NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Translations are my own, unless otherwise noted. For Juvenal's critique of women's religious practices, see *Sat.* 6.314–46, 6.511–91. For an annotated text of the sixth satire, see Juvenal, *Satura VI*, ed. Amy Richlin (Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Bryn Mawr College, 1986). For discussion, see Amy Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor* (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 202–7; and Edward Courtney, *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* (London: Athlone, 1980), 252–347.

2. Dieter Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1986), 96–117.

3. For a collection of essays on the subject of religious propaganda in antiquity, see Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, ed., *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame, Ind., and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976). For an important study of the apostle Paul within Hellenistic Judaism working from the premise that many Hellenistic Jewish authors, like their pagan contemporaries, were driven by a profound yearning for univocity, see Daniel Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1994).

4. Other notable scholars who hold the view of a missionary Judaism include: Adolf von Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* (1904–1905; reprint, New York: Books for Libraries, 1972); Karl Axenfeld, "Die jüdische Propaganda als Vorläuferin und Wegbereiterin der urchristlichen Mission," in *Missionswissenschaftliche Studien: Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag des Herrn Prof. D. Dr. Gustav Warneck*, ed. Karl Axenfeld et al. (Berlin: Warneck, 1904), 1–80;

George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927–1940); Bernard J. Bamberger, *Proselytism in the Talmudic Period* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Hebrew Union College, 1939); W. G. Braude, *Jewish Proselytizing in the First Five Centuries of the Common Era: The Age of the Tannaim and Amoraim* (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1940); Peter Dalbert, *Die Theologie der hellenistisch-jüdischen Missionsliteratur unter Ausschluss von Philo und Josephus* (Hamburg: Reich, 1954); Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations Between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (135–425)*, Littman Library of Jewish Civilization (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993). Cf. Steve Mason, "The *Contra Apionem* in Social and Literary Context: An Invitation to Judean Philosophy," in *Josephus' Contra Apionem: Studies in Character and Context with a Latin Concordance to the Portion Missing in Greek*, ed. L. H. Feldman and J. R. Levison, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 34 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 187–228.

5. Scot McKnight, *A Light Among the Gentiles: Jewish Missionary Activity in the Second Temple Period* (Minneapolis, Mn.: Fortress, 1991). Edouard Will and Claude Orrieux, *"Prosélytisme Juif"? Histoire d'une erreur* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1992). Martin Goodman, *Mission and Conversion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). See also his earlier article, "Jewish Proselytizing in the First Century," in *The Jews Among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*, ed. Judith Lieu, John A. North, and Tessa Rajak (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 53–78.

6. Included among Alf Thomas Kraabel's many articles addressing this issue are: "The Roman Diaspora: Six Questionable Assumptions," *JJS* 33 (1982): 445–64; "Synagoga Caeca: Systematic Distortion in Gentile Interpretations of Evidence for Judaism in the Early Christian Period," in *"To See Ourselves as Others See Us": Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity*, ed. Jacob Neusner and E. S. Frerichs (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985), 219–46; and "Immigrants, Exiles, Expatriates, and Missionaries," in *Religious Propaganda and Missionary Competition in the New Testament World: Essays Honoring Dieter Georgi*, ed. Lukas Bormann, Kelly Del Tredici, and Angela Standhartinger (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1994), 71–89. In addition to positing a nonmissionary Judaism in several of his articles on conversion, Shaye J. D. Cohen addresses the missionary question directly in "Adolf Harnack's 'The Mission and Expansion of Judaism': Christianity Succeeds Where Judaism Fails," in *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester*, ed. Birger Pearson (Minneapolis, Mn.: Fortress, 1991), 163–69; and "Was Judaism in Antiquity a Missionary Religion?" in *Jewish Assimilation, Acculturation and Accommodation*, ed. Menachem Mor, Studies in Jewish Civilization 2 (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1992), 14–23.

7. Cohen, "Adolf Harnack," 166.

8. See, for example, Shaye J. D. Cohen, "The Origins of the Matrilineal Principle in Rabbinic Law," *Association for Jewish Studies Review* 10, no. 1 (1985): 19–53; idem, "Respect for Judaism by Gentiles According to Josephus," *HTR* 80, no. 4 (1987): 409–30; and idem, "Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew," *HTR* 82, no. 1 (1989): 13–33. These articles are now revised and expanded in a larger work on the question of Jewishness in antiquity. See Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties*. Hellenistic Culture and Society 31 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1999).

9. See Cohen, "Adolf Harnack"; and Will and Orrieux, 211–89. I take issue, however, with Cohen's conclusion that because Harnack's conceptualization of Jews as missionary was laden with "pro-Christian bias," subsequent work built on the premise that Hellenistic Jews proselytized has no validity. The problem of pro-Christian theological biases of those working with sources on early Judaism is hydra-headed. Scholars with such biases have also conceptualized Judaism as nonmissionary (cf. the historical overview of the question by Will and Orrieux).

10. For Georgi's response to the new proponents of a nonmissionary Judaism, see, "The Early Church: Internal Jewish Migration or New Religion?" *HTR* 88, no. 1 (1995): 35–68, esp. 50–51.

11. For example, Otto Weinreich, "Gebet und Wunder," in *Genethliakon: Wilhelm Schmid zum siebzigstend Geburtstag*, edited by Friedrich Focke et al. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1929), 200–462; Moses Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Diffusion* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1959); Morton Smith, "Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretalogies," *JBL* 90 (1971): 174–98.

12. In arguing that not even Cynic and Epicurean philosophers were interested in proselytizing, Goodman isolates the practice of mission and conversion in Christianity from its Hellenistic milieu more radically than Arthur Darby Nock, who did see similarities between the missionary efforts of these philosophers and Jews and Christians (Arthur Darby Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1933], Chap. 11). Likewise, Kraabel speculates that mission was one of the "*nova*" of Christianity, having its genesis "somewhere in those very few years between Jesus and Paul" ("Immigrants, Exiles," 85).

13. In "Was Judaism a Missionary Religion," Cohen separates propaganda from apologetics and argues that Jews were only involved in the latter activity (17). Notice also the passive characterization of Judaism in his conclusion: Judaism was "*open to converts* and did nothing to raise obstacles in their path, but with a few notable exceptions it also *did little or nothing to solicit them*" (21, my emphasis). Will and Orrieux devote a whole chapter to arguing that the term "proselyte" is an intransitive-reflexive verb for one who enters a community and that there is no active term as its counterpart in antiquity (27–46). They argue that although there were proselytes in antiquity, proselytizers simply did not exist.

In arguing against a propagandistic function for Hellenistic Jewish literature, these scholars stand in line with Victor Tcherikover, "Jewish Apologetic Literature Reconsidered," *Eos* 48 (1956): 169–93; and the editors of Emil Schürer's *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (reprint, rev. and ed. Geza Vermes et al., 3 vols. in 4, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1973–1986).

14. Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*, esp. 2–19.

15. McKnight, 48.

16. Note the similarities between this description and Josephus's *Antiquities* 18.81–84, where a Jew is said to play the role of an "interpreter of the law of Moses and its wisdom" [*exēgeisthai sophian nomōn tōn Mōuseōs*] for a Roman woman of senatorial rank. This episode is discussed at length in Chapter 1.

17. Harnack, 217–39.

18. See, for example, Ludwig Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners Under the Early Empire*, 4 vols., trans. L. A. Magnus (London: Routledge, 1908–1913), 1:255; Karl Georg Kuhn and Hartmut Stegemann, "Proselyten," PWSup 9 (1962): 1248–84, esp. 1264.

19. Watershed works in the field of women in early Judaism and Christianity include Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983); Bernadette J. Brooten, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue*, Brown Judaic Series 36 (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1982); Ross Shepherd Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions Among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greco-Roman World* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

20. Of the three texts, the dating of Josephus's is most certain, since he speaks of concluding it during the thirteenth year of Domitian, 93–94 CE (*Ant.* 20.267). Juvenal's poems are dated to the first decades of the second century, during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. A reference to a comet and an earthquake in connection with Armenian and Parthian affairs (6.407) suggests a date near 115 CE for his sixth satire. I presume a date of at least 90 CE, and possibly as late as the early second century, for the composition of Acts. On this range of dates for Acts, see Hans Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1972), xxxiii; François Bovon, *L'Évangile selon Saint Luc 1–9*, Commentaire du Nouveau Testament 3a (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1991), 28; Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 2 vols. (New York and Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982), 2:310.

Juvenal's critique of the appeal of foreign religions to gullible women is in line with later second-century pagan critiques directed specifically at Christianity. See Margaret Y. MacDonald, *Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion: The Power of the Hysterical Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

21. For my thinking on rhetoric, I am largely indebted to the work of Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza. See especially "Text and Reality—Reality as Text: The Problem of a Feminist Historical and Social Reconstruction Based on Texts," *StTh* 43 (1989): 19–

34; *Revelation: Vision of a Just World* (Minneapolis, Mn.: Fortress, 1991); *But She Said: Feminist Practices of Biblical Interpretation* (Boston: Beacon, 1992); "The Rhetoricity of Historical Knowledge: Pauline Discourse and Its Contextualizations," in *Religious Propaganda and Missionary Competition in the New Testament World: Essays Honoring Dieter Georgi*, eds. Lukas Bormann, Kelly Del Tredici, and Angela Standhartinger (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1994), 443–69; *Rhetoric and Ethic: The Politics of Biblical Studies* (Minneapolis, Mn.: Fortress, 1999).

22. For example, as I shall note below in Chapter 2, Josephus's desire for good relations between Romans and Jews results in a narrative in the *Antiquities* in which such positive relations exist. The portrayal in Acts of Christian emissaries receiving the protection of Asiarchs and Roman governors is prompted by a similar motive.

23. See, for example, Elizabeth A. Castelli, "Romans," in *Searching the Scriptures: A Feminist Commentary*, ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza with the assistance of Ann Brock and Shelly Matthews (New York: Crossroad, 1994), 272–300, esp. 280–84.

24. Sandra R. Joshel, "Female Desire and the Discourse of Empire: Tacitus's Messalina," *Signs* 21, no. 1 (1995): 50–82, esp. 58–59. See her equally compelling interpretation of Livy's history of Rome, "The Body Female and the Body Politic: Livy's Lucretia and Verginia," in *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, ed. Amy Richlin (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 112–30.

25. Kate Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1996), 55, her emphasis.

26. Kate Cooper, "Apostles, Ascetic Women, and Questions of Audience: New Reflections on the Rhetoric of Gender in the Apocryphal Acts," *SBLSP* 31 (1992): 147–53, esp. 148, my emphasis.

27. See Kathleen Canning, "Feminist History After the Linguistic Turn: Historicizing Discourse and Experience," in *History and Theory: Feminist Research, Debates, Contestations*, ed. Barbara Laslett et al. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 416–52.

28. Schüssler Fiorenza uses the term "kyriocentric," from the Greek *kyrios*, "master, or lord," rather than "androcentric," in recognition that patriarchy is not a dualistic system of gender oppression, but rather a complex interlocking pyramid of gender and status hierarchies, in which the *kyrios*, the lord of the house, rules.

29. Schüssler Fiorenza, "Rhetoricity of Historical Knowledge," 462. For theoretical discussion of reconstructing women's history from androcentric sources by scholars in the classics, see Barbara K. Gold, " 'But Ariadne Was Never There in the First Place': Finding the Female in Roman Poetry," in *Feminist Theory and the Classics*, ed. Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz and Amy Richlin, Thinking Gender Series (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 75–101; and Amy Richlin, "The Ethnographer's Dilemma and the Dream of a Lost Golden Age," in *Feminist Theory and the Classics*, Thinking Gender Series, ed. Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz and Amy Richlin (New York

and London: Routledge, 1992), 272–303; and Mary-Kay Gamel et al., discussion of "Decentering the Text: The Case of Ovid," by Phyllis Culham, *Helios* n.s. 17, no. 2 (1990): 171–262.

30. Gold, "Finding the Female," 84.

31. For discussion of the biblical figure of the "Strange Woman" and the hermeneutical stance of reading "as a strange woman," see Claudia V. Camp, "Feminist Theological Hermeneutics: Canon and Christian Identity," in *Searching the Scriptures: A Feminist Introduction*, ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza with the assistance of Shelly Matthews (New York: Crossroad, 1993), 154–71, esp. 166–69.

CHAPTER 1

1. For an overview of the works of Josephus, see Harold W. Attridge, "Josephus and His Works," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. Michael E. Stone (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1984), 185–232. On Epaphroditus, see Tessa Rajak, *Josephus: The Historian and His Society* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1984), 223–24.

2. For a recent statement of this apologetic intent, see Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephus, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography*, Novum Testamentum Supplements 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 226–310, esp. 308–10. Cf. also Shaye J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 232–42.

3. Steve Mason, " 'Should Any Wish to Enquire Further' (*Ant.* 1.25): The Aim and Audience of Josephus's *Judean Antiquities/Life*," in *Understanding Josephus: Seven Perspectives*, ed. Steve Mason, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 32 (Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 64–103; idem, "Introduction to the *Judean Antiquities*," in *Judean Antiquities 1–4*, translation and commentary by Louis H. Feldman (Leiden: Brill, 2000), xii–xxxv., vol. 3 of *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, ed. Steve Mason.

4. Mason, "Introduction to the *Judean Antiquities*," xxii.

5. See, for example, Friedländer, 1:255; Kuhn and Stegemann, cols. 1263–64; Harry J. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome*, updated ed. (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1995), 250–56; Brooten, *Women Leaders*, 144–47.

6. A detailing of the discrepancies in the accounts of these four authors, as well as summary of much of the secondary literature on the subject, is supplied in Margaret H. Williams, "The Expulsion of the Jews from Rome in A.D. 19," *Latomus* 48 (1989): 765–84.

7. The translation of the phrase *libertini generis* is widely disputed, and much is at stake in its translation for the "Jews as missionaries" debate. Those who read the phrase as signifying four thousand freedmen in Rome in 19 CE are able to posit a phenomenal number of Jewish proselytes in Rome at this date. See Menachem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Academy of Sciences

and Humanities, 1974–1984), 2:71. Some who view this number as implausible (including the translator for the Loeb Classical Library) have followed Elmer Truesdell Merrill's suggestion that the phrase be translated "freedmen and their descendents" (see his "The Expulsion of Jews from Rome Under Tiberius," *CP* 14 [1919]: 365–72). Williams argues that Tacitus's prejudice against Jewish proselytes has caused him to inflate this number ("Expulsion of Jews," 771–72).

8. E. Mary Smallwood presents the fullest case for missionary activity as the source of the expulsion. See "Some Notes on the Jews under Tiberius," *Latomus* 15 (1956): 314–29. See also Merrill; Georgi, *Opponents of Paul*, 92–96; and Stern, 2:68–73.

Scholars arguing against the paradigm of a missionizing Judaism have paid scant attention to these four texts, neglecting especially Josephus's account in the *Antiquities*. Goodman and Cohen will not consider *Antiquities* 18 as an indication of Jewish proselytizing because Josephus is not explicit in making such a link. Goodman mistakenly conflates the accounts of Josephus and Tacitus (Cohen, "Was Judaism a Missionary Religion?" 22, n. 14; Goodman, "Jewish Proselytizing," 60; idem, *Mission and Conversion*, 68). McKnight devotes a mere two pages of his monograph to all sources indicating Jewish proselytizing in Rome, including *Antiquities* 18 (73–74). In their discussion of the expulsion of Jews from Rome, Will and Orrieux do not mention Josephus's account (106–10).

9. Williams, "Expulsion of Jews," 770.

10. Those who narrowly define missionary activity argue that Romans could take up Jewish and Isis cultic practices without having been proselytized by Jews and Isis worshippers. As I have noted earlier, my concern is not whether representatives of Isis and Jewish cults, or Romans themselves, initiated this exchange, but rather that the exchange takes place.

11. Two additional literary sources support the suggestion that Jews in Rome were sanctioned for missionary activity under Tiberius: (1) a letter of Seneca notes that because foreign rites were suspect during the reign of Tiberius, he was careful to disassociate himself from them (*Epistulae morales* 108.22). Although Seneca makes no explicit reference to Isis or Jewish missionary practices here, he does indicate a general climate of hostility against those who adopted foreign rites. (2) Valerius Maximus, who recounts an expulsion of Jews from Rome in 139 BCE because of missionary activity (*Fact. et dict.* 1.3.3), is a contemporary of Tiberius. I suggest that Valerius's awareness of a crackdown on Jewish proselytizing activity in his lifetime has influenced his construction of historical narrative.

12. Although Martin Goodman does not read the accounts of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Josephus as I do, he does follow the same principle when he suggests that Dio Cassius identifies the expulsion of 19 CE with Jewish proselytizing activity because he is aware of Jewish proselytizing in his own day, the third century CE (Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*, 83, 144).

By the "turn of the first century CE" I mean the period that encompasses the reigns of Domitian (81–96 CE), Nerva (96–98), Trajan (98–117), and the early years of Hadrian, who reigned from 118–138. Josephus completed the *Antiquities* during the thirteenth year of Domitian, 93–94 CE. Quintillian's *Institutio oratoria* was also written under Domitian. The epigrams of Martial span the reigns of Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan. The epigrams I refer to below are generally dated as follows: Book 4 (89 CE); Book 7 (92 CE); Book 11 (96 CE, three months after Domitian's death); and Book 12 (shortly after 100 CE). Tacitus wrote the *Historiae* under Trajan and the *Annales* between 115 and 120 CE. Juvenal's *Satires* were written within the reigns of Trajan and the early years of Hadrian (c. 110–130). Suetonius's *De vita Caesarum* was published in 120 CE under Hadrian.

13. For a discussion of the distinct nature of late-first-century and early-second-century anti-Jewish polemic, see Margaret H. Williams, "Domitian, the Jews and the 'Judaizers,'" *Historia* 39 (1990): 196–211, esp. 205–6; Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Respect for Judaism by Gentiles According to Josephus," *HTR* 80, no. 4 (1987): 409–30, esp. 428–29; John G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes Toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 58–59. See Gager, 55–66, for the argument that anti-Jewish hostility among conservative Romans is closely correlated with successful Jewish proselytizing among the upper classes in Rome.

14. John G. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 16 (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1972), 80–82. On the theory that Quintillian's slander can be explained as an attempt to distance himself from his patron Flavius Clemens, who was convicted of Judaizing, see M. L. Clarke, "Quintillian: A Biographical Sketch," *Greece and Rome* 14 (1967): 24–37, esp. 35.

15. Cf. Martial *Epigr.* 4.4, on the "stench" of fasting Jewish women; 7.30 and 7.55 on the availability of circumcised Judeans as objects of sexual pleasure; 7.35 and 7.82 on the concealment of circumcision; 7.55 on subjugated Judea; 11.94 for the accusation that a Jewish poet has sodomized Martial's own beloved boy; 12.57 on the young Jew taught to beg by his mother.

16. For a recent statement of this view, see Williams, "Domitian, the Jews and the 'Judaizers.'" See also E. Mary Smallwood, "Domitian's Attitude Toward Jews and Judaism," *CP* 51 (1956): 1–13; and idem, *The Jews Under Roman Rule From Pompey to Diocletian* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 382–83.

17. See Nerva's FISCI IUDAICI CALUMNIA SUBLATA coins in Harold Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 10 vols. (London: Spink, 1923–1994), 2:227–28, nos. 58, 72, 82; and Harold Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, 8 vols. (London: The British Museum, 1966), 3:15–19, nos. 88, 98, 105–6, pls. 4.7, 5.7; and Dio *Hist.* 68.1.1–2.

18. For Talmudic and Midrashic sources, see Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 382–84. For Christian tradition, see Eusebius *Eccl. Hist.* 3.19–20, 4.26.9.

19. Leonard A. Thompson, *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 95–115, 133–37, esp. 135.

20. Domitian's relations with Jews in the provinces are not of concern here. For these, see Thompson, 133–45.

21. For the *Acta Pro Judaeis*, see *Ant.* 16.160–78, 19.281–85, 19.287–91, 19.303–11; and discussion in Horst R. Moehring, "The *Acta Pro Judaeis* in the *Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus," in *Christianity, Judaism and other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, ed. Jacob Neusner, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 124–58; Tessa Rajak, "Was There a Roman Charter for the Jews?" *JRS* 74 (1984): 107–23.

22. Shirley Jackson Case, "Josephus' Anticipation of a Domitianic Persecution," *JBL* 44 (1925): 10–20. Cf. passages concerning Gaius from the *Antiquities* 18.257–308, 19.1–211 with the abbreviated version in *J.W.* 2.184–203.

23. Williams, "Domitian, the Jews and the 'Judaizers,'" 205–6. Cf. Sterling, 299–301.

24. On Vespasian's legendary encounter with Serapis, see Tacitus *Hist.* 4.81; Suetonius *Vesp.* 7.2; Philostratus *Life of Apollonius* 5.27. On Titus's role in the consecration of an Apis bull in Egypt, see Suetonius *Tit.* 1.5.3. Domitian is said to have saved himself in the civil war of 69 CE by disguising himself as a worshipper of Isis (cf. Tacitus *Hist.* 3.74; Suetonius *Dom.* 1.2). That this story conforms to a standard trope is suggested by Valerius Maximus *Fact. et dict.* 7.3.8, which records the same sort of escape by one aedile M. Volusius.

25. For a description of this obelisk, see Michel Malaise, *Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en italie*, Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 203–7, pls. 20–21.

26. Franz Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (New York: Dover, 1956), 85–86.

27. Mattingly and Sydenham, 2:70.

28. Michel Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 415–16; idem, *Inventaire préliminaire*, 190–91, pl. 16.

29. For another reading, from a different perspective, which also recognizes Josephus's attempts at comparison here, see Horst R. Moehring, "The Persecution of the Jews and the Adherents of the Isis Cult at Rome A.D. 19," *NovT* 3 (1959): 293–304.

30. In fact the husband of each bears the same name, Saturninus. Although an attempt to account for this detail historically has been made (see Robert Samuel Rogers, "Fulvia Paulina C. Sentii Saturnini," *AJP* 53 [1932]: 252–56), it is best to view this phenomenon as further support for understanding these women and their husband(s) as types, not as historical persons.

31. In light of Josephus's care to characterize the leading missionary imposter in

these terms, Williams's suggestion that he serves as a kind of folk hero in the tale is implausible (Williams, "Expulsion of Jews," 777).

32. Otto Weinreich, *Der Trug des Nektanebos: Wandlungen eines Novellenstoffs* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1911), 1–48. For more on the Nektanebos episode in the *Alexander Romance*, see Reinhold Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans* (Munich: Beck, 1954), 58, 74–75; and Alan B. Lloyd, "Nationalistic Propaganda in Ptolemaic Egypt," *Historia* 31 (1982): 46–50.

33. Their initial encounter:

> After his arrival in Macedonia, Nektanebos became well known to everyone. His calculations were of such accuracy that even the queen, Olympias, heard of him and came to him by night while her husband Philip was away at war. And she learned from him what she had been seeking, and left. A few days later, she sent for him and told him to come to her. When he saw how beautiful she was, Nektanebos was filled with desire for her loveliness, and reaching out his hand, said, "Greetings, Queen of the Macedonians!"
>
> "Greetings to you also, most excellent prophet!" she replied. "Come here and sit down." She continued: "You are the Egyptian teacher whose complete reliability has been established by those who have tried you. Even I have been convinced by you. By what method can you command true predictions?" (From the translation of the text of Pseudo-Callisthenes, *The Greek Alexander Romance* by Ken Dowden in *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, ed. B. P. Reardon [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989], 656–57)

34. See the analysis in Joshel, "Body Female and Body Politic."

35. On asceticism in the Apocryphal Acts as a means of asserting Christian moral superiority, see Cooper, *Virgin and Bride*, esp. 45–67.

In the third century CE representations of women's conversion in terms of sexual allegiance are not limited to Christian literature. Diogenes Laertius represents the "conversion" of the female Hipparchia to Cynic philosophy in terms of her love for the Cynic teacher Crates (6.96–98). In addition to adopting his teachings, she also engages in sexual intercourse with him.

36. Ovid *Amores* 2.2.25–26; *Ars amatoria* 1.77–78, 3.393, 3.635–37.

37. See also Martial *Epigr.* 11.47.3–4, 2.14.7–8; Juvenal *Sat.* 6.535–38, 9.22–25. For convincing rejoinders to the long-held view, based on passages from antiquity cited here, that Isis was a cult of the "demi-monde," see Ilse Becher, "Der Isiskult in Rom—ein kult der Halbwelt?" *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 96 (1970): 81–90; and Sharon Kelly Heyob, *The Cult of Isis Among Women in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 111–27.

38. See Chapter 4 below for an analysis of writers who defend the women who practice "foreign" religion as chaste. For further discussion of the intertwining of discourse on the well-being of the state and household in terms of religious practice and women's submission, see Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, Chap. 7.

39. For the entire account, see Livy *Hist.* 39.8–18. Cf. Cicero, who makes reference

to the Bacchanalia as justification for his own legislation concerning women's proper religious practice (*Leg.* 2.35–37).

For a discussion of the complexities involved in using Livy's account as a source for the reconstruction of women's Dionysian devotion, see Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings*, 42–46. For the influence of new comedy on Livy's account, see Adele Scafuro, "Livy's Comic Narrative of the Bacchanalia," *Helios* 16, no. 2 (1989): 119–41.

40. John Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 90–100. See also the discussion of Catherine Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 42–47.

41. Edwards, 43.

42. On Tacitus's use of the *Acta Senatus* in these "end of the year" sections of the Annals, see Ronald Syme, *Tacitus*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958), 2:278, 296.

43. Williams, "Expulsion of Jews," 775.

44. The only scholar in this century to grant serious consideration to Tacitus's linking of the sanctions against female prostitution with the expulsion of Jews and Isis worshippers was W. A. Heidel in "Why Were the Jews Banished from Italy in 19 A.D.?" *AJP* 41 (1920): 38–48. However, his fanciful proposal that the Romans punished the Jews not because Fulvia was swindled, but because they assumed that the Jews had invited her to become a temple prostitute, led to the dismissal of his arguments in their entirety.

For more analysis of Tacitus's adultery accounts, see Amy Richlin, "Some Approaches to the Sources on Adultery at Rome," in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, ed. Helene P. Foley (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1981), 386–88.

45. On the significance of the Vestal's sexual status, see Ariadne Staples, *From Good Goddess to Vestal Virgins: Sex and Category in Roman Religion* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 131–56. Cf. the earlier work of Mary Beard, "The Sexual Status of the Vestal Virgins," *JRS* 70 (1980): 12–27; Judith P. Hallett, *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 83–89.

46. Cf. Pliny *Ep.* 6.31.4–6; Plutarch *Galba* 12; Cicero *Pro caelio*. 31, 36, 38, 49; Juvenal *Sat.* 6.76–81; Martial *Epigr.* 6.39; Petronius *Satyricon* 69.3, 75.11, 126.5–11. See the related discussion in Edwards, 48–53.

47. This abhorrence of religious practices that allow for class mixing is not limited to the time of Juvenal. John A. North suggests that the Roman senate's disquiet concerning the Bacchists in 186 BCE was caused in part by the unpredictable mixture of social classes that comprised the Bacchic groups (John A. North, "Religious Toleration in Republican Rome," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 205 [1979]: 94).

48. Note also that in the scene immediately preceding the orgy (6.306–13), Juvenal conjures up women of unequal status—a freedwoman and an aristocrat—who

transgress class boundaries to conspire in sacrilege before the altar of Chastity. On textual difficulties here, see Richlin, ed., Juvenal, *Satura VI*, 65–66.

49. Max Radin, *The Jews Among the Greeks and Romans* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Jewish Publication Society, 1915), 304–13.

50. For this typology in new comedy, see Peter P. Spranger, *Historische Untersuchungen zu den Sklavenfiguren des Plautus und Terenz*, Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 17 (Stuttgart: Steiner-Verlag, 1984), 16. On the slave as an extension of the master's self in the ideal novel, see Lawrence Wills, "The Depiction of Slavery in the Ancient Novel," *Semeia* 83 (1998): 113–32.

51. Likewise, the slaves of Plautus have no desire to profit financially from their trickery. On this point, see Erich Segal, *Roman Laughter* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 61–63.

52. This is a departure from new comedy, where punishments seldom fit crimes, and the skill of a slave escaping from a threatened punishment is a frequent source of humor. See Spranger, 47–51, 84–87.

53. Tiberius's handling of an adultery case with such leniency has long been recognized as a sign of the fictitious nature of the story. See Robert M. Grant, *The Sword and the Cross* (New York: Macmillan, 1955), 29.

54. For further texts and discussion, see Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 176–77; David Balch, *Let Wives Be Submissive: The Domestic Code in I Peter*, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 26 (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1981), 65–80. For a discussion of the texts of Cicero and Plutarch, see Chapter 4, 78–82.

55. For feminist analysis of Romans 16, see Bernadette J. Brooten, "Junia . . . Outstanding Among the Apostles (Romans 16:7)," in *Women Priests*, ed. Leonard S. Swidler and Arlene Swidler (New York: Paulist, 1977), 141–44; Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Missionaries, Apostles, Coworkers: Romans 16 and the Reconstruction of Women's Early Christian History," *Word and World* 6 (1986): 420–33; idem, *In Memory of Her*, 168–204; Castelli, 276–80.

For a recent discussion of the status of those greeted in Romans 16, see Stanley K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 74–82. Stowers argues that most are freedpersons and slaves but suggests that Prisca may be a Roman citizen.

I read Romans 16 as an address to the Roman church, and not, as some scholars have argued, a letter of recommendation to the church in Ephesos. For arguments supporting this reading, see Harry Y. Gamble Jr., *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1977); Kurt Aland, *Neutestamentlische Entwürfe* (Munich: Kaiser, 1979), 284–301; Wolf-Henning Ollrog, "Die Abfassungsverhältnisse von Röm 16," in *Kirche: Festschrift für Günther Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. D. Lührmann and G. Strecker (Tübingen: J. C. Mohr, 1980), 221–44.

56. Of course, as Ross Kraemer cautions, the existing epigraphical material has survived largely due to random chance (Ross Shepherd Kraemer, "Non-Literary

Evidence for Jewish Women in Rome and Egypt" in *Rescuing Creusa: New Methodological Approaches to Women in Antiquity = Helios* 13, no. 2 [1986]: 85–101). Because it is extremely fragmentary, it is difficult to evaluate how representative it is of religious life in Rome. However, given that women tend to be underrepresented in epigraphic sources, due to factors such as women's greater illiteracy and greater lack of material resources, the epigraphic sources indicating the presence of women should receive a privileged place in historical reconstructions.

57. Kraemer, "Non-Literary Evidence," 88.

58. Leon, 253–56. The inscriptions he identifies as signifying women proselytes are *CII* 523, *CII* 462, *CII* 21, *CII* 222, and *CII* 256. See Ross Kraemer's discussion of the problems of *CII* 21 in "On the Meaning of the Term 'Jew' in Greco-Roman Inscriptions," *HTR* 82, no. 1 (1989): 38–42. For further discussion of the epitaph of Beturia Paulla, see Brooten, *Women Leaders*, 58–59.

59. Leon, 254–55. For Kraemer's comments on status, see "Non-Literary Evidence," 88.

60. Heyob, 81–110. This is the thrust of her entire chapter on the participation of women in the cult.

61. See, for example, Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 25; Alan Wardman, *Religion and Statecraft Among the Romans* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 120.

62. A point also made by Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings*, 75–76.

63. For inscription and commentary, see Franz Cumont, "La grande inscription bacchique du metropolitan museum," *AJA* 37 (1933): 232–63, and pls. 27–29.

64. Albert Henrichs, "Changing Dionysiac Identities," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, ed. Ben F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1982), 3:137–60, esp. 154–55.

65. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 90. See also Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings*, 60, for her argument that the rites of Cybele, Dionysos, and Isis provided a greater measure of autonomy for women than traditional religions of the Roman state. For arguments that Judaism and early Christianity provided avenues of advancement for the "upwardly mobile," see Meeks, 55–63; and Stowers, 74–82.

I concur with this assessment, with the caveat that the appeal of "foreign" religions among elite Roman women must be nuanced by a consideration of class. Domitian's Egypto-philia, expressed in his advertised "love affair" with Isis, is best read as a by-product of colonialism, rather than as an indication of any sympathy for the Egyptian people. The fascination of conquerors for the cultural practices of the conquered was likely shared by elite Roman men and women alike.

66. Roman writers acknowledge that female Isis devotees make ascetic vows, but never without questioning their utility or authenticity. See, for example, Propertius *Eleg.* 2.33.1–4 [Goold, LCL]: "Once more those dismal rites have returned to plague

us: for ten nights Cynthia has sacrificed. And a curse upon the rites which the daughter of Inachus has sent from the warm Nile to the matrons of Italy!" Cf. Tibullus 1.3.23, 25–26; and Ovid *Amores* 3.9.33–35.

On insinuations that such vows are inauthentic, see Propertius *Eleg.* 4.5.33–34 and Ovid *Amores* 1.8.73–74, where chastity vows in connection with the Isis cult are viewed as a means of sexual manipulation. Juvenal suggests that a woman who takes a vow of chastity to Isis inevitably needs absolution for breaking it (*Sat.* 6.535–37).

67. On asceticism as a means of autonomy and religious authority for women in antiquity, see Antionette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction Through Paul's Rhetoric* (Minneapolis, Mn.: Fortress, 1990), esp. 90–97; Cooper, *Virgin and Bride*, 73–87; Rosemary Radford Ruether, "Misogynism and Virginal Feminism in the Fathers of the Church," in idem, ed., *Religion and Sexism: Images of Women in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), 150–83; Elizabeth A. Clark, "Ascetic Renunciation and Feminine Advancement: A Paradox of Late Ancient Christianity," *Anglican Theological Review* 63 (1981): 240–57.

68. See my analysis of Acts 16 below in Chapter 4, 86–95, for the argument that Luke makes a similar move to suppress the role of women from the lower classes in early Christianity through his juxtaposition of the story of Lydia and that of the mantic slave girl.

CHAPTER 2

1. Josephus refers to Poppaea both in the *Antiquities* and the *Life* as the *gynē* of Nero. Roman sources indicate that she was first Nero's consort (58 CE), and then his wife (62 CE).

2. In this chapter I demonstrate the pattern highlighting the heroic deeds of Gentile noblewomen in the narrative, without pressing the question of whether Josephus himself, or his sources, are responsible for any particular portrait. Later I will suggest that if Josephus's sources feature the Gentile noblewoman as benefactor prior to his redaction of them, then this may be a common motif in Jewish literature, rather than a Josephan idiosyncrasy. See Chapter 3, 61–62.

3. See, for example, Suzanne Dixon, "A Family Business: Women's Role in Patronage and Politics at Rome 80–44 B.C.," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 34 (1983): 91–112, esp. 101–9.

4. See Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977) on gifts, 139–44, and on inheritances and legacies, 153–58.

5. Cf. Philo *Against Flaccus* and *On the Embassy to Gaius*; Dio *Hist.* 59.8.2, 59.24.1, 60.8.2–3; *Acts of Isidorus*; Yaakov Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 2 vols. (Dix Hills, N.Y.: Amphora Books, 1982), 2:51–54, pl. 9.

6. Daniel R. Schwartz assigns the Antonia passages in the *Antiquities* to a source

that he designates as *Vita Agrippa* and categorizes as a Jewish novel. *Agrippa I: The Last King of Judaea* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1990), 1–37.

7. Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, 34. For a study of other Hellenistic adaptations of the Joseph motif, see Lawrence M. Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King: Ancient Jewish Court Legends*, Harvard Dissertations in Religion 26 (Minneapolis, Mn.: Fortress, 1990).

8. For the entire incident, see *Ant.* 20.118–36. The parallel account in *J.W.* 2.232–46 is similar on several points, but it does not suggest the participation of Agrippina in the matter.

9. For example, Suetonius *Claud.* 25.5 [Rolfe, LCL]: "But these and other acts, and in fact almost the whole conduct of his reign, were dictated not so much by his own judgment as that of his wives and freedmen, since he nearly always acted in accordance with their interests and desires." Cf. Suetonius *Claud.* 29.1; Tacitus *Ann.* 12.1.1; Dio *Hist.* 60.2.4–5.

E. Mary Smallwood notes that Josephus "paints a typical literary picture of Claudius as the tool of his wives and freedmen," but she conflates the accounts in the *Antiquities* and the *Jewish War* (see Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 267–68).

10. *J.W.* 2.245 [Thackeray, LCL]: "At Rome Ceasar gave his hearing to Cumanus and the Samaritans in the presence of Agrippa, who made a spirited defense on behalf of the Jews, while Cumanus on his side was supported by many eminent persons. The emperor condemned the Samaritans, ordered three of their most prominent men to be executed, and banished Cumanus."

11. For discussions of the anti-Agrippa II tendency of *Antiquities* 20, see Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, 177–78; and Daniel R. Schwartz, "KATA TOYTON TON KAIPON: Josephus' Source on Agrippa II," *JQR* 72, no. 4 (1982): 241–68, esp. 241–42.

12. Schwartz suggests that Josephus relies on a source written by a Jerusalemite priest for *Antiquities* 20.189–96 ("KATA TOYTON TON KAIPON," 241–68).

13. On this particular translation of θεοσεβής, see discussion below.

14. Friedländer, 1:257.

15. E. Mary Smallwood, "The Alleged Jewish Tendencies of Poppaea Sabina," *JTS* n.s., no. 10 (1959): 329–35, esp. 333. Smallwood reaches this conclusion by accepting at face value the testimony of Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dio on Poppaea's hedonism.

16. Margaret H. Williams, "θεοσεβὴς γὰρ ἦν—The Jewish Tendencies of Poppaea Sabina," *JTS* n.s., no. 39 (1988): 97–111, esp. 106–8.

17. Richard A. Horsley, "High Priests and the Politics of Roman Palestine: A Contextual Analysis of the Evidence of Josephus," *JSJ* 17, no. 1 (1986): 23–55, esp. 33. As examples of this tendency, he cites the passage concerning the High Priest Joazar (*Ant.* 17.206–8) and John the Baptist (*Ant.* 18.116–19). For Josephus's spiritualization of the political aspects of John the Baptist's ministry, see also John Dominic Crossan, *Jesus: A Revolutionary Biography* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1994), 33–34.

18. That Josephus's rhetoric is effective, even for modern readers, is clear from

Williams's conclusions; she is content to isolate Poppaea's motives as stemming from personal piety, arguing: "For Josephus, her intervention on the Jews' behalf was directly attributable to her reverence for their God." Citing Poppaea's benefaction described in the *Life* 13–16, she continues, "This Jewish dimension to her 'θεοσέβεια' would also account for her other intervention on the Jews' behalf that [Josephus] records" (Williams, "θεοσεβὴς γὰρ ἦν," 107). For a discussion of events described in the *Life* 13–16, see below.

19. Reading Josephus's highlighting of Poppaea's piety as a rhetorical cover for the political implications of her actions calls into question the argument that although in the *Jewish War* Josephus understands Judaism as a national and political entity, in *Antiquities* he understands it more as a religion (see discussion of this distinction in Cohen, "Respect for Judaism," 427, n. 53). Josephus may in fact describe Judaism primarily in religious terms in this later work, but if one reads his descriptions as rhetorical arguments, rather than mirror reflections of his knowledge of the actual workings of Judaism, one must conclude that Josephus knows more about the political implications of having sympathy for Judaism than he readily admits.

20. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, 61.

21. See, for example, Cohen, "Respect for Judaism," 424–25; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Conversion of the Royal House of Adiabene in Josephus and Rabbinic Sources," in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, ed. Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 293–312. Mason, "Should Any Wish to Enquire Further," 90–95.

22. Artapanus names the Pharaoh's daughter Merris (Eusebius *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.27.1–16). On Thermuthis as the traditional name for this woman, see Tessa Rajak, "Moses in Ethiopia: Legend and Literature," *JJS* 29 (1978): 111–22, esp. 119.

23. *Exod Rab.* 1.26; *Deut Rab.* 11.10; *Yashar Exod* 131b–32b.

24. In the rabbinic tradition it is the angel Gabriel, not the Pharaoh's daughter, who intercedes to save him from death. For further discussion of this passage, see Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," *JQR* 82, nos. 3–4 (1992): 285–328, esp. 305–6.

25. A reference to Moses' brush with death in infancy is referred to above.

26. Martin Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* (1938; reprint, New York and London: Garland, 1987), 97–102; cf. also Mielentz, "Tarpeius," PW n.s., no. 4 (1932): 2330–43, esp. 2337–38.

27. Numbers 12:1 (LXX), "And Mariam and Aaron spoke against Moses, because of the Ethiopian wife whom Moses took; for he had taken an Ethiopian wife."

28. Ezekiel the Tragedian solves the problem of Numbers 12:1 by making Midian one and the same place with Ethiopia (*Exodus* 60, trans. and ed. R. G. Robertson, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James Charlesworth, 2 vols. [New York:

Doubleday, 1983–1985], 2:807–19); in Artapanus, the Ethiopian wife disappears altogether. See Rajak, "Moses in Ethiopia," 118; and Braun, 97–98.

29. Philo follows the tradition that the daughters have slighted Moses and dishonored their father. Cf. *On the Life of Moses* 1.58 [Colson, LCL]:

> The girls went home in high glee, and told the story of the unexpected event to their father, who thence conceived a strong desire to see the stranger, which he showed by censuring them for their ingratitude. "What possessed you," he said, "to let him depart? . . . Did you ever have to charge me with unsociable ways? Do you not expect that you may again fall in with those who would wrong you? Those who forget kindness are sure to lack defenders. Still, your error is not yet past cure . . ."

30. Such is the case with Antonia, Agrippina, Poppaea, Thermuthis, and Tharbis.

31. The glaring exception to this pattern is, of course, the story of Fulvia, whose willingness to offer up benefactions has disastrous consequences for the Jews.

32. For his pornographic depiction of Messalina, see Juvenal *Sat.* 6.114–35. For some allegations of her adulterous affairs, see Tacitus *Ann.* 11.12, 11.31.2, 11.36, 13.11.2.

33. Plutarch's praise of Antonia in *Anton.* 87.3 is representative of her reputation. On her image in art, see Katherine Patricia Erhart, "A Portrait of Antonia Minor in the Fogg Art Museum and Its Iconographical Tradition," *AJA* 82 (1978): 193–212.

34. Due, no doubt, to the sensational character of the purported means of the crime—poisoned mushrooms. Cf. Suetonius *Claud.* 44.2–6; Juvenal *Sat.* 5.147, 6.620–21; Tacitus *Ann.* 12.66–67; Pliny *Natural History* 22.92.

35. Cf. also his reference to the death of Claudius in *Ant.* 20.148, "It was reported by some [*logos ēn para tinōn*] that he had been poisoned by his wife Agrippina."

36. For example, *J.W.* 1.243, 1.359; and *Ant.* 15.93. On the function of Cleopatra in Augustan propaganda, see Lucy Hughes-Hallett, *Cleopatra: Histories, Dreams and Distortions* (New York: Harper and Row, 1990), 36–69. Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro, Jerome Lectures 16 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 57–60.

37. Betsy Halpern Amaru, "Portraits of Biblical Women in Josephus' *Antiquities*," *JJS* 39, no. 2 (1988): 143–70.

38. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," 299–300.

39. Tal Ilan has argued that the portraits of domineering Hasmonian and Herodian women are the literary creations of Josephus's source, Nicolaus of Damascus, and that Josephus himself, when working without sources, has little to say about women. See "Josephus and Nicolaus on Women," in *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflection: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hubert Cancik, Herman Lichtenberger, and Peter Schäfer, 3 vols. (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1996), 1:221–62.

40. Richard P. Saller, *Personal Patronage Under the Early Empire* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1.

41. In this sense, they function like the Asiarchs in Acts, prominent public offi-

cials who do not convert to Christianity, but who nevertheless befriend the Apostle Paul and protect him at a time when his security is jeopardized (Acts 19:31).

42. H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892–1916), 8403. For English translation, see Mary R. Lefkowitz and Maureen B. Fant, eds., *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook in Translation*, 2d ed. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 16, n. 39.

43. With David S. Wiesen, I read these cliches as ironic, rather than as evidence of Juvenal's moral indignation (David S. Wiesen, "The Verbal Basis of Juvenal's Satiric Vision," *ANRW* 2, no. 33.1 [1989]: 708–33).

44. Dixon, 91; Susan Fischler, "The Public Position of Women in the Imperial Household in the Julio-Claudian Period" (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1989), 7–30; Hallett, 29–30; Tom Hillard, "On the Stage, Behind the Curtain," in *Stereotypes of Women in Power: Historical Perspectives and Revisionist Views*, ed. Barbara Garlick, Suzanne Dixon, and Pauline Allen, Contributions to Women's Studies 125 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), 37–63; Riet van Bremen, "Women and Wealth," in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. Averil Cameron and Amelie Kuhrt (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1985), 223–42; idem, *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1996). Mary Taliaferro Boatwright, "Plancia Magna of Perge: Women's Roles and Status in Roman Asia Minor," in *Women's History and Ancient History*, ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 249–72.

45. Fischler, "Public Position of Women"; and Susan Fischler, "Social Stereotypes and Historical Analysis: The Case of Imperial Women at Rome," in *Women in Ancient Societies: An Illusion of the Night*, ed. Léonie J. Archer, Susan Fischler, and Maria Wyke (London: Macmillan, 1994), 115–33; Tom Hillard, "Republican Politics, Women, and the Evidence," *Helios* 16, no. 2 (1989): 165–82.

46. Hillard, "Republican Politics," 176.

47. Fischler, "Social Stereotypes," 122.

48. This seems also to be the case in the *Acts of Isidorus*, where the women of the court are said to be in attendance when Claudius hears the case of Isidorus. See *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs: Acta Alexandrinorum*, ed. Herbert A. Musurillo (Oxford: Clarendon, 1954), 18–27, 117–40.

49. Kate Cooper, "Insinuations of Womanly Influence: An Aspect of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy," *JRS* 82 (1992): 150–64. See now the expansion of this argument in idem, *Virgin and Bride*.

50. Cooper, "Womanly Influence," 153.

51. I do not include here the *Acts of Hermaiscus*, which portrays Plotina as interceding before Trajan on behalf of the Jews. On this text, see Chapter 3, 65–66.

52. Meshorer, 2:51–54, 2:247, pl. 9. Drusilla, Gaius's favorite sister, is depicted standing on the reverse of this coin. The only other member of the imperial house-

hold appearing on the obverse of Agrippa I's coinage is Gaius. Meshorer identifies the figure depicted on the reverse of this coin as Germanicus (Meshorer, 2:52–54, pl. 9).

53. Joyce Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1982), 104.

54. On Livia's unprecedented public and political role, see Nicholas Purcell, "Livia and the Womanhood of Rome," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s., no. 32 (1986): 75–105. This article is especially noteworthy for his conclusion that in many important ways Livia's "activity and status are public and political in the full male sense to which we are used in the Roman world" (96). For more on the roles of imperial women who succeeded Livia, see also Mary Taliaferro Boatwright, "Imperial Women of the Early Second Century A.C.," *AJP* 112 (1991): 513–40; Fischler, "Public Position of Women."

55. H. Idris Bell, ed., *Jews and Christians in Egypt: The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), 1–37. For more on the tenuous nature of Jewish privilege under Roman rule due to the insecurity of patron-client relations, see Rajak, "Was There a Roman Charter," 107–23.

56. Lines 88–100 of the edict, from Bell, 25.

CHAPTER 3

1. On Luke's preface, see H. J. Cadbury "Commentary on the Preface of Luke," in *The Beginnings of Christianity Part 1: The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, 5 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1919–1933), 2:489–510. On the range of meaning for *asphaleia*, see LSJ, 266; J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930; reprint, Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1997), 88; and Robert Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 126 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 27, n. 54.

2. For discussion of the apologetic thrust of Acts, see Koester, *Introduction*, 2:319–23; Eckhard Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller: Studien zur Apostelgeschichte*, Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 16–27; Hans Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, trans. Geoffrey Boswell (New York: Harper, 1961; reprint, Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1982), 138–44; Wills, "The Depiction of the Jews in Acts," *JBL* 110, no. 4 (1991): 631–54; Philip Francis Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 57 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 205–17; Maddox, 91–99.

For scholars taking issue with this characterization of Acts, see, for example, Jacob Jervell, *Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis, Mn.: Augsburg, 1972); and Richard J. Cassidy, *Society and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1987), esp. 145–55.

3. On Paul's defense as a Pharisee, see Koester, *Introduction*, 2:323; on this explanation for why belief in the resurrection is shown to have Pharisaic roots, see Esler, 216–17.

4. On the question of Jewish legal status in diaspora communities, see S. Applebaum, "The Legal Status of the Jewish Communities in the Diaspora," in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, ed. S. Safrai and M. Stern, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1974–1976), 1:420–63; and Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*. For Asia Minor specifically, see Paul R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 69 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 5–36, 167–85.

5. Cf. the closing verse of Acts 28:31, where Paul is said to be proclaiming the kingdom of God, "in all boldness, without hindrance" [*meta pasēs parrēsias akōlutōs*].

6. Robert F. Stoops, "Riot and Assembly: The Social Context of Acts 19:23–41," *JBL* 108, no. 1 (1989): 73–91, esp. 88–89.

7. Cf. also Acts 6:8–15; 13:50; 14:1–7; 17:10–15; 18:5–17.

8. Wills, "Depiction of Jews," 634–38. His conclusion is worth quoting in full:

> The narrative method of Acts in regards to the Jews is not to state the salvation-history dogma that their theology makes them wrong and lost . . . but to *show* that the Jews are every bit as disorderly and rebellious as one would expect from the fact that they were involved in three bloody rebellions in seventy years. . . . Luke has gone beyond Paul, Mark, and Matthew in at least one important respect: the split between Luke's fellow Christians and Judaism appears to be complete and past. But what is disturbing about Luke's view of the Jews is that it is seen from the ruling Roman perspective, graphically and tendentiously realized in the Jewish mob scenes. Theological controversies no longer hold center stage, but the real issue is citizenship and acceptance in the Roman worldview. (653–54)

9. Helmut Flender, *St. Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1967), 10.

10. Ben Witherington, *Women in the Earliest Churches*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 58 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 143–57, esp. 156. See also Cassidy, 57–59.

11. Turid Karlsen Seim, *The Double Message: Patterns of Gender in Luke-Acts* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), esp. 249–60. Schüssler Fiorenza, *But She Said*, 52–76; 210–14; idem, "A Feminist Critical Interpretation for Liberation: Martha and Mary (Luke 10:38–42)," *Religion and Intellectual Life* 3 (1986): 16–36; and idem, *In Memory of Her*, 167–68. Others who argue that Luke's portrayal of women in Acts is generally negative include Jacob Jervell, "The Daughters of Abraham: Women in Acts," in his *The Unknown Paul: Essays on Luke-Acts and Early Christian History* (Minneapolis, Mn.: Augsburg, 1984), 149–90; Mary Rose D'Angelo, "Women in Luke-Acts: A Redactional View," *JBL* 109, no. 3 (1990): 441–61. Ivoni Richter Reimer, in her recent monograph-length treatment of women in Acts, presumes Acts is an

androcentric document, but takes no particular stand on the question of Luke's narrative tendencies in depicting women, except to argue that, unlike the Pastorals, "Acts reflects no particular tendency to keep women at home and subject them to men" (see Ivoni Richter Reimer, *Women in the Acts of the Apostles: A Feminist Liberation Perspective* [Minneapolis, Mn.: Fortress, 1995], 267).

12. The ambiguity of the genitive plural in 17:4 makes equally possible the reading, "wives of the prominent," rather than "leading women." Likewise, 17:12 can be read as "Greek wives of the high-standing," rather than "Greek-women of high standing."

Codex D eliminates the ambiguity of 17:4 by substituting the nominative plural *gynaikes* for the genitive gynaikōn, thereby clearly defining the women in relation to their husbands. This codex also emends 17:12 with the effect of playing down the women's prominence. On the antiwoman tendency of the "Western" text, see Richard I. Pervo, "Social and Religious Aspects of the 'Western' Text," in *The Living Text: Essays in Honor of Ernest W. Saunders*, ed. Dennis E. Groh and Robert Jewett (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1985), 229–41; esp. 235–40. Cf. also Ben Witherington, "The Anti-Feminist Tendencies of the 'Western' Text in Acts," *JBL* 103, no. 1 (1984): 82–84.

13. The last of these passages, from Paul's defense before the authorities, is a reference to his life preceding the Gentile mission.

14. The singling out of Dionysius and Damaris as Athenian converts in 17:34 is also an instance of male-female pairing. I shall not consider this passage here because Damaris receives no special distinction by class or status. That Acts does not stress the prominence of women among Athenian converts is also signified through the inclusion of Damaris among the "men" [*andres*] who believe "some of the men joined him and became believers, including Dionysios the Areopagite and a woman named Damaris and others with them" [*tines de andres kollēthentes autō episteusan, en hois kai Dionysios ho Areopagitēs kai gynē onomati Damaris kai heteroi syn autois*].

15. On the possibility of reading the genitive plurals in 17:4 and 17:12 as either "leading women" or "wives of the prominent," see note 12, above.

16. I adopt the term "God-fearers" because it is one most frequently used in the secondary literature. The phrase is problematic because it translates only *phoboumenos/oi ton theon* and not *sebomenos/oi ton theon*, a phrase used in Acts, and *theosebēs*, a frequent designation in inscriptions. In my discussion I will signal the inadequacy of the term by enclosing it with quotation marks.

A body of literature seeks to distinguish degrees of affiliation for Gentiles attracted to Judaism. See, for example, Folkert Siegert's discussion of the distinction between "God-fearers" and Sympathizers ("Gottesfürchtige und Sympathisanten," *JSJ* 4, no. 2 [1973]: 109–64); and Shaye J. D. Cohen's numbering of seven ways "a gentile can show respect or affection for Judaism" ("Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew," *HTR* 82, no. 1 [1989]: 13–33). While recognizing the importance of

this work, the arguments I make here do not hinge on assigning degrees of affiliation with such specificity.

17. A. Thomas Kraabel, "The Disappearance of the 'God-Fearers,'" *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions* 28 (1981): 113–26. See also "Greeks, Jews, and Lutherans in the Middle Half of Acts," *HTR* 79, no. 1–3 (1986): 147–57.

18. Kraabel limits his discussion of "God-fearers" to those desginated with participial forms of *phoboumenos/oi* and *sebomenos/oi* (*phoboumenos/oi*: 10:2, 10:22, 10:35, 13:16, 13:26; *sebomenos/oi*: 13:43, 13:50, 16:14, 17:4, 17:17, 18:7). He adopts the view of Marcel Simon that the transition from the former to the latter is a literary device, with *phoboumenos/oi* reflective of biblical language and *sebomenos/oi* more reflective of pagan piety. So argues Simon: "The transition from the one to the other almost corresponds to that very moment at which the apostolic mission of Paul turns from the Jews toward the Gentiles" (see Marcel Simon, "Gottesfürchtiger," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. T. Kluser et al. [Stuttgart, 1950–], 11 [1981]: 1060–70, esp. 1063, my translation).

19. Kirsopp Lake, "Proselytes and God-Fearers," in *The Beginnings of Christianity Part I: The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, 5 vols. (London: MacMillan, 1919–1933), 5:74–96.

20. Max Wilcox, "The 'God-Fearers' in Acts—A Reconsideration," *JSNT* 13 (1981): 102–22.

21. Wilcox, 104, 115.

22. For a discussion of prophetic ambiguity in the Third Gospel and Acts, see François Bovon, "The Effect of Realism and Prophetic Ambiguity in the Works of Luke," in his *New Testament Traditions and Apocryphal Narratives*, Princeton Theological Monograph Series 36 (Allison Park, Pa.: Pickwick, 1995), 97–104. The utilization of prophetic irony in Luke's treatment of Jews and Gentiles is further analyzed in the dissertation of Marianne Palmer Bonz, "The Best of Times, the Worst of Times: Luke-Acts and Epic Tradition" (Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1996), 165–222.

23. Lake, 88.

24. Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Westminster, 1971), 413, n. 5; Kazimierz Romaniuk, "Die 'Gottesfürchtigen' im Neuen Testament," *Aegyptus* 44 (1964): 66–91, esp. 81; Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 106; Karl Georg Kuhn, "προσήλυτος," *TDNT* 6 (1986): 727–44, esp. 743.

25. Jack T. Sanders, *The Jews in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1987), 137–53.

26. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities*, 150–51; Siegert, 138.

27. Wilcox's attempt to distinguish between Cornelius's piety and his "belongingness to a group" is strained. Furthermore, his hesitant concession that Cornelius is *probably* a Gentile indicates his argument to be an exercise in understatement (Wilcox, 104).

28. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities*, 151; Lake, 87; G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents*

Illustrating Early Christianity, 7 vols. (North Ryde, New South Wales, Australia: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1981–1994), 3:54.

29. Wilcox, 113–14. See also Trebilco, *Jewish Communities*, 249, n. 30.

30. Esler, 40.

31. For discussion of Lydia's status, see Chapter 4 below.

32. Richard I. Pervo, *Luke's Story of Paul* (Minneapolis, Mn.: Fortress, 1990), 56; Esler, 40.

33. *Pace* Wilcox who argues, "There is nothing in the text to compel us to conclude that the women in question . . . were or were not Jews or proselytes" (Wilcox, 110).

34. Wills, "Depiction of the Jews," 639.

35. On Antonia, see Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, 1–37; on the Poppaea story, see Schwartz, "KATA TOYTON TON KAIPON," 241–68.

36. For Helena's observance of Nazarite laws, see *m. Naz.* 3:6. For discussion of her *sukkah*, see *m. Sukkah* 1:1. For her temple benefaction, see *m. Yoma* 3:10 and *t. Yoma* 2:3. Cf. Eusebius *Eccl. Hist.* 2.12.

The benefaction for which Josephus claims that Helena will be "famous forever" among his people, her largess during a Jerusalem famine (*Ant.* 20.49–52), is not acknowledged in rabbinic sources. Rather, the assistance during the famine from the royal family of Adiabene is attributed to King Monobazus: *t. Pe'ah* 4:18, quoted in *y. Pe'ah* 1:1 and *b. B.Bat.* 11a.

For the argument that Helena's conversion was to Pharisaic Judaism, see Tal Ilan, "The Attraction of Aristocratic Women to Pharisaism During the Second Temple Period," *HTR* 88, no. 1 (1995): 1–33, esp. 15–16. See also the discussion of Schiffman.

37. This passage will be discussed further below, 65–66.

38. *Acts of Pilate* 2.1. For Greek text, see Constantin von Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha* (1876; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1966), 223. For English translation, see *NTApoc* 1:507–8. According to Felix Scheidweiler, the document dates as late as the fourth century, but arises from an earlier *Grundschrift* (*NTApoc* 1:501–3).

39. One sees a similar phenomenon in Philo, whose misogynism is well known, but who speaks of the empress Livia as if she were in a category apart from women in general. In *On the Embassy to Gaius* 319–20, he asks first how she could have been pious enough to send gifts to the Jersualem temple, "for the judgments of women as a rule are weaker" [*asthenesterai gar pōs eisin hai gnōmai tōn gynaikōn*]. His own answer is that "she excelled all her sex in this as in everything else, for the purity of the training she received supplementing nature gave virility [maleness] to her reasoning power" [*hē de ge kathaper en tois allois holon to genos kan toutō diēnegken, hypo paideias akratou physei kai meletē perigegenēmenēs, arrenōtheisa ton logismon*]. See also Dorothy Sly, *Philo's Perception of Women*, Brown Judaic Studies 209 (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1990).

40. For other texts and discussion, see Balch, 65–116.

41. Balch, 65–80.

42. This topos is articulated with particular vehemence at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century in Rome, as evident from Martial, Juvenal, Josephus, Tacitus, and Suetonius. It also can be traced in Roman literature back to the writings of Livy and Cicero, and in Greek drama, to the plays of Aristophanes and Euripides. For more on this topos, and how Josephus recognizes and responds to it, see my discussion of the expulsion of Jews and Isis worshippers from Rome in Chapter 1 above.

43. This question was not asked by Balch in his study, which identifies the "anti-women and foreign cults" topos, but then fails to account for the place of prominent women in the apologetic rhetoric of Josephus and Luke. He cites passages speaking of women converts in the *Antiquities* and Acts only to argue that *in spite* of the topos, women converted to Judaism and Christianity (Balch, 85).

44. This characterization of Jewish communities in the diaspora as modeled to some extent on civic society or collegia rather than on any form of cult is made by Trebilco (*Jewish Communities*, 114). It prompts him to account for the prominence of Jewish women in synagogues in Asia Minor by looking to women's roles in the social system of the city, rather than in the religious cults. While I adopt this distinction from him, I recognize that it is not a precise one since, of course, neither the social system of the city nor collegia were devoid of cultic aspects.

45. Two early contemporary articles on the general phenomenon of women's benefaction are Ramsay MacMullen's "Women in Public in the Roman Empire," *Historia* 29 (1980): 208–18; and Anthony J. Marshall's "Roman Women and the Provinces," *Ancient Society* 6 (1975): 109–27. The most comprehensive study of women's benefaction in the Greek East is van Bremen's *The Limits of Participation*. For more on benefaction in the Greek East, see also van Bremen, "Women and Wealth"; and Boatwright, "Plancia Magna." For discussions specific to Ephesos, see Steve Friesen, "Ephesian Women and Men in Public Religious Office in the Roman Period," in *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposions Wien 1995*, ed. Herwig Friesinger and Friedrich Krinzinger (Vienna: Austrian Archaeological Institute, 1999), 107–13; G. M. Rogers, "The Constructions of Women at Ephesos," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 90 (1992): 215–23. For a discussion specific to the Latin West, see Elizabeth P. Forbis, "Women's Public Image in Italian Honorary Inscriptions," *AJP* 111 (1990): 493–512.

46. van Bremen, *Limits of Participation*.

47. Boatwright, "Plancia Magna," 261–62; van Bremen, *Limits of Participation*, 104–8.

48. B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives*, Cahiers de la revue biblique 7 (Paris: Gabalda, 1967) 34, no. 33 = *CII* 766 = *MAMA* 6:264. English translation in Brooten, *Women Leaders*, 158.

49. *MAMA* 6:153, 6:263, 6:265. For further discussion of Julia Severa, see

A. Thomas Kraabel, "Judaism in Asia Minor" (Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1968), 74–80; Ross Shepherd Kraemer, "Hellenistic Jewish Women: The Epigraphic Evidence," *SBLSP* (1986): 183–200, esp. 196–97; Trebilco, *Jewish Communities*, 58–60; Brooten, *Women Leaders*, 144; Lifshitz, 35–36.

50. For text and commentary, see *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 44–48, 161–78.

51. *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, 163–64.

52. Rabbinic tradition does not view Plotina as benefactor to the Jews, but rather as urging Trajan to attack the Jews in Alexandria. See *y. Sukkah* 5.1 and the discussion in Hildegard Temporini, *Die Frauen am Hofe Trajans* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1978), 96–100.

53. Important responses to Kraabel include Louis Feldman, "The Omnipresence of the God-Fearers," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 12, no. 5 (1986): 59–69; Thomas M. Finn, "The God-Fearers Reconsidered," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 75–84; John G. Gager, "Jews, Gentiles, and Synagogues in the Book of Acts," *HTR* 79, nos. 1–3 (1986): 91–99; Trebilco, *Jewish Communities*, 145–66.

Passages frequently mentioned as indicators of "God-fearers" outside Acts include Juvenal *Sat.* 14.96–106; Josephus *Ant.* 3.217, 14.110, 20.34–35; *Against Apion* 2.123; *J.W.* 7.45; Philo *Questions and Answers on Exodus* 2.2; Epictetus *Dissertationes* 2.9.19–21; the Miletus theater inscription, *CII* 748; and the Julia Severa inscription, *CII* 766.

Kraabel also ignores rabbinic references to "fearers of heaven" [*yire shamayim*]. See among others, Lake, 80–82; and Feldman, *Jew and Gentile*, 353–56.

54. Joyce Reynolds and Robert Tannenbaum, *Jews and God-fearers at Aphrodisias: Greek Inscriptions with Commentary*, Cambridge Philological Society, Suppl. 12 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For further important discussion of the Jewish Donor Inscriptions, see Marianne Palmer Bonz, "Questions Concerning the Jewish Donor Inscriptions from Aphrodisias," *HSCP* 96 (1994): 281–99; and Pieter W. van der Horst, "Jews and Christians in Aphrodisias in the Light of their Relations to Other Cities of Asia Minor," *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 43, no. 2 (1989): 106–21.

55. Cf. the discussions of Pieter W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 2 (Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1991), 109–11, 136–37; Richter Reimer, 97–98.

56. See especially the discussion of Gager, "Jews, Gentiles, and Synagogues," 95–98.

57. See, for example, Cohen's discussion ("Respect for Judaism," 417) of *J.W.* 2.559–61, which speaks of the women of Damascus having "gone over to the Jewish religion." He argues that they must be considered "adherents" rather than true "converts" since they remain married to Gentile husbands.

58. For the argument that "God-fearers" were socially well placed, see Kuhn and Stegemann, 1265–66. Van der Horst notes that nine of the fifty-four "God-fearers" from the Aphrodisias inscription are recognized as city councillors (see van der

Horst, "Jews and Christians in Aphrodisias," 106–21). For a counterargument, see Richter Reimer, 96–98.

59. For Tation, see *CII* 738 = Lifshitz, 21 no. 13. For the Capitolina inscription, see *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, ed. A. Boeckh, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1828–1877), 2924 = Lifshitz, 32, no. 30. On Capitolina as an elite Gentile, see L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes: recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris: Boccard, 1937), 409–12; cf. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities*, 157–58; Irina Levinskaya, *The Book of Acts in its Diaspora Setting*, The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting 5 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1996), 65–66. Cf. also the discussion of Kraemer, "Hellenistic Jewish Women," 197–98.

60. The argument that "God-fearers" became Christians in droves finds its way into several New Testament introductory textbooks. See Norman Perrin and Dennis C. Duling, *The New Testament: An Introduction*, 2d ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982), 5, 80, and esp. 138; F. F. Bruce, *New Testament History* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969), 145–47; Hans Conzelmann, *History of Primitive Christianity* (Nashville, Tn.: Abingdon, 1973), 66–67, 95.

61. Cf. Gal. 1:16, 2:7–9; Rom. 1:5, 1:13–15, 11:13, 15:15–25; and Meeks, 26–29.

62. For more on the discrepancy between what is known of Paul and his mission from his own letters, and how Paul's mission is portrayed in Acts, see Koester, *Introduction*, 2:321–23.

63. See, for example, Chrysostom *Discourses Against Judaizing Christians* 1.1, 1.5, 2.4–6, 4.3, 8.4; Wayne A. Meeks and Robert Wilken, *Jews and Christians in Antioch in the First Four Centuries of the Common Era*, Society of Biblical Literature Sources for Biblical Study 13 (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1978), 83–127; Robert Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late 4th Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1983), esp. 66–94.

64. Van der Horst, "Jews and Christians in Aphrodisias," 106–21.

65. Gerd Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1982), 103–4.

66. Kuhn, 743–44.

67. See, for example, Ignatius *To the Magnesians* 10.3; and again, Chrysostom *Discourses Against Judaizing Christians* 2.4–6, 4.3. Note the contrast between Kuhn's "ethics over ritual" view and van der Horst's attempt to account for the continuing interest of Gentiles in Judaism ("Jews and Christians in Aphrodisias," 118–19):

> The rather detailed code of behaviour that Scripture and halakha contained must have been envisioned as a stabilizing factor in life by a good many people. . . . For many Christians, the argument that the commandments in the Torah were after all God's words may have carried more weight than the often tortuous argumentations to the effect that God had abolished his own Law.

68. Siegert, 136. Siegert argues further that this transfer of affiliation provoked a

jealous response of the Jews. Although I contest this entire argument, Siegert must be given credit as one of the few scholars involved in the "God-fearer" debate who has recognized and attempted to account for the high frequency of female "God-fearers" in Acts. For further discussion of this passage, see also Richter Reimer, 96–97.

69. Stoops, 73–91. For a reading of this entire chapter as religious missionary propaganda and apologetics, see Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Miracles, Mission, and Apologetics: An Introduction," in *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, University of Notre Dame Center for the Study of Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity 2 (Notre Dame, Ind., and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 1–25.

70. For discussion of the ethnic composition of early Christian communities, see the analysis of Romans 16 by Helmut Koester, "Ephesos in Early Christian Literature," in *Ephesos: Metropolis of Asia*, ed. Helmut Koester (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1995), 119–40, esp. 123–24. For discussion of the likely status of women leaders in early Christian communities, with specific reference to the slave women deacons in Pliny's famous letter to Trajan concerning Christians, see Chapter 4, 93–95, below.

71. Susanne Heine, *Women in Early Christianity: Are the Feminist Scholars Right?* (London: SCM, 1987), 83–86, esp. 84.

72. Brooten, *Women Leaders*, 146–47.

73. See, for example, the Pauline correspondence, especially Romans 16 and the first letter to the Corinthians. Consider also the prominence of women in the canonical Gospel accounts, and the reference to "Jezebel," a Christian female prophet in Revelation 2:20–23. Pliny's famous letter to Trajan concerning Christians in Bithynia includes a reference to two Christian slave women, called "ministers" [*ministrae*]. Early Christian apologists were frequently defending themselves from the charges that their congregations were composed primarily of women. See, for example, Origen *Cels.* 3.44, 3.50, 3.55; and M. Y. MacDonald.

CHAPTER 4

1. The classic discussion of the prison escape as a topos of Hellenistic religious propaganda is found in Weinreich, "Gebet und Wunder," 309–41. See also W. Nestle, "Anklänge an Euripides in der Apostelgeschichte," *Philologus* 13 (1900): 46–57; and, for a recent discussion, Richard I. Pervo, *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1987), 18–24.

2. Weinreich, "Gebet und Wunder," 309–41, esp. 332–41. Pervo, in his recent discussion of sacred incarcerations in Acts, does not argue for textual dependence, but rather speaks more generally of the Dionysos tradition as the "apparent home" of this type (Pervo, *Profit*, 21).

3. Lilian Portefaix, *Sisters Rejoice: Paul's Letter to the Philippians and Luke-Acts as*

Seen by First-Century Philippian Women, Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series 20 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988), 169–71.

4. Cf. 13:14–16, 14:1, 17:1–2, 17:10, 18:4, 18:19, 19:8.

5. Throughout this chapter I will translate προσευχή in Acts 16:13 as synagogue, a well-attested meaning for the term. Many scholars have suggested the word be translated here more loosely as "house of prayer," or "informal meeting place," primarily because only women appear to be in attendance (cf. W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957], s.v. προσευχή, 2, and most commentaries). Such an argument employs circular—or what I prefer to call *ad mulierem*—reasoning: because women could not possibly be the sole attendees at a synagogue, a synagogue attended solely by women cannot be a synagogue. For further discussion of this translation, see Brooten, *Women Leaders*, 139–40; and Richter Reimer, 78–92.

6. My outline of parallels differs somewhat from Portefaix's (see Portefaix, 170).

7. Weinreich, "Gebet und Wunder," 326–41. One of Weinreich's most compelling arguments for the "Dionsysian feel" of the prison escapes in Acts is the association between them and the *Bacchae* made by Origen in *Cels.* 2.34. In this work, "Celsus' Jew" quotes a line from the *Bacchae* spoken by the imprisoned Bacchus: "The god himself will free me, whenever I wish" (*Bacchae* 498), and asks why Jesus could not do the same. Origen responds by noting that his God could and did free the imprisoned Peter (Acts 12:6–9), and the imprisoned Paul and Silas (Acts 16:24–26).

8. Indications of the popularity of the *Bacchae* include: a papyrus fragment from Oxyrynchus preserving the initial lines of the *Bacchae* as part of a school exercise (Roger A. Pack, *Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2d ed [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965], 40); a reference in Lucian to an uneducated person (*apaideutos*) reading through the *Bacchae* (*The Ignorant Book Collector* 19); Plutarch's *Crassus* 33.1–4, which speaks of an actor's performance of the *Bacchae* at a banquet at which the audience is presumed to know the plot of the story; references in Artemidorus to people dreaming of slave women and poor people reciting passages from Euripides (4.59) as well as to people dreaming of Dionysiac figures belonging to the *Bacchae* (4.39); cf. also the passage from Origen's *Cels.* in the note above.

In her study, focusing on the question of the reception of Acts 16 by women in Philippi, Portefaix argues that those hearing the text in this locale would have known the *Bacchae*, because of the enduring popularity of Euripides in that region, and the mythic associations of Dionysos with neighboring Mt. Pangaion (Portefaix, 98–114).

For indications of the general popularity of Euripides in the Roman era, see Lucian *Quomodo Historia Conscribenda Sit* 1; Dio Chrysostom *Discourses* 18.6.7; the discussions in Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible*, Hellenistic Culture and Society 27 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press,

1998), 175, n. 20; P. E. Easterling, "From Repertoire to Canon," in *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*, ed. P. E. Easterling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 211–27, esp. 225.

9. Pervo, *Profit*, 19, my emphasis. For his expanded definition of aretalogy as encompassing not only hymns but also "various literary media and structures employed for proclaiming the virtues of a god or divine figure," see ibid., 146, n. 11.

10. For a discussion of the story of the Royal Family of Adiabene as a historical novel, see Lawrence Wills, *The Jewish Novel in the Ancient World*, Myth and Poetics (Ithaca, N.Y., and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 206–11.

11. In fact, the Dionysos cult and Jewish and Christian cults were frequently conflated in antiquity. See especially the dialogue in Plutarch's *Quaest. conv.* 671C–672C; and commentary in Stern, 2:558–62. On confusion of Dionysian and Christian practice, see Robert Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1984), 17.

12. Ross Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings*, 36–49. Cf. conclusions of Albert Henrichs, "Greek Maenadism from Olympias to Messalina," *HSCP* 82 (1978): 121–60. Both of these scholars are concerned primarily with the task of reconstructing historical maenadic practice, which involves complex questions of the relationship between myth and cult. My study here is limited to the narrower question of how maenadic practice is evaluated in polemics against and support for the cult.

13. See also *Bacchae* 233ff., 260, 352.

14. See also Livy *Hist.* 39.15.9.

15. Scholars assume that the Sabazios incident to which Cicero refers was contained in Aristophanes' comedy, *Horae*, which is no longer extant. See E. R. Dodds, introduction to Euripides' *Bacchae*, ed. E. R. Dodds, 2d ed (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), xxiv. On the close correlation and even confusion between rites of Dionysos and Sabazios, see Ross Kraemer, "Ecstasy and Possession: The Attraction of Women to the Cult of Dionysus," *HTR* 72 (1979): 55–80, esp. 61–63. For further discussion of Cicero's *De legibus* 2.35–37, see below.

16. While Henrichs cautions that Tacitus's account is an "inseparable blend of fact and fiction," he does assume that this historian correctly assigns to Messalina a flair for Bacchic ostentation (Henrichs, "Greek Maenadism," 156–59). For the difficulties in reconstructing imperial women's history from anything Tacitus says about them, see Joshel, "Female Desire," 50–82.

17. Although there are modern interpreters who resist this characterization of Pentheus, and argue for his virtue, it must be noted that Pentheus is notorious in antiquity for his impiety. Cf. Horace *Odes* 2.19.14–15; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.2.7; and Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* 4.3.4.

18. On the meaning of this term here, see Barbara K. Gold, "Εὐκοσμία in Euripides' Bacchae," *AJP* 98 (1977): 3–15.

19. For further discussion of gender in the *Bacchae*, see the articles of Helene P.

Foley, "The Conception of Women in Athenian Drama," in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, ed. Helene P. Foley (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1981), 127–68, esp. 142–45; and Froma I. Zeitlin, "Cultic Models of the Female: Rites of Dionysos and Demeter," *Arethusa* 15 (1982): 129–57. See also the important study of H. S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion* 1, Studies in Greek and Roman Religion, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 156–205.

20. *CIL* 1^2 581, lines 10, 19–20: "No man shall be priest of, nor shall any man or woman be master of, such an organization. . . . No one in a company of more than five persons altogether, men and women shall perform such rites; nor in that company shall more than two men or three women be present, unless it is in accordance with the opinion of the urban praetor and the Senate . . ." (translation, Lefkowitz and Fant, 275).

21. Henrichs, "Greek Maenadism," 135. Balch does not consider this inscription when he concludes "the main problem [with the Dionysos cult in Rome] was that Roman women joined the cult" (Balch, 69).

22. This is the argument of Balch, 66.

23. See, for example, the recent statement of David M. Hay, "Things Philo Did and Did Not Say about the Therapeutae," *SBLSP* (1992): 673–93, esp. 677. Ross Shepherd Kraemer, "Monastic Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Egypt: Philo on the Therapeutrides," *Signs* 14, no. 1 (1989): 342–70.

24. Philo makes frequent use of the paradoxical phrase "sober drunkenness" (*methē nēphalios*) in his writings. See *On Drunkenness* 145–46; *On Flight and Finding* 31, 166; *Special Laws* 1.82–83, 3.82; *That Every Good Person is Free* 12–13; *On the Creation of the World* 70; *Moses* 1.187. For discussion, see Hans Lewy, *Sobria Ebrietas: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Antiken Mystik* (Gießen: Töpelmann, 1929), esp. 3–41. That Philo is stressing the virtue of the Therapeutics here is apparent in his shift from the typical pairing, sober/drunken, to virtuous/drunken.

25. Lewy, 31–34.

26. Plato, for example, speaks of Dionysian frenzy as a blessing (*Phaedrus* 244B). For discussion, see Ivan M. Linforth, "The Corybantic Rites in Plato," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 13, no. 5 (1946): 121–62; idem, "Telestic Madness in Plato, Phaedrus 244DE," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 13, no. 6 (1946): 163–72. See also Sze-Kar Wan, "Charismatic Exegesis: Philo and Paul Compared," *Studia Philonica* 6 (1994): 54–82. That Philo is working with Platonic ideals here is evident from his description of the choirs of men and women dissolving finally into "one choir." The Platonic ideal of the dissolution of male and female into oneness is most often discussed by biblical scholars within the context of the baptismal formula in Galatians 3:28. See, for example, Dennis Ronald MacDonald, *There Is No Male and Female: The Fate of a Dominical Saying in Paul and Gnosticism*, Harvard Dissertations in Religion 20 (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1987). For discussion of Gal. 3:28 in relation to Philo's Therapeutics, see Boyarin, 188–89.

27. In addition to the passages discussed here, cf. *Mulierum virtutes* 251–53; *De primo frigido* 953C; and *Quaestiones romanae et graecae* 293C–F.

28. For more on Clea, one of Plutarch's highly educated female friends, see Philip A. Stadter, "*Philosophos kai Philandros*: Plutarch's View of Women in the Moralia and the Lives," in *Plutarch's Advice to the Bride and Groom and A Consolation to His Wife*, ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (New York and Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press, 1999), 173–82, esp. 173–75.

29. On this passage, see also Henrichs, "Greek Maenadism," 136.

30. This inconsistency can be explained in part by the different focus of each work. In *Conjugalia praecepta*, Plutarch lauds the private virtue of women. Only in *Mulierum virtutes* does he consider the subject of women's public virtue. See Kathleen O'Brien Wicker, "*Mulierem Virtutes* (*Moralia* 242E–263C)," in *Plutarch's Ethical Writings and Early Christian Literatures*, ed. Hans D. Betz (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 106–34. For another instance of Plutarch's inconsistency on a wife's place in private/public, see Sarah B. Pomeroy, "Reflections on Plutarch, *Advice to the Bride and Groom*," in *Plutarch's Advice to Bride and Groom and a Consolation to his Wife*, ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 33–42.

31. Henrichs, "Changing Dionysiac Identities," 147–48.

32. A second source interpreting female cultic activity in Judaism by analogy to Bacchic worship is Plutarch's *Quaestionum convivialum*. Here Plutarch provides a detailed discussion of Jewish identity, including a speech by the Athenian Moiragenes linking the Dionysos and Jewish cults. As Moiragenes details the Dionysian character of Jewish ritual, he notes that in both Jewish and Dionysian festivals, female "nurses of the God," take on liturgical roles. Plutarch *Quaest. conv.* 672A: "[The Jews] also have noise as an element in their nocturnal festivals, and call the nurses of the god 'bronze rattlers' " [*psophois de chrōntai peri ta nyktelia, kai chalkokrotous tas tou theou tithēnas prosagoreuousin*]. Notably, Plutarch does not link female Jewish and Bacchic cultic activity in derision, but rather makes the analogy while drawing a sympathetic portrait of Jewish cultic practice. For discussion of this dialogue, see Stern, 2:545–62. Stern does not comment on this particular line.

33. Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessing*, 3.

34. Consider especially Hector's reply to his mother Hecuba, after she exhorts him to make libations to the gods on his return to Troy:

> I'd be ashamed to pour a glistening cup to Zeus with unwashed hands. I'm splattered with blood and filth—how could I pray to the lord of storm and lightning? *No, mother, you are the one to pray*. Go to Athena's shrine . . . go with offerings, gather the older noble women and take a robe . . . and spread it out across the sleek-haired goddess' knees. Then promise to sacrifice twelve heifers in her shrine . . . if only she'll pity Troy. . . . (*Iliad* 6.315–25, trans. Robert Fagels, my emphasis)

35. For further discussion of these texts, see Helene P. Foley, "The Female 'In-

truder' Reconsidered: Women in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and *Ecclesiazusae*," *CP* 77, no. 1 (1982): 1–21; idem, "Women in Athenian Drama"; Froma I. Zeitlin, "The Dynamics of Misogyny: Myth and Mythmaking in the Oresteia," *Arethusa* 11, no. 2 (1978): 149–83, esp. 172–73; and Jeffrey Henderson, "*Lysistrate*: The Play and its Themes," *Yale Classical Studies* 26 (1980): 153–218.

36. D. L. Page, *Select Papyri* III (LCL), 113–14.

37. Cf. 22.1.18, 27.37.8–10. For further citation and discussion of Latin texts which privilege women's public religious function, see Wardman, 37–39.

38. See Staples.

39. See, for example, Léonie J. Archer, *Her Price Is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Graeco-Roman Palestine*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series 60 (Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield, 1990), 85–86, 113–22; Deborah F. Sawyer, *Women and Religion in the First Christian Centuries* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 36–40, 76–77; Balch, 52–56. Cf. also Jerome Neyrey's rigid adherence to the public/private binary in arguing that the Johannine community defied standard mores in "What's Wrong with This Picture? John 4, Cultural Stereotypes of Women, and Public and Private Space," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 24, no. 2 (1994): 77–91.

There are several other scholars who provide more nuanced discussions of public/private ideology in antiquity. For the widely accepted argument that approval of elite Hellenistic women's benefaction owed to the extension of the private sphere into the public, see van Bremen, "Women and Wealth." For discussion of social innovation in the Roman period that allowed for women's participation in public meals, see Kathleen E. Corley, *Private Women/Public Meals: Social Conflict in the Synoptic Tradition* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1993); cf. also Carolyn Osiek, "The Family in Early Christianity: 'Family Values' Revisited," *CBQ* 58, no. 1 (1996): 1–24, and Carolyn Osiek and David Balch, *Families in the New Testament World: Households and Churches*, The Family, Religion, and Culture Series (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1997), 43–47, 54–56. For a useful critique of public/private models in terms of the conceptualization of the family in antiquity, see Miriam Peskowitz, " 'Family/ies' in Antiquity: Evidence from Tannaitic Literature and Roman Galilean Architecture," in *The Jewish Family in Antiquity*, ed. Shaye J. D. Cohen, Brown Judaic Studies 289 (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1993), 9–36, esp. 24–28. See also the insightful comments on public rhetoric of "private" life in Cooper, *Virgin and Bride*, 1–19.

40. Karen Jo Torjeson, *When Women Were Priests: Women's Leadership in the Early Church and the Scandal of Their Subordination in the Rise of Christianity* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993), 126–28.

41. On the connotation of *astē* in Philo, see Sly, 95–97.

42. Cf. Philo's public/private formulation with the treatise attributed to Phintys, a female member of the Pythagorean community in southern Italy, third to second century BCE, which also provides for prominent women to leave the house in order

to make sacrifice. Holger Thesleff, ed., *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period* (Abo, Finland: Abo Akademi, 1965), 151–54, esp. 54; and English translation in Lefkowitz and Fant, 163–64.

43. This view of trade as "dirty work" provides the basis for the readings of Schottroff and Richter Reimer to be discussed further below. Richard L. Rohrbaugh also stresses the low status of merchants by arguing that all but the largest-scale traders were outcasts who lived on the edges or outside of the city (see Richard L. Rohrbaugh, "The Pre-Industrial City in Luke-Acts: Urban Social Relations," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation*, ed. Jerome H. Neyrey [Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1991], 125–49, esp. 133–37). For a view of social and spatial relations between the urban elite and merchants that is more nuanced than Rohrbaugh's, see Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Elites and Trade in the Roman Town," in *City and Country in the Ancient World*, ed. John Rich and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 241–69.

44. Bonz, "Best of Times, Worst of Times." In support of this view, Bonz cites John H. D'Arms (*Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981]), for whom the freedman Trimalchio from Petronius's *Satyricon* serves as the fictional paradigm of this quasi elite.

45. David W. J. Gill, "Acts and the Urban Elites," in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, ed. David W. J. Gill and Conrad Gempf (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), 105–18, esp. 114–17. Gill builds on the work of H. W. Pleket, "Urban Elites and Business in the Greek Part of the Roman Empire," in *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, ed. P. Garnsey et al. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1983), 131–44, esp. 141–43.

46. G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents*, 2.27; Meeks, 203, n. 93.

47. Thus from Sardis comes the well-placed Julia Lydia, and from Ephesus, Julia Lydia Laterane. See discussion in Gill, 114.

48. Luise Schottroff, "Lydia: A New Quality of Power," in her *Let the Oppressed Go Free: Feminist Perspectives on the New Testament*, trans. Annemarie S. Kidder (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 131–37. Richter Reimer, 98–130.

49. For arguments concerning the respectability of purple sellers, see note 43 above.

50. The prominent place of social outcasts in the Third Gospel owes much to their prominence in Luke's sources for this first work, Mark and Q.

51. Cf. Sanders, 132–53.

52. Mikeal C. Parsons and Richard I. Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts* (Minneapolis, Mn.: Fortress, 1993), 39. Cassidy glosses over this shift in tone in part by arguing that in its affirmation of "women," Acts still shows concern for "less regarded groups" (57–59). This argument fails to take into account the high status of women in this second work.

Note also Pervo's argument that this focus on the elite is best understood as "propagandistic fiction" rather than mere apologetics: "The upward mobility of

many new religions encourages fictional propaganda about their adherents' social status" (*Profit*, 79).

53. Yann Redalié, "Conversion ou libération? Notes sur Actes 16, 11–40," *Bulletin du centre protestant d'etudes* 26, no. 7 (1974): 6–17, esp. 12.

54. On the presentation of class in Acts, see Pervo, *Profit*, 79. For further insightful comments concerning "rich" Christians of late first and early second century, see Richard I. Pervo, "Wisdom and Power," *Anglican Theological Review* 67 (1985): 307–25.

55. Esler, 93–109.

56. This is Esler's reading, 99–100.

57. Corley, 108–46.

58. This reading suggests a different reason for the double foundation story in Philippi than that posed by Gottfried Schille, *Die Apostelgeschichte des Lukas*, Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament 5 (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1983), 340–49. Schille argues that, since including two foundation stories for one community is superfluous, the story of Lydia's conversion must be understood as a secondary addition to the conversion of the jailer, which he views as the original foundation story for Philippi.

59. LSJ, s.v. παιδίσκη.

60. François Bovon reads 21:8–9 as suggesting the strength of the Christian community in Caesarea and its independence from Paul (see François Bovon, "Der Heilige Geist, die Kirche und die menschlichen Beziehungen nach Apostelgeschichte 20, 36–21, 16," in his *Lukas in neuer Sicht*, Biblisch-Theologische Studien 8 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1985], 181–204).

61. For an important discussion of women prophets in Luke-Acts, see Seim, 164–84; although I disagree with her argument that gender plays no explicit role in Acts 16:16–18 (Seim, 174). See also D'Angelo, who argues, as I do, that women are distanced from prophetic roles by Luke (451–53).

62. For example, the narrative incorporates the words *hypantaō*, a verb commonly used to describe the meeting of the exorcist and the possessed; (*ana*)*krazō*, associated with the possessing spirit's cry; and *exerchomai*, associated with the exorcist's command. Further, like the demons in the synoptics who proclaim publicly the true identity of Jesus of Nazareth, the spirit in the girl utters a recognition oracle on meeting Paul. There are especially close connections between this story and the report of the exorcism of the Gerasene demoniac in Luke 8:26–39, because both share all of the verbal parallels mentioned above, and in both cases the possessed is a Gentile who uses the epithet "Most High God" (*theos hypistos*) in the recognition oracle. Robert Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, 2 vols. (Minneapolis, Mn.: Fortress, 1990), 2:197.

63. For discussion of this story in relation to synoptic exorcisms, see Richter Reimer, 154–74, esp. 171–74.

64. Cf., for example, Mark 1:23, 3:11, 5:2; Matt. 8:32, 17:18; Luke 7:21, 8:2; Acts 8:7, 19:13.

65. Richter Reimer, 154–56.

66. Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum* 414E. Cf. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 131.

67. *Pace* Werner Foerster, "πύθων," *TDNT* 6 (1968): 917–20.

68. Pierre Amandry, *La mantique apollinienne à Delphes: Essai sur le fonctionnement de l'oracle*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome (Paris: Boccard, 1950), 65.

69. Wolfgang Fauth, "Pythia," *PW* 24 (1963): 515–48, esp. 516–17.

70. Werner de Boor, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, Wuppertaler Studienbibel (Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1965), 298, n. 364; cf. also Otto Bauernfeind, *Kommentar und Studien zur Apostelgeschichte*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neüen Testament 22 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1980), 208–9.

71. The critique of religious practice motivated by profit occurs in Acts 19 as well as in Acts 16:16–18. For further examples of this kind of accusation, see Lucian's *Alexander the False Prophet*; the depiction of the female religious functionary Oenothea in Petronius's *Satyricon* 134–38; Juvenal's begging Jewess in *Sat* 6.543–47 and the discussion of Georgi, *Opponents of Paul*, 98–101; the apostle Paul's attempts to distinguish himself from popular philosophers who seek monetary gain in 1 Thess 2; and the discussion of Abraham J. Malherbe, " 'Gentle as a Nurse,' the Cynic Background to I Thessalonians 2," *NovT* 12 (1970): 203–17; reprinted in *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* (Minneapolis, Mn.: Fortress, 1989), 35–48.

Because of the way it varies from a traditional exorcism account, and the manner in which Paul triumphs over the rival spirit, Pervo is right to note the entertainment value of the story (*Profit*, 63). Scholars who do not appreciate Luke's humor here can construct elaborate theories to explain Paul's rationale for the exorcism. See, for example, Paul R. Trebilco, "Paul and Silas—'Servants of the Most High God' (Acts 16.16–18)," *JSNT* 36 (1989): 51–73.

72. John Chrysostom, "Homilies on the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians," in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, trans. and ed. Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1982), 12:170.

73. Cf. Herodotus *Hist.* 1.182; Strabo *Geographica* 9.3.5; and the discussions of Arthur Bernard Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion* (1914–1940; reprint, 3 vols. in 2, New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1965), 2:207–10; and Hermann Kleinknecht, "πνεῦμα, πνευματικός," *TDNT* 6 (1968): 332–451, esp. 345–46.

74. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, translated into the French by Marcel Borret, *Sources chretiennes*, nos. 132, 136, 147, 150, 227 (5 vols; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1967–1976), 3:26.

75. Zeitlin, "Cultic Models of the Female"; and Staples.

76. See especially Kraemer's discussion of women's religious devotion in antiquity in *Her Share of the Blessing*; and Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*.

77. Reardon, *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, 22.

78. Valerie Abrahamsen, "Women at Philippi: The Pagan and Christian Evidence," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 3, no. 2 (1987): 17–30. Portefaix, 169–73.

79. *NTApoc*, 2:373–78.

80. Cf. Paul's acknowledgment of the household of Stephanas as the first converts of Achaia in 1 Cor 16:15.

81. Here I read with Bonz, who argues:

> The felicitous combination of [Lydia's] name, occupation, and place of origin suggests that Luke is presenting the reader with a symbolic character. . . . A felicitous combination in the sense that Lydia is the name of a region of western Asia Minor, fabled for its wealth ever since the days of its sixth century BCE king Croesus. Thyatira is a city within the region of Lydia that was famous for its purple dye industry. (Bonz, "Best of Times, Worst of Times," 203).

82. Cynthia Briggs Kittredge, *Community and Authority: The Rhetoric of Obedience in the Pauline Tradition*, Harvard Theological Studies 45 (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity, 1998), 105–8.

83. My reading coincides with Valerie A. Abrahamsen, "Women at Philippi and Paul's Philippian Correspondence" (a paper delivered at the Society of Biblical Literature Meeting, 1987), cited in Richter Reimer, 128. Richter Reimer herself dismisses the possibility that Lydia could be a fictional creation of Luke.

84. Consider, for example, the conformity of the speeches of Peter, Stephen, and Paul in Acts's narrative, and the argument of Koester, *Introduction*, 2:318–23.

85. Cf. mention of Apphia in Phlm 2; Prisca in 1 Cor 16:19 and Rom 16:15; Nympha in Col 4:15, and discussion of Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 175–84. While Lydia herself may be Luke's fictional creation, the mention of Prisca and Aquilla in both the Pauline letters and Acts 18 shows that Luke knows of women who hosted house churches.

86. For one argument concerning the leadership role the host of a house church expected to assert, see 3 John 9–10, and the reading of it by Abraham J. Malherbe, "Hospitality and Inhospitality in the Church," in *Social Aspects of Early Christianity*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1983), 92–112; originally published as "The Inhospitality of Diotrephes," in *God's Christ and His People: Studies in Honour of Nils Alstrup Dahl*, ed. Jacob Jervell and Wayne A. Meeks (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1977).

In an effort to read Luke's depiction of Lydia as reflecting her active leadership in Philippi, Richter Reimer has stressed the report in 16:15 that she "prevailed upon" [*parabiazomai*] the missionaries to stay in her house (117–25). Richter Reimer then suggests that in view of Roman disapproval of Jewish missionary activity in Philippi, Lydia puts herself at risk by making this invitation. A similar argument is made by Luise Schottroff, *Lydia's Impatient Sisters: A Feminist Social History of Early Christianity*, trans. Barbara and Martin Rumscheidt (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John

Knox Press, 1995), 109–111; and Wolfgang Stegemann, *Zwischen Synagoge und Obrigkeit: Zur historischen Situation der lukanischen Christen*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literature des Alten und Neuen Testaments 152 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 213–14.

87. For general discussion of this letter, see Wilken, *Christians as the Romans Saw Them*, 1–30; and Koester, *Introduction*, 2:334–38.

88. Eusebius's sources are somewhat contradictory. One, a letter of Polycrates, speaks of Philip, "who sleeps at Hierapolis with his two daughters who grew old as virgins and his third daughter who lived in the Holy Spirit and rests in Ephesus." The other, a dialogue of Gaius and Proclus, says that all four daughters rest at Hierapolis with their father.

89. For discussion, see Schüssler Fiorenza, *Revelation*, 132–35.

CONCLUSION

1. I would argue, *pace* Cohen ("Adolf Harnack") and Miriam S. Taylor (*Anti-Judaism and Early Christian Identity: A Critique of the Scholarly Consensus*, Studia Post-Biblica 46 [Leiden, New York, and Köln: Brill, 1995]) that such a conceptualization need not be implicated in anti-Jewish and/or Christian supersessionist programs. The best recent visions of Judaism as missionary are articulated in positive terms. Cf. Georgi, "Early Church," esp. 50; cf. also Mason, "Aim and Audience"; and idem, "*Contra Apionem*."

2. Balch, 65–80. Fifteen years after the publication of Balch's work, Margaret McDonald still praises it without qualification and characterizes it as "an important complement" to her own (*Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion*, 49–50).

3. For an important discussion of women's religious leadership offices in early Christianity, which does acknowledge the acceptability of such offices in Greco-Roman culture, see Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessing*, 191–98.

4. For a brief discussion of benefaction as one means "to transfer . . . from one side of the boundary [between Jews and Gentiles] to the other," see Tessa Rajak, "The Jewish Community and Its Boundaries," in *The Jews Among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*, ed. Judith Lieu, John A. North, and Tessa Rajak (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 9–28, esp. 22–24.

5. See the various attempts of Shaye J. D. Cohen to speak of rituals marking women's conversion, in "Respect for Judaism," 430; and "Beginnings of Jewishness," 169–71, 271–73, 306–7. See also the suggestion of Martin Goodman that the majority of conversions to Judaism must have been for the purpose of facilitating marriage (Goodman, "Jewish Proselytizing," 65–66). The focus on marriage as either the means of, or the purpose for, Gentile women's conversion to Judaism is unfortunate, given the number of sources suggesting Gentile women's conversion outside of the framework of marriage.

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