roman senate: <i>collegia</i> may only meet once a month for burial and make monthly contributions; Membership mgmt.: initiations, dues, records; Regular meetings: general meetings, banquets; Burials: burial rites; membership initiation/mgmt.; Leadership duties: rule enforcement
AGRW 311 = <i>CIL</i> XI 5047 = Waltzing 1895-1900,	uncerta in date	<i>collegium centonararium</i>		Regular meetings: banquets; Burials: burial rites; Resource mgmt.: finances

vol. 3, no. 1890				
AGRW 312 = <i>INapoli</i> I 51 = <i>IGRR</i> I 446 = PH 177663	ca. 100 CE	Ἀλεξανδρέω ν σύνοδος, Σμύρναν κοινόν Ἀσίας (provincial assembly of a region?)	ἀρχιερεύς,	honors for a priest and a list of his victories; Resource mgmt.: finances; Worship: festivals; PR: private persons;
AGRW 313 = <i>CIL</i> XIV 246 (addenda) = Waltzing 1895-1900, vol. 3, no. 2227	140-172 CE	(<i>ordo</i>), <i>corporati</i> ,	<i>patroni</i> , <i>quinquennalis</i> <i>perpetuus</i> , <i>quinquennalis</i> , <i>consules</i> (for dating),	list of donors for renovation of a temple; Resource mgmt.: finances, building; Leadership duties: oversight; Membership mgmt.: contributions, records; Regular meetings: banquets; PR: development;
AGRW 314 = <i>CIL</i> XIV 250, 251 = <i>ILS</i> 6174-75; Waltzing 1895-1900, vol. 3, nos. 2231-32	152, 193 CE	<i>CIL</i> XIV 250: (<i>ordo</i>), <i>plebs</i> <i>CIL</i> XIV 251: (<i>ordo</i>), <i>plebs</i>	<i>CIL</i> XIV 250: <i>consules</i> (for dating), <i>patroni</i> , <i>quinquennalis</i> <i>perpetuus</i> , <i>quinquennalis</i> <i>CIL</i> XIV 251: <i>consul</i> (for dating), <i>patroni</i> <i>senatorii</i> , <i>equites</i> <i>Romani</i> , <i>quinquennalis</i> <i>perpetuus</i> , <i>quinquennalis</i>	roster of a guild of accountants and sailors; note that the number of <i>quinquennalis perpetuus</i> increased greatly between years; Membership mgmt.: records;
AGRW 315 =	uncerta	<i>collegium</i>		monument to a deity by

AÉ (1975), no. 236	in date			an association for a member
AGRW 316 = <i>IAlexandriaK</i> 74 = IG XIV 701 = IGRR I 458 = PH227164	3 BCE	πολίτευμα τῶν Φρυγῶν		Basalt base brought to Pompeii from Alexandria (evident from dating); Worship;
AGRW 317 = IG XIV 830 = OGIS 595 = PH141062	174 CE	βουλή, δῆμος, οἱ ἐν Ποτίολοις κατοικοῦντε ς, (στατίων), στατιωνάριοι	ἄρχοντες, προέδρος	Worship: sacrifices; Resource mgmt.: building (στατίων) – which in fact the letter indicates they can no longer do bc of how small the assoc has become; Resource mgmt.: finances; PR: intersociety relations; Membership mgmt.: records;
AGRW 318 = CIL XI 970 = Waltzing 1895-1900, vol. 3, no. 1819	190 CE	<i>collegium fabrum et centonarioru m</i>	<i>consules</i> (for dating), <i>quaestores</i> , <i>patronus, magistri</i>	Resource mgmt.: finances, building; PR: development
AGRW 319 = IGUR 77 = IG XIV 1084 = PH187710	146 CE (May 6)	ἡ τάξις τῶν Παιανιστῶν, (οἶκος),	προφήτης, πατήρ, κουράτορος, πρεσβύτερος,	Resource mgmt.: building PR: govt relations; Worship: sacred activities
AGRW 320 = IGUR 235 = GCRE 86 = PH187869	143 CE, copyin g an earlier imperia	σύνπαν ξυστόν; σύννοδος ξυστική τῶν ἀθλητῶν	*Emperors titles omitted; ἀρχιερέυς, ἐπὶ βαλανείων Σεβατοῦ	PR: govt relations; Resource mgmt.: building; Record keeping; Resource mgmt.: finances

	l latter from 134 CE			
AGRW 321 = IGUR 236 = GCRE 128 = PH187870	143 CE	σύνπαν ξυστόν, σύνοδος ξυστική τῶν ἀθλητῶν	*Imperial titles omitted ἀρχιερεύς, ἐπὶ βαλανείων Σεβατοῦ, (πρεσβεύω), ὑπατοί (for dating)	PR: govt relations; Resource mgmt.: building, finances; Record keeping
AGRW 322 = CIL VI 10234 = ILS 7213 = Waltzing 1895-1900, vol. 3, nos. 268-71	53 CE	<i>collegium,</i> <i>populi/populu</i> <i>s, (arca),</i> <i>immunes</i> (dues exempt members),	<i>quinquennalis</i> <i>perpetuus, pater</i> <i>collegi, mater</i> <i>collegi, curatores,</i> <i>quinquennalis,</i> <i>consules</i> (for dating)	Record keeping: bylaws; Resource mgmt.: building, finances; Regular meetings: banquets; Burials: burial rites; financial mgmt.; Membership mgmt.: dues, records; Leadership duties: rule enforcement; PR: development;
AGRW 323 = CIL VI 10260- 10264; CIL IX 9148, 9149	2 nd c. CE	<i>collegium,</i> <i>collegium</i> <i>maiorum et</i> <i>minorum,</i>	<i>quaestor</i>	collection of graves for member of a family association; Burials: burial rites;
AGRW 324 = IGUR 86 = IG XIV 1008 = PH187719	late 2 nd to 3 rd c. CE	Σαρδιανοί		Worship; PR: development
AGRW 325 = IGUR 237 = IGRR I 150 =	mid-2 nd c. CE	ἡ ξυστική σύνοδος	ξυσταρχή, ἀρχιερεύς, ἐπὶ βαλανείων	PR: govt. relations, private persons; Resource mgmt.: building;

PH187871			Σεβαστοῦ, προστάτης, πρεσβεύσας, ἄρχοντες	
AGRW 326 = IGUR 156 = IG XIV 977 = PH187790	2 nd -3 rd c. BCE	σπείρα	ἱερεῖς	Acc to AGRW, σπείρα is a common term for Dionysiac assocs in Asia Minor; The shared nature of this title (and ἱεροφάντες) could indicate a network
AGRW 327 = IGUR 1169 = CIG 6206 = PH188808	3 rd to 4 th c. CE (?)	μύσται, φίλοι	ἱερεύς,	grave of a boy of seven who served as priest of various deities; Worship: sacred activities; Burials: burial rites
AGRW 328 = IGUR 1228 = PH1888867	undate d			Grave of a boy of seven who celebrated the rites of Dionysos for three years; Burials: burial rites; Worship: sacred activities
AGRW 329 = JIWE II 165, 170, 189, 288	3 rd to 4 th c. CE	συναγωγή Βερνάκλων, συναγωγή Καλκαρήσις, συναγωγή Τριπολειτών, συναγωγή Βολυμνησίω ν, Ἄγριππησίω ν, συναγωγή Αὐγοστησίω	ἀρχισυνάγωγος, ὁ ἄρχων τῆς συναγωγῆς, ἄρχων ἀπὸ συναγωγῆς, προστάτης, γερουσιάρχῃ, μήτηρ συναγωγῆ, ἄρχων, πατήρ συναγωγῆς,	various grave inscriptions mentioning synagogues, some of which are named for streets where they are, others for geography of origin, and still others for prominent leaders/figures. (No direct indication that even though these graves are for varied leaders that the synagogue

		ν, συναγωγή Αύγουστησί ων, συναγωγή Καμπησίων, Σιβουρησίων , συναγωγή Ἐλαίας, συναγωγή Αἰβρέων		participated in the burial rites, though it is probably a safe assumption) Burials: burial rites
AGRW 330 = IGUR 160	160-170 CE	μύσται; βάχκοι/βάχκ αι ἀπὸ καταζώσεως, ἱεροὶ βάχκοι, βάχχαι, ἀντροφύλακ ες, σειγηταί	ἱέρεια/ἱέρειαι, ἥρωσ, δαδοῦχος, ἱερεῖς, ἱεροφάντης, θεοφόροι, ὑπουργὸς καὶ σειληνοκόσμος, κισταφόροι, ἀρχιβουκόλοι, βουκόλοι ἱεροί, ἀρχιβάσσαροι, ἀμφιθαλεῖς, φαλλοφόρος, πυρφόροι, ἱερομνήμων, ἀρχινεάνισκοι, ἀρχιβασσάραι, βουκόλοι	*Does this represent some different levels of regular membership with the final groups or was this simply an extremely large association? Or does everyone get a title? Membership mgmt.: records; Worship; PR: govt relations
AGRW 331 = CIL XIV 2633 = ILS 7317a = Waltzing 1895-1900, vol. 3, no. 2326	uncerta in	<i>cultores</i> <i>Dianesium</i>	<i>patronus</i>	grave for a patron by a cult of Diana; Burials: burial rites, grave guardianship
AGRW 332 =	224 CE	<i>schola</i>	<i>consules</i> (for	election of a patroness by

<i>CIL XI 2702 = ILS 7217 = Waltzing 1895-1900, vol. 3, no. 1846</i>		(building), <i>collegium fabri</i> (entity),	dating), <i>quinquennales, primipilaris</i> (military position), (<i>beneficia</i>), <i>patrona, matrona</i>	an association; Resource mgmt.: building, finances; Membership mgmt.: records; Record keeping; PR: development
<i>Western Provinces</i>				
<i>AGRW 333 = CIL XIII 5154 = ILS 7687 = AÉ (1974), no. 434 = Waltzing 1895-1900, vol. 3, no. 2175</i>	1 st to 2 nd c. CE	<i>corpus fabrum tignuariorum</i>	<i>honores functus</i>	grave of a goldsmith in an association of carpenters; membership from other occupations in guilds? hereditary perhaps as the son is a member of the same association? Burials: burial rites
<i>AGRW 334 = CIL XIII 8344 = AÉ (1899), no. 10 = IKöln 442</i>	2 nd c. CE	<i>collegium fabrorum, centuria</i>		associations divide into smaller groups (<i>centuria</i>); mother made the burial stone, though, not the association Membership mgmt.: records
<i>AGRW 335 = CIL XIII 8255 = IKöln 215</i>	2 nd to 3 rd c. CE	<i>collegium pistoricorum</i>		dedication for imperial household by a member of a guild; PR: govt relations
<i>AGRW 336 = AÉ (1995), no. 1012 = RIB 1136</i>	2 nd to 3 rd c. CE	<i>milites vexillationis legionis, collegium</i>		Worship: sacrifices; Resource mgmt.: finances

		<i>Silvanianorum</i>		
AGRW 337 = RIB 91 = CIL VII 11, addit p. 305 = Waltzing 1895-1900, vol. 3, no. 1379	1 st c. CE	<i>collegium fabrorum</i>		Resource mgmt.: building, finances; PR: development; Record keeping

This second table outlines the architectural evidence. The first column provides the number in *AGRW* and any accompanying inscriptional citations. The second column provides approximate dating and the third the region. In the fourth, a brief physical description of the evidence is rehearsed and finally the fifth column lists any functions that may be represented either from the physical evidence itself or from the combination of connected inscriptions.

The main utility of this evidence is the fleshing out of the particular picture of some of these association functions. For instance, sites where dining rooms are clear allows a window into what regular dining would have looked like. As far as general use in this project, however, the main advantage of this material is its confirmation of what was already discovered in the epigraphic and papyrological evidence.

Architectural Evidence – Table 2

Identifying Number and Associated Evidence	Date	Location	Physical Description	Exhibited Function(s)
<i>Southern and Central Greece</i>				
AGRW B1 - AGRW 21 = IG II ² 1326; IG II ² 1008, 1011, 1028, 1029, 1039	2 nd c. BCE	Piraeus (Attica)	Temple for the worship of Dionysos; one large room and many smaller rooms.	Resource mgmt.: building; PR: development (likely a large house converted into a temple); Worship; Regular Meetings
AGRW B2 - IG II ² 1368 (7)	2 nd c. CE	Athens (Attica)	A Baccheion with main devotion to Bacchus, but a variety of other sacred object for other deities. Located near the Acropolis between the Pnyx and the Areopagus.	Worship: sacrifice, festivals; Regular Meetings: general meetings, banquets; Resource mgmt.: building; Membership mgmt.: records
<i>Macedonia</i>				
AGRW B3 – AGRW 41 = CIL III 633	2 nd to 3 rd c. CE	Philippi (Macedonia)	A sanctuary to Silvanus with four Latin inscriptions and some statues and paintings. Located on the back wall of the acropolis.	Membership mgmt.: records, dues and contributions; PR: development; Worship; Resource mgmt.: building, finances
<i>Asia Minor</i>				
AGRW B4	late 2 nd	Ephesos	a large room	Regular meetings;

	c. CE	(Ionia)	within a house with inscriptional and artistic evidence that it was used for devotees of Dionysos. Located in a residential complex.	PR: development, private persons;
AGRW B5	2 nd c. CE	Ephesos (Ionia)	A large house converted into a banqueting facility for an association in the 2 nd c. CE. Located in a residential complex.	Regular meetings: banquets; Resource mgmt.: building
AGRW B6 – AGRW 115-116 = <i>IPergamon II</i> 485	2 nd to 4 th c. CE	Pergamon (Mysia)	A large rectangular building located near workshops and shops. The interior is divided into two banqueting rooms with three <i>triclinia</i> each, accommodating ~70 diners.	Regular meetings: banquets; Resource mgmt.: building
<i>Greek Islands of the Aegean</i>				
AGRW B7 – IG XI/4 1299	220 BCE	Delos (Cyclades)	A small temple with other varied rooms including a banqueting facility.	Worship: sarifices, festivals; Regular meetings: banquets; Record Keeping;

			Originally a domestic complex, it seems a household association of Sarapis worshippers continued expanding and developing the temple.	Resource mgmt.: building, finances
AGRW B8 – AGRW 224 = <i>IDelos</i> 1520; AGRW 226 = <i>IDelos</i> 1778; AGRW 227 = <i>IDelos</i> 1779; AGRW 228 = <i>IDelos</i> 1782; AGRW 225 = <i>IDelos</i> 1783; <i>IDelos</i> 1773-96	153 BCE or earlier	Delos (Cyclades)	A large complex with many and varied rooms, including four sanctuaries to different deities.	Worship; Regular meetings; Resource mgmt.: buildings, finances
<i>Italy</i>				
AGRW B9 – <i>CIL</i> X 1412	early 1 st c. CE	Herculaneum, regio I vi 21	A meeting place of the Augustales with frescos of Hercules, a main room with three naves and a shrine. Located in the center of the city.	Regular meetings; Resource mgmt.: building; Membership mgmt.: records
AGRW B10 -	1 st to 2 nd c.	Misenum, regio I	Three adjacent rectangular	Regular meetings: banquets;

	CE		room, the central room temple-like, and an inscription identifying one hall as a banquet area. Many inscriptions identify patrons and proclaim honors and there are statues of emperors.	PR: development, private persons, govt relations; Resource mgmt.: building, finances, private property
AGRW B11	early 2 nd c. CE	Ostia, regio I ii 3	A main hall with a vestibule and an apse (perhaps a sanctuary) located on the Decumanus and the Square of Lares. Also, bearing an inscription associating it with the ferrymen.	Membership mgmt.; Resource mgmt.: building; Worship;
AGRW B12	late 1 st to early 2 nd c. CE	Ostia, regio I ix 4	Built in the style of a temple with a columned façade, portico, central sanctuary, narrow halls on each side and a platform in the rear. Debated whether it is	Resource mgmt.: building; Worship; PR;

			connected to the Augustales or the <i>curia</i> . Located on the N side of the Decumanus.	
AGRW B13	early 3 rd c. CE	Ostia, regio I x 3-4	A courtyard, unfinished temple, porticoes and a large room, the structure was used by the caulk makers and later turned into a Mithraeum.	Regular meetings: banquets; Worship; Membership mgmt.; Resource mgmt.: building
AGRW B14	2 nd to 4 th c. CE	Ostia, regio I xii 1	A courtyard leads to a sanctuary with a kitchen, four dining rooms with three <i>triclinia</i> and located off the Decumanus for the meetings of the carpenters.	Regular meetings: banquets; Membership mgmt.: Resource mgmt.: buildings, physical property, finances
AGRW B15	early 2 nd to 3 rd c. CE	Ostia, regio I xix 1-3	A temple off the Via della Foce with a garden, well behind it, a meeting hall to the W, and smaller rooms and a latrine to the E. Refurbished in the 3 rd c CE including the	Resource mgmt.: buildings, finances, physical property; Regular meetings; Membership mgmt.; PR: govt relations

			<p>addition of a mosaic floor showing a man carrying grain and a controller with helpers. Thus, thought to be for the grain measurers</p>	
AGRW B16	1 st c. BCE to 2 nd c. CE	Ostia, regio II vii 3	<p>Offices of important merchants and shippers, at the S side is a theater and N of the forum is the Tiber, lined with warehouses and temple in the center. The complex was regularly developed by Emperors.</p>	<p>PR: govt relations, development, private persons; Resource mgmt.: finances, buildings, physical property; Leadership duties: oversight</p>
AGRW B17	late 2 nd c. CE	Ostia, regio	<p>A long rectangular building of the Decumanus leading into a courtyard and portico. A temple on the far side of the courtyard and a smaller portico behind it for meetings and</p>	<p>Worship; Regular meetings: banquets, general meetings; Membership mgmt.: records; Resource mgmt.: building, physical property; PR</p>

			banquets. A mosaic of a ship at the front and a statue dedicated to the patron of the ship builders along with a membership list in the temple.	
AGRW B18	140-160/ 170 CE	Ostia, regio IV I 4	Small meeting and banquet hall for worshippers of Bellona near a small separate temple for the lance bearers including a porch and inner chamber, all enclosed by walls	Worship; Regular meetings: banquets; Membership mgmt.: records; Resource mgmt.: buildings
AGRW B19	end of 2 nd c. CE	Ostia, regio IV v 15	inscriptions indicate the large complex was a meeting place for ship owners located off the Decumanus across the meeting place of the ship builders. An elaborate vestibule leads to a large courtyard with a sanctuary and apse, a banqueting room	PR: inter-society relations; Membership mgmt.; Regular meetings: banquets; Resource mgmt.: finances, buildings, private property; Leadership duties: oversight

			and a water basin running through the complex.	
AGRW B20	ca. 150 CE, restored in 3 rd or 4 th c. CE	Ostia, regio V vii 2	Off the Decumanus, an antechamber opens to a courtyard with a sanctuary at its far end. In the 3 rd c., an apse extending into a private home was added. Rooms surround the courtyard on N, E and S. It is debated whether the space belonged to the Augustales	Worship; Resource mgmt.: buildings;
AGRW B21	ca. 194 CE	Ostia, regio V xi 1-3	Originally a privately owned complex of apartments and a large home, ca. 194 CE, a temple was added off the Decumanus with a portico and altar at center. Likely used by a guild whose members and families lived in the apartments	Resource mgmt.: buildings, personal property; Worship; Membership mgmt.;

			lining the street and utilized some rooms for storage. The carpenters had a building across the street (AGRW B14) and may have used this complex as well.	
AGRW B22	1 st c. CE	Pompeii, regio VII xi 1	a large rectangular building with an open courtyard surrounded by a portico and gallery. Used by the woolworkers, only part of it was for the wool exchange. During Tiberius' reign a civic priestess dedicated the building. Her statue is accompanied by an inscription by the wool workers.	Resource mgmt.: buildings, physical property; PR: govt relations; Membership mgmt
AGRW B23	1 st c. CE	Pompeii, regio I	a central garden courtyard surrounded by three dining rooms and a further two on the far E. The	Resource mgmt.: buildings; Regular meetings: banquets;

			rooms are designed more for drinking than eating as witnessed by the masonry benches with a shallow channel in front of each.	
AGRW B24	mid-1 st c. CE	Puteoli, regio I	An amphitheater with three concentric circles of passageways. In the Southern half, seven rooms have been identified as used for cultic purposes by <i>collegia</i> .	Worship; PR: intersociety relations; Regular meetings; Resource mgmt.: finances, personal property;
AGRW B25 – CIL VI 30973a and b	ca. 150 CE	Rome, regio II, Caelius	A large basilica with a nave and aisles on each side, set into the ground. A meeting place of woodcutters.	Resource mgmt.: building; Regular meetings
AGRW B26	late 1 st c. BCE to early 2 nd c. CE	Rome, regio VIII, Forum Romanum	a large trapezoidal warehouse complex under the NW slope of the Palatine built by Agrippa. A large courtyard is surrounded by a	Worship; Resource mgmt.: finances, building; PR: development, govt relations; Membership mgmt.;

			series of chambers and has a sanctuary in the center dedicated by merchants.	
AGRW B27	early 3 rd c. CE	Rome, regio X, Palatine	A central courtyard with three vaulted chambers on the NE side, with seven life-sized figures greeting banquet guests and a mosaic displaying two processions and emblems of the heralds. Located between the back of Domitian's palace and the Circus Maximus on the SE slope of the Palatine.	PR: govt relations; Resource mgmt.: buildings; Regular meetings: banquet; Worship: festivals; Membership mgmt.
AGRW B28 – CIL VI 8826; CIL VI 10251	early 2 nd c CE	Rome, regio XIV, Trastevere	Trapeziod-shaped warehouse building with a lower level of vaulted cellars and an upper story of equally-sized rooms surrounding a courtyard is	PR: intersociety relations; Resource mgmt.: buildings, private property;

			<p>located S of the Villa Farnesina on the W bank of the Tiber. A second part of the building is a double colonnade on the E and a gutter on the W with large storage jars. A inscription identifies it as belonging to the <i>collegium</i> of wine dealers, but a second inscription identifies it with the <i>collegium</i> connected to the goddess Fortuna Reducis</p>	
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This final table outlines the data in literary sources. The layout is similar to table 1, except that the second column provides not only a date, but also a probable location for the literary discussion at hand.

The literary evidence surveyed below makes a few things clear. First, the history of associations in the Greek and Roman world spans a vast temporal period and a variety of circumstances, thus, for example, there exists great variance in terminology

concerning the associations as entities and their activities. Yet also we must be aware of our sources own agendas. For example, Josephus and Philo may self-consciously present their cases in terms they knew would be understood by their audiences. The same goes for Tertullian. Second, associations have often been used politically, either for votes and support or for riots and opposition. For this reason, relationships with the Roman governing body were often strained because public assembly was so closely monitored. Third, the legal concerns around associations concern what should be expected: authorization for existence and assembly and the ownership, rights and responsibility concerning property, finances, and obligations to both public and private entities.

These legal documents are all that is needed for Barclay's definition of an association as they presume or lay out terms for an association along the lines of assembly and resources. However, these legal documents also presume two additional functions: first, a representative for the association who can either enter into contractual relationships or who can represent the association in legal matters, and, second, a record of the members of the association so that property or finances may be

properly distributed or so that the proper individuals may be held responsible for trouble with an association generally.⁵

On account of the vast temporal period, however, we must not put too much stock in the legal documents exclusively. So we turn to the other types of literature. Those documents that concern the relationship with the governing authorities shed some light on the desire of so many associations to cultivate positive relationships to the governing authorities, whether through honors, the hosting of games and festivals, or some other activity. Because of the checkered history of associations being dissolved, outlawed, and punished by Roman authorities particularly, such good favor would be necessary for survival. After all, no one wants to be moved from the category of *licitum* to *illicitum*.

Finally, the general references to associations also provide the most ancient documents. Here we see, for example, Aristotle's ideas where there are three basic types of association in the πόλις, yet each is basically connected to the household. Yet, his own categorization, we can already see the foundations of the debate concerning where an association should properly be located in terms of genetics, for the πόλις is

⁵ Note the Mishnaic tractates that Lee Levine discusses to show how the synagogue follows these same patterns of communal leadership and property ownership (Levine, *Synagogue*, 357-358). But Levine also notes different patterns of leadership, some more democratic and some more centralized and hierarchical, though he claims the more democratic communal ownership with elected leaders as normative.

composed of them and therefore they have some basic connection to the broad political entity, yet they also possess such a basic connection to the household. Since for Aristotle, the πόλις is to be considered a household to begin with, we cannot trust his categorization as a genetic account. Another important element that comes forward in these general references is the function of public reading. Such a function may not be common to every association but it does take on a prominent role in some. Here, there is a functionary whether for one event or for an extended period.

Literary Evidence – Table 3

Citation	Date, Location	Group Term(s)	Official Term(s)	Notes and exhibited Function(s)
<i>General References</i>				
AGRW L1 = Aristotle, <i>Eudemian Ethics</i> 7.1241b.24-26	ca. 360-320 BCE in Attica	κοινωνία, πόλις, φρατέρες, ὄργια, χρηματιστικάί		Aristotle sets out an organized schema where there are three basic types of association in the city, and all are connected basically to the household.
AGRW L2 = Isaeus of Athens, <i>Orations</i> 9.30.3-4	ca. 400-350 BCE in Attica	(ἱερὰ), θιασωταί Ἡρακλῆς, κοινωνία		Isaeus claims his father had a close relationship with Astyphilus because as boys he took them both to religious ceremonies and to the association of Hercules. Regular meetings;

AGRW L3 = Demosthenes of Athens, <i>On the Crowns</i> 18.258-60	ca. 330 BCE in Attica	θίασοι	ἕξαρχος, προηγμένων, κτισοφορος, λικναφορος,	Public reading; drinking Membership mgmt.: initiations; Worship: sacrifices, sacred activities;
AGRW L4 = Polybius of Megalopolis, <i>Histories</i> 20.6.1, 5-6	ca. 180- 120 BCE in Attica	συσσιτίοι		Regular meetings: banquets; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW L5 = Varro, <i>On Agriculture</i> 3.2.16	ca. 36 BCE near Rome	<i>collegia</i>		The <i>collegia</i> are so well known for feasting that they have affected the price of food. regular meetings: banquets
AGRW L6 = Diodorus of Sicily, <i>Historical Library</i> 4.24.6	ca. 59-30 BCE in Sicily	θίασοι		Household slaves allowed to create their own θίασος Worship: festivals, sacrifice;
AGRW L7 = Strabo of Amaseia, <i>Geography</i> 17.1.8	ca. 7-18 CE in Egypt	(Μουσεῖον), συσσίτιοι, σύνοδος	ἱερεὺς	ἱερεὺς appointed by king/Caesar; Resource mgmt: physical property (held in common), building; Regular meetings Leadership duties: oversight (priest)
AGRW L8 = Philo of	1 st c. CE in Egypt	ἕρανοι		Association have potential for promoting

Alexandria				wisdom or for indulgence Membership mgmt.: dues; Resource mgmt.: finances
AGRW L9 = Philo of Alexandria, <i>On the Contemplative Life</i> 40, 64, and 83-89	1 st c. CE in Egypt	σύνοδοι, θεραπευταί, συμπόσια, εὐωχία, δεῖπνον, βακχεΐαι		Philo self-consciously presents the Judean therapeutai in terms that would be familiar to a Greek and Roman audience, but also contrasts the type of gatherings as sober and sacred with singing to God vs. the Bacchic drunken frenzies. Worship: banquets; sacred activities
AGRW L10 = Philo of Alexandria, <i>Against Flaccus</i> 135-37	after 39 or 40 CE in Egypt	θίασοι (entities), σύνοδοι (meetings), κλιναι (meetings),	συμποσίαρχος, κλινάρχης	Philo is explicit as to the locals calling the actual meetings by particular terminology. Also he notes the societies as instruments of one man's social dissent. Regular meetings: banquets
AGRW L11 = Dio Chrysostom	ca. 80-110 CE in Bithynia	βουλή, δῆμος, νέοι, γέροντες,		One profession was excluded from the polis and Dio argues they

of Prusa, <i>Orations</i> 34.21-23		πολίς, λινουργοί, ἐκκλησῖαι (referring to civic groups), βαφεύς, σκυτοτόμος, τέχτων		should be included. Here, the groupings are under political umbrellas
AGRW L12 = Dio Chrysostom of Prusa, <i>Orations</i> 45.8	ca. 101- 102 CE in Bithynia	ἐταιρείαι		Implies that the city was governed by means of smaller groups at some point, though Dio Chrysostom finds this to be unideal.
AGRW L13 = Aelius Aristides of Smyrna, <i>Orations</i> 45.27- 28	ca. 140- 180 CE in Ionia	ἕρανοι	συμποσίαρχος	gods are imagined as having a club and Sarapsis is the leader; Regular meetings: banquets; Worship: sacrifices
AGRW L14 = Artemidoros of Daldis, <i>Dream Interpretations</i> 4.44 and 5.82	2 nd c. CE in Ionia	συμβιώσις, φρατρία, συμβιώται; συμβιώται, φράτορες		Regular meetings: banquets; Leadership duties: rule enforcement; Burials: burial rites
AGRW L15 = Lollianus, <i>Phoenician Tales</i> B.1 recto, lines 10-16	2 nd c. CE in Greece	μουουμένοι		Human sacrifice in the initiation rites Membership mgmt.: initiation
AGRW L16 = Lucian of Samosata, <i>The</i>	ca. 150- 180 CE in Greece	(τελετή), (Βακχική), βουκόλοι		Bacchic initiation dancing became quite popular and widespread

Dance 15 and 79				Membership mgmt.: initiation
AGRW L17 = Lucian of Saamosata, <i>The Passing of Peregrinus</i> 11	ca. 150-180 CE in Greece	Χριστιανοί, (τελετή)	ἱερεῖς, γραμματεῖς; προφήτης, θιασάρχης, ξυναγωγεὺς, νομοθέτης, προστάτης	Fictional life; imagines Xty as an assoc. Membership mgmt.: initiation, education; Leadership duties: oversight;
AGRW L18 = Tertullian of Carthage, <i>Apology</i> 38-39	ca. 197 CE in N. Africa	<i>secta, factiones, partes, coetus</i> (for meetings), <i>epicureis, christianae factions, corpus, congregation</i> (assemblies), (<i>arca</i>), <i>curia</i>	<i>seniors, Salii,</i>	Tertullian frames he Xns as a Roman association at the same time that he is interested in showing how they are distinct from a Roman association. Regular meetings: general and banquets (but for poor, not feasting); Worship: sacred activities (prayer, reading of divine writings); Leadership duties: oversight; Resource mgmt.: finances (note: Tertullian is explicit that there are no dues); Burials: burial rites (for the poor);
AGRW L19 = Origen of	ca. 244-249 in	συνθήκαι, Χριστιανοί,		Origen claims to quote Celsus with the three

Alexandria, <i>Against Celsus</i> , 1.1; 3.23; and 8.17	Egypt	Σκύθαι; θιασώται; κοινωνία		different words for an association; Also, he quotes Celsus as claiming associations as either instruments of public good and order or secret and thus instruments of unrest; Finally, the former have altars and sacrifices, but it is the mark of the latter to not; Worship: sacrifices
AGRW L20 = Cyprian of Carthage, <i>Epistles</i> 67.6.2	ca. 257 CE in N. Africa	(<i>convivia</i>), <i>collegium</i>		Cyprian's concern here is a Christian participating in association life which involved idolatry and profane burials Regular meetings: banquets; Worship: sacred activities; Burials: burial rites
AGRW L21 = Eusebius of Caesarea, <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> 10.1.8 ⁶	ca. 323- 324 CE in Eastern Mediterranean	ἐκκλησίαι, θιάσος		Eusebius refers to individual congregations as ἐκκλησίαι, but to the general Christian group as a θιάσος when distinguishing membership against other groups. Membership mgmt.
Dealings				

⁶ Though AGRW lists 10.1.7-8, the quotation itself is only 10.1.8.

With Civic or Imperial Authorities				
<p>AGRW L22 = Plutarch of Chaeronea, <i>Lives</i> 17.1-3</p>	<p>written ca. 70-120 CE about ca. 715-673 BCE in Boeotia</p>	<p>τέχναι, πόλις, γενεῖς, αὐληταί, χρυσοχόοι, τεκτόνες, βαφεῖς, σκυτοτόμοι, σκυτοδεψαί, χαλκέοι, κεραμεῖς, (συναγάγω), σύστημα, κοινωνία, συνόδοι, Σαβίνοι, Ἴρωμαῖοι, Τατίου πολῖται, Ἴρωμύλου πολῖται</p>		<p>Plutarch recounts here how King Numa unites the people of Boeotia by breaking apart the two groups and forming them into trade guilds. He also promoted other groupings than trade and promoted honors for the gods from each region as appropriate, so as to remove geographical distinctions. Plutarch then gives an aetiology for how the various types of associations came to be in Boeotia.</p> <p>Regular meetings; Membership mgmt.; Worship</p>
<p>AGRW L23 = Livy of Patavium, <i>History of Rome</i> 39.8-18</p>	<p>ca. 186 BCE in Rome</p>	<p><i>Bacchanalia</i>, (<i>pecunia communis</i>)</p>	<p><i>antistes</i>, <i>sacerdotes</i> (male and female), (<i>vaticinor</i>), (<i>magister sacrorum</i>)</p>	<p>Livy critiques the Bacchic association begun by an ignoble Greek. This group practiced banquets, sacrifices and rites, produced forged documents, and committed murder. It began as a group of woman before being expanded to co-ed and</p>

				<p>was eventually outlawed for all of its destructive practices.</p> <p>Regular meetings: banquets; Worship: sacrifices, sacred activities; Record keeping; Membership mgmt.: initiation; Leadership duties: rule enforcement, oversight;</p>
<p>AGRW L24 = Cicero (Quintus Tullius), <i>Handbook of Electioneering</i> 8.29-30</p>	<p>ca. 65-64 CE in Rome</p>	<p><i>collegia</i></p>	<p><i>principes</i></p>	<p>Quintus Tullius Cicero advises that winning the favor of the leaders of the <i>collegia</i> is the way to secure the votes of the masses as the members will follow the leaders.</p> <p>Leadership duties: oversight;</p>
<p>AGRW L25 = Cicero (M. Tullius), <i>For Sestius</i> 13 §31-32, 34 and 25 §55</p>	<p>written ca. 56 BCE about 58 BCE in Rome</p>	<p><i>collegia, concilia, contiones tenebant</i></p>		<p>Cicero discusses how all public bodies had passed resolutions concerning his safety; how slaves were accused of forming <i>collegia</i>; the riots through the <i>collegia</i>, their banning, and their reinstating</p> <p>PR: govt relations, private persons; Membership mgmt.;</p>

AGRW L26 = Cicero (M. Tullius), <i>Against Piso</i> 4.9	written ca. 55 BCE about 58 BCE in Rome	<i>collegia</i>		Cicero again references the restoration of the <i>collegia</i> by the Senate, noting the most undesirables, including slaves were allowed in the <i>collegia</i> Membership mgmt.
AGRW L27 = Cicero (M. Tullius), <i>On His House</i> 27 §73-75	ca. 57 BCE in Rome	<i>senatus, ordo equester, publicorum societates, scribae, collegia, conventicula</i>		Cicero lists all the groups that favored him; <i>collegia</i> and <i>conventicula</i> here used to encompass the highest political bodies to the lowest assembly; Membership mgmt.; PR: govt relations
AGRW L28 = Cicero (M. Tullius), <i>In the Senate after His Return</i> 13 §33	ca. 57 BCE in Rome	<i>collegia</i>		another reference to Catiline's use of the associations
AGRW L29 = Asconius, <i>Commentary on Against Piso</i> 320.8-90	written ca. 54-57 BCE about 64 BCE and 58 BCE in Rome	<i>collegia</i>	<i>magistri</i>	Asconius comments on the abolition and restoration of associations' legal statuses. He also notes that the leaders used to dress themselves like civic leaders for the games
AGRW L30 = Asconius, <i>Commentary on for Cornelius</i>	written ca. 54-57 CE about 64 BCE in	<i>collegia, fabrorum, fictorunque</i>		Asconius notes that certain trade <i>collegia</i> were exempt from the ban because of their

75C	Rome			usefulness to the public
AGRW L31 = Dio Cassius of Nikaia, <i>Roman History</i>	written ca. 229 CE about ca. 62-58 BCE in Bithynia	ἑταιρικά, κολλήγια		Dio Cassius recounts briefly the revival of the <i>collegia</i> , identifying them with the Greek word ἑταιρικά
AGRW L32 = Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars</i> , “Julius” 42	written ca. 90-130 CE about 47-46 CE in Rome	<i>collegia</i>		Suetonius’ brief note on Julius Caesar’s outlawing of associations (excepting those with ancient foundings)
AGRW L33 = Josephus, <i>Jewish Antiquities</i> 14.213-16	a Roman document ostensibly from ca. 47-46 BCE collected and edited ca. 80-100 CE	Ἰουδαίοι, θιάσοι		The document shows an exemption for the Judeans when the <i>collegia</i> were outlawed Regular meetings: banquets; Resource mgmt.: financial;
AGRW L34 = Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Caesars</i> , “Augustus” 32.1	written ca. 90-130 CE about events sometime in 27 BCE - 14 CE in Rome	<i>factiones</i> , <i>societates</i> , <i>collegia</i>		Suetonius outlines a process whereby <i>factiones</i> form <i>societates</i> and then claim official status as <i>collegia</i> ; This account again reflects the unsettling nature of some of these groups with respect to the government as Augustus abolishes them except for the ancient and legitimately purposed <i>collegia</i> .
AGRW L35 =	written	συστάσεις		c.f. the previous

Appian of Alexandria, <i>Civil Wars</i> 5.132	ca. 165 BCE about ca. 35 BCE in Rome			selection. Are the συστάσεις of bandits here to be associated with the groups Suetonius references and Augustus' dissolving of associations?
AGRW L36 = Philo of Alexandria, <i>Against Flaccus</i> 4-5	written 39 or 40 CE about Egypt in 32-38 CE	ἔταιρεία, σύνοδοι		Philo recounts Flaccus' dissolving associations because of riotous gatherings under the pretense of sacrifice. Regular meetings: banquets; Worship: sacrifices
AGRW L37 = Philo of Alexandria, <i>On the Embassy to Gaius</i> 311-13	39 or 40 CE for an embassy from Egypt to Rome	Ἰουδαίοι, συναγωγή, σύνοδοι	(διαπέμπω)	Philo accounts the distinction between Judean groups and others as the reason for traditional favor by Roman authorities. Regular meetings; Resource mgmt.: finances; PR: intersociety relations (Jerusalem temple)
AGRW L38 = Dio Cassius of Nikaia, <i>Roman History</i> 60.6.6-7	written ca. 229 CE concerning 31-54 CE in Rome	Ἰουδαίοι, ἔταιρείαι, (συναθροίζω)		Dio Cassius recounts Claudius' disbanding of the associations and ordering the Judeans not to assemble rather than driving them out of the city because of their large population size.

				Regular meetings
AGRW L39 = Tacitus, <i>Annals</i> 14.17	written ca. 100-110 CE concerning Pompeii in 59 CE	<i>collegia</i>		Tacitus recounts riots and violence fomented at game sin Pompeii. The consuls recommended forbidding public gatherings for ten years of <i>collegia</i> . Regular meetings; Worship: festivals
AGRW L40 = Pliny the Younger, <i>Epistles</i> 10.33-34, 10.92-93, and 10.96-97	ca. 109-110 CE in Bithynia-Pontus	(<i>gerousia</i>), <i>collegium fabrorum</i> , <i>civatates</i> , <i>hetaeria</i> , ἐπάροι, <i>eranus</i> , <i>coetus</i> , <i>christiani</i> , <i>hetaeria</i> ,	<i>ministrae</i>	Pliny requests the formation of a professional association of builders to help rebuild after a fire. He assures Trajan he will monitor it closely to ensure it functions only as a guild; Trajan responds that such groups quickly turn from their founding purpose and become political causing disturbances; Pliny's second exchange with Trajan concerns the city of Amisus and their request to form ἐπάροι (he uses the Greek bc of the attached petition). Trajan replies that if it is allowed under their

				<p>treaty, then it is allowable, but it is forbidden everywhere else.</p> <p>The third exchange concerns the Christians who claim to have stopped assembling when the associations were outlawed.</p> <p>Regular meetings: general meetings, banquets; Resource mgmt: finances;</p>
<p>AGRW L41 = Athenaeus of Naukratis, <i>The Banquet of the Learned</i> 5.2.6⁷</p>	<p>late 2nd c. CE in Egypt</p>	<p>δειπνα (φυλετικά, δημοτικά, φρατρικά, and ὄργεωνικά) and of θιάσοι</p>		<p>Athenaeus describes the different groups who dine together regularly</p> <p>regular meetings: banquets</p>
<p>AGRW L42 = Augustan History, “Alexander Severus” 33</p>	<p>Written late 3rd or 4th c. CE about ca. 222-235 CE about the empire</p>	<p><i>corpora</i></p>		<p>Recounts the creation of trade partnerships of all the skilled trades</p>
<p><i>Legal Documents in</i></p>				

⁷ Here I employ the Kaibel paragraph numbering system rather than the system used in AGRW which I could not decipher.

<i>the Digest of Justinian (ca. 527-565 CE)</i>				
AGRW L43 = Gaius, <i>On the Provincial Edict (Institutiones)</i> 3 = <i>Digest</i> 3.4.1	active under Antonius Pius and Marcus Aurelius	<i>societas, collegium, corpus, res publica, (arca),</i>	<i>syndicus,</i>	Gaius outlines certain professions permitted to form associations and that some other types were approved directly by the Senate. These are permitted certain privileges like a <i>res publica</i> . Resource mgmt.: buildings, finances, and private property; Leadership duties: oversight, representation
AGRW L44 = Gaius, <i>On the Law of the Twelve Tables (Institutiones)</i> 4 = <i>Digest</i> 47.22.4	includes citation attributed to Solon, Athenian lawmaker (ca. 638 BCE-558 BCE)	<i>sodales, collegia, hetaireia, δῆμος, φρατρία, (ῥγία), ναύται, σύσσιτοι, ὁμοτάφοι, θιασώται</i>		Quotes a Greek law in establishing the right to collective ownership/action. Resource mgmt.: finances, buildings, private property Leadership duties: representation
AGRW L45 = Callistratus, <i>On Judicial Inquiries</i> 4 = <i>Digest</i> 27.1.17.2-3	ca. 198-211 CE	<i>corpora, fabri, collegia</i>		discussions of the rights and exemptions of associations with respect to public duties. Membership mgmt.; Resource mgmt.:

				buildings; physical property; PR: govt relations
AGRW L46 = Callistratus, <i>On Judicial inquiries</i> 1 = <i>Digest</i> 50.6.5.3,5,6-7,9,12-13	ca. 198-211 CE	<i>negotiatores, navicularii, corpora, collegium, fabri, artificii</i>		Outlines the policies for exemption from public service for certain artisans, not just anyone who was a member of these guilds. Regular meetings; Leadership duties: representation; PR: govt relations
AGRW L47 = Ulpian, <i>On the Duties of an Urban Prefect</i> = <i>Digest</i> 1.12.1.14	ca. 170-223 CE	<i>collegium</i>		unlawful <i>collegia</i> are prosecuted before the city prefect.
AGRW L48 = <i>On the Duties of Proconsul</i> 7 = <i>Digest</i> 47.22.2	ca. 170-223 CE	<i>collegium</i>		offense of an unlawful <i>collegia</i> is the same as occupying public places or temples by means of armed men
AGRW L49 = Ulpian, <i>On the Edict</i> 5 = <i>Digest</i> 2.4.10.4	ca. 170-223 CE	<i>corpus, collegia, urbs, res publica</i>		manumitted persons may bring suit against any member of one of the listed corporate groups because they held him in common. Resource mgmt.: private property
AGRW L50 = Ulpian, <i>On the</i>	ca. 170-223 CE	<i>municipes, universitas</i>		When a representative is appointed to act on

<i>Edict 8 = Digest 3.4.2</i>				<p>behalf of one of these groups, he acts on behalf of all.</p> <p>Leadership duties L representation</p>
AGRW L51 = Ulpian, <i>On the Edict 11 = Digest 4.2.9.1</i>	ca. 170-223 CE	<i>populus, curia, collegium, corpus</i>		individuals or any of these four bodies will be prosecuted the same for intimidation.
AGRW L52 = Ulpian, <i>On the Edict 24 = Digest 10.4.7.3</i>	ca. 170-223 CE	<i>municipes, collegia, corpora</i>		Again, associations and other groups as legal entities and therefore chargeable
AGRW L53 = Marcianus, <i>Institutes 3 = Digest 47.22.1</i>	ca. 222-235 CE	<i>collegia sodalicia, milites collegia, (conferre), illicitum collegium, collegium licitum</i>		<p>outline of legal and illegal association activities. Associations in some way are expected to meet regularly and have some type of common fund (as this is what they poor are allowed). Also, religious assembly is permitted.</p> <p>Regular meetings; Resource mgmt.: private property, finances; Leadership duties: rule enforcement; Membership mgmt.: records</p>
AGRW L54 = Marcianus, <i>Public Prosecutions 2</i>	ca. 222-235 CE	<i>collegia, corpus, collegium tenuiorum</i>		when associations dissolve, the common property is to be distributed among the

<p>= <i>Digest</i> 47.22.3</p>			<p>members. Special provision are made for associations of the poor.</p> <p>Resource mgmt.: finances, private property; Membership mgmt.: initiation, records</p>
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