

DAVID WYMAN

# Benefaction in Galatians

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe  
627*

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**Mohr Siebeck**

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627





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# Benefaction in Galatians

Mohr Siebeck

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## Preface

This book is a revised version of my dissertation, “Paul’s Endangered Benefactor: Galatians in Its Benefaction Context” (2022), written under the supervision of Daniel M. Gurtner (2017–2020) and Jarvis J. Williams (2020–2022) while I was a graduate student at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. The first several chapters are lightly revised, but the treatment of Galatians has undergone substantial revision and expansion. I owe a debt of thanks to Ross Wagner, who provided such detailed feedback in reviewing my original manuscript. He pointed out weaknesses and pushed me to expand my arguments in several ways, especially with respect to Galatians. Gratitude is also due to the editorial staff at Mohr Siebeck for their patience and kind reception of my work, including but not limited to Jörg Frey, Elena Müller, Markus Kirchner, Tobias Stäbler, and Tim Reichert. Writing this book would not have been possible without the help of numerous people. First, I owe thanks to Daniel Gurtner, who has taught me so much about being a scholar. He, along with the archivist Adam Winters, afforded me the opportunity to study the long-neglected Greek and Coptic papyri at the seminary archives. Delving into the field of papyrology, in turn, drew my attention to the study of other documentary sources, namely, inscriptions. An independent study with professor Gurtner in Hellenistic and early Roman history gave me the time to read extensively in the literary and documentary sources of the period. Even more so, Dan has helped and encouraged me even after his untimely and unfortunate departure from SBTS. He has truly gone above and beyond for me. Next, I must thank Jarvis Williams for kindly taking over as my supervisor. His doctoral seminars were an incubator for much of the groundwork of this book. I should also extend my gratitude to Jonathan Pennington and Tom Schreiner, who served on my dissertation committee. Furthermore, I thank James R. Harrison, who served as my external reader to the dissertation version of this book and provided extended and perceptive feedback. More than that, I thank him for encouraging me to submit it to Mohr Siebeck and for being so supportive of my research. I would be remiss if I did not also thank the faculty of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary during my time there from 2013 to 2016, especially Sean McDonough, Roy Ciampa, Gordon Hugenberger, and Adonis Vidu. I must also thank Keith Lewinsein and Michael Ierardi, whose history courses first attracted me to the study of antiquity. Professor Ierardi introduced me to the major events, people,

and topics within Hellenistic history and the early Roman Empire. Likewise, he supervised my initial learning of ancient Greek and my first foray into academic biblical studies. Moreover, for most of the time I revised this book I did not have institutional access to an academic library. Consequently, a word of thanks is due to the myriad people who have made access to ancient and modern sources less cumbersome for the unaffiliated. And thank you to my parents and parents-in-law for their manifold kindnesses. Finally, and most of all, I am grateful to my wife, Emma, who truly embodies the self-giving love of the endangered benefactor. It is to Emma, Fred, and Samson that I dedicate this work: ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐθέν εἰμι (1 Cor 13:2).

February 2025

*David Wyman*

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## List of Abbreviations

AB	The Anchor Bible
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
ACNT	Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament
AGRW	Ascough, Richard S., Philip A. Harland, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds. <i>Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook</i> . Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012
AIO	<i>Attic Inscription Online</i> , <a href="https://www.atticinscriptions.com/">https://www.atticinscriptions.com/</a>
A.J.	<i>Antiquitates judaicae</i>
Ant. rom.	<i>Antiquitates romanae</i>
Austin <sup>2</sup>	Austin, Michel. <i>The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation</i> . 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006
BAR	British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BD <sup>2</sup>	Bagnall, Roger S., and Peter Derow, eds. <i>The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation</i> . 2nd ed. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004
BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Danker. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
Ben.	<i>On Benefits</i>
BGU	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i> . Berlin, 1895–2005
BibAn	<i>The Biblical Annals</i>
Bib. hist.	<i>Bibliotheca historica</i>
B.J.	<i>Bellum judaicum</i>
Braund	Braund, David C. <i>Augustus to Nero: A Sourcebook to Roman History, 31 BC–AD 68</i> . New York: Routledge, 1985

- BTB* *Biblical Theology Bulletin*
- Burstein *Burstein, Stanley M., ed. and trans. The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Cleopatra VII. Translated Documents of Greece and Rome. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985*
- CGRN* Carbon, Jan-Mathieu, Saskia Peels, and Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, eds. *A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN)*. Liège, 2016–. <http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be>; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.54510/CGRN0>
- Choix ID* Durrbach, Félix, ed. *Choix D'Inscriptions de Délos*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976
- CID 4* Lefèvre, François, Didier Laroche, and Olivier Masson, eds. *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes. Tome IV, Documents amphictioniques*. Paris: École française d'Athènes, 2002
- CIG* Boeckh, August, Johannes Franz, Ernst Curtius, and Adolf Kirchoff, eds. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Berlin, 1828–1877. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1977
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin, 1863–
- Comp.* *De Compositione verborum*, Dionysios of Halikarnassos
- Danker *Danker, Frederick W. Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field*. St. Louis: Clayton, 1982
- DFHG* Berti, Monica. *Digital Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. Leipzig: University of Leipzig. <https://www.dfhg-project.org/>
- DGE* Adrados, Francisco R., and Juan Rodríguez Somolinos, eds. *Diccionario Griego Español*. <http://dge.cchs.csic.es/xdge/>
- Diod. Sic. *Diodoros of Sicily*
- Disc.* *Discourses*
- Ep.* *Epistulae morales*
- Epitome* *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*
- FD III* Bourget, Emile, Gaston Colin, Georges Daux, Théophile Homolle, and André Plassart, eds. *Fouilles de Delphes*. Vol. 3, *Épigraphie*. Paris: École Française d'Athènes, 1909–1976
- FGrH* Jakoby, Felix, ed. *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*. 15 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1923–1962
- GEI035* Fanucchi, Stefano. *Greek Economic Inscriptions 035: Kyparissia. Regulations on Pentecoste Collection*. <https://geionline.sns.it/search/document/GEI035>
- Hands* Hands, A. R. *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968

- Harding Philip, ed. and trans. *From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus*. Translated Documents of Greece and Rome. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985
- Hist.* *Histories*
- HTR* *Harvard Theological Review*
- I.Aph2007* Reynolds, Joyce, Charlotte Roueché, and Gabriel Bordard, eds. *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*. <https://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/insaph/>
- I.Assos* Merkelbach, Reinhold, ed. *Die Inschriften von Assos*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1976
- IC* Guarducci, Margarita, ed. *Inscriptiones Creticae*. Rome: National Institute of Archaeology and History of Art, 1935–1950
- ID* Durrbach, Félix, Pierre Roussel, and Marcel Launey, eds. *Inscriptions de Délos*. Paris: Champion, 1926–1972
- I.Eleus* Clinton, Kevin, ed. *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme*. Athens: Athens Archaeological Society, 2008
- I.Eph* *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1979–1984
- I.Erythr* Engelmann, Helmut, and Reinhold Merkelbach, eds. *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1972–1973
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin: 1873–
- IGBulg I<sup>2</sup>* Mihailov, Georgi, ed. *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae*. Vol. 1, *Inscriptiones orae Ponti Euxini*. 2nd ed. Sofia: Institutum Archaeologicum, 1970
- IGLSyria 3.1* Jalabert, Louis, and René Mouterde, eds. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. Vol. 3.1, *Région de l’Amanus, Antioche, Nos. 699–988*. Paris: Geuthner, 1950
- IGRR* Cagnat, René, Jules Toutain, Pierre Jonguet, and George Lafaye, eds. *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*. 3 vols. Paris: Leroux, 1906–1927
- I.GCyr* Dobias-Lalou, Catherin. *Inscriptions of Greek Cyrenaica*. Bologna: CRR-MM, Alma Mater Studiorum Università di Bologna, 2017.  
<http://doi.org/10.6092/UNIBO/IGCYRGVCYR>
- I.Iasos* Blümel, Walter, ed. *Die Inschriften von Iasos*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1985
- I.Keramos* Varinlioglu, Ender, ed. *Die Inschriften von Keramos*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1986



- I.Knidos* Blümel, Wolfgang, ed. *Die Inschriften von Knidos*. Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolph Habelt, 1992–2010
- I.Kyme* Engelmann, Helmut, ed. *Die Inschriften von Kyme*. Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolph Habelt, 1976
- I.Labraunda* Crampa, Jonas. *Swedish Excavations and Researches*, vol. III, part 1, *The Greek Inscriptions, Part I: 1–12 (Period of Olympichus)*. Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1969
- I.Milet 1 3* Rehm, Albert, ed. *Milet: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899*. Vol. 1.3, *Das Delphinion in Milet*. Berlin: Reimer, 1914
- I.Myl.* Blümel, Wolfgang, ed. *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*. Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolph Habelt, 1987
- IOSPE<sup>1</sup> 2* Latyschen, Vasilii, ed. *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae*. Vol. 1, *Inscriptiones Tyriae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae*. 2nd ed. St. Petersburg: 1916
- IOSPE<sup>3</sup> III* Makarov, Igor, ed., Irene Polinskaya, trans. *IOSPE: Ancient Inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea*. Vol. III: *Inscriptions of Chersonesos*. <https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/index.html>
- I.Perge* Sahlin, Sencer. *Die Inschriften von Perge*. Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolph Habelt, 1999–2004
- I.Philai* Bernard, André, and Étienne Bernard, eds. *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae*. 2 vols. Paris, 1969
- I.Priene* Hiller von Gärtringen, Friedrich. *Inschriften von Priene*. Berlin: Reimer, 1906
- I.RCyr2020* Reynolds, Joyce, Charlotte Roueché, and Gabriel Bordard, eds. *Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica 2020*. Society for Libyan Studies, 2020. <https://ircyr2020.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/>
- I.Rhamnous* Vasileios, Petrakos, ed. *Ho demos tou Ramnountos. Synopsē tōn anaskophōn kai tōn ereunōn (1813–1998)*. Vol. 2, *Hoi epigraphes*. Athens: The Archaeological Society of Athens, 1999
- I.ScM I* Pippidi, Dionisie, M, ed. *Inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris antiquae. Series altera: Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae*. Vol. 1, *Inscriptiones Histriae et vicinia*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1983
- I.ScM II* Stoian, Iorgu, ed. *Inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris antiquae. Series altera: Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae*. Vol. 2, *Tomis et territorium*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1987

- I.Stratonikeia* Sahin, Mehmet, ed. *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia*. Vols. 1–3. Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolph Habelt, 1981–2010
- IVP InterVarsity Press
- IvP* Fränkel, Max. *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*. Vols. 1–2. Berlin: W. Spemann, 1890–1895
- JBL* *Journal of Biblical Literature*
- JGRChJ* *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism*
- JMJS* *Journal of the Jesus Movement in Its Jewish Setting*
- JSNT* *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
- JSOTSS* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
- JTS* *The Journal of Theological Studies*
- LCL Loeb Classical Library
- LSJ Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, and Roderick McKenzie. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996
- Ma Ma, John. *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999
- MAAR* *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
- MAMA* 8 Calder, William, and James Maxwell Ross Cormack. *Monuments from Lycaonia, the Pisido-Phrygian Borderland, Aphrodisias*. Vol. 8 in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua (MAMA)*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962
- Malay – Petzl Malay, Hasan, and Georg Petzl, *New Religious Texts from Lydia*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017
- NA28 Aland, Barbara, and Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger, and Institute for New Testament Textual Research in Münster/Westphalia, eds. *Novum Testamentum Graece*. 28th rev. ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012
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- NewDocs* 10 Llewelyn, S. R., and J. R. Harrison, eds. *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, vol. 10, *A Review of the Greek and Other Published Inscriptions and Papyri Published between 1988 and 1992*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012

- New Docs Lydia* Herrmann, Peter and Hasan Malay. *New Documents from Lydia*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007
- NICNT New International Commentary on the New Testament
- NTL New Testament Library
- NTS *New Testament Studies*
- OGIS Dittenberger, Wilhelm, ed. *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae: supplementum Sylloges inscriptionum graecarum*. 1903–1905. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag AG, 1960
- O.Bodl 2* *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Various Other Collections, Vol. II: Ostraca of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. Edited by J. G. Tait and C. Préaux. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1955
- O.Cair* *Ostraka graeci del Museo Egizio de Cairo*. Edited by C. Gallazzi, R. Pintaudi, and K. A. Worp. Florence, 1986
- PCNT Paideia: Commentaries on the New Testament
- PH Packard Humanities
- P.Herc *Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi*
- PHI PHI Greek Documentary Texts. CD ROM #7. Software Database. Los Altos, CA: Packard Humanities Institute, 1991–1996. <https://epigraphy.packhum.org>.
- PI* Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Philosophical Investigations*. Translated by G. E. M. Anscombe, P. M. S. Hacker and Joachim Schulte. Edited by P. M. S. Hacker and Joachim Schulte. Rev. 4th ed. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009
- P.Mich 3* *Michigan Papyri, Vol. III: Miscellaneous Papyri*. Edited by John Garrett Winter. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1936
- P.Mich 5* *Michigan Papyri, Vol. V: Papyri from Tebtunis, Part II*. Edited by E. M. Husselman, A. E. R. Boak, and W. F. Edgerton. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1944
- P.Münch. 3* Hagedorn, Ursula, Dieter Hagedorn, Robert Hübner, and John C. Shelton, eds. *Die Papyri der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*. Vol. 3, *Griechische Urkundenpapyri der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, Part I. Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1986
- Polyb. Polybios
- PSI 10 *Papiri greci e latini*. Vol. 10. Florence: Italian Society for the Study of Greek and Latin Papyri in Egypt, 1932
- P.Tebt. 2* Grenfell, Bernard P., and Arthur S. Hunt. *The Tebtunis Papyri*. Vol. 2. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1907

- P.Yadin* Lewis, Naphtali, ed. *The Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989
- RC* Welles, C. Bradford. *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934
- RDGE* Sherck, Robert K. *Roman Documents from the Greek East: Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969
- Reynolds Reynolds, Joyce. *Aphrodisias and Rome*. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1982
- RGDA* *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*
- Rom. Hist.* *Roman History*
- RPC I* Burnett, Andrew, Michel Amandry, and Pere Pau Ripollès, eds. *Roman Provincial Coinage*. Vol. 1, *From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*. London: The British Museum, 1992
- RPC IV.3* *Roman Provincial Coinage*. Vol. 4.3, *The Antonine Period (AD 138–192): Lycia-Pamphilia to Arabia*. *RPC Online*. <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/>
- SB* Priesigke, Friedrich, Friedrich Bilabel, Emil Kiessling, Hans-Albert Rupprecht, eds. *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*. Vols. 1–21. Heidelberg: Im Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1915–2001
- SBL Society of Biblical Literature
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. 66 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1923–
- Sherck [1984] Sherck, Robert K, ed. and trans. *Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus*. Translated Documents of Greece and Rome. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984
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- SP 2* Hunt, A. S., and C. C. Edgar. *Select Papyri*, Volume II: *Public Documents*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934
- Syll.*<sup>3</sup> Dittenberger, Wilhelm, Friedrich Hiller von Gärtingen, Johannes Kirchner, Hans Rudolf Pomtow, and Erich Ziebarth, eds. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. 4 vols. 3rd ed. Leipzig: 1915–1925
- TBN Themes in Biblical Narratives
- TDGR Translated Documents of Greece and Rome

- THGNT* Jongkind, Dirk, Peter J. Williams, Peter M. Head, and Patrick James, eds. *The Greek New Testament, Produced at Tyndale House Cambridge*. Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2017.
- TLG* *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*® Digital Library. Edited by Maria C. Pantelia. University of California, Irvine. <http://www.tlg.uci.edu>
- TM Trismegistos
- UPZ* Wilcken, Ulrich. *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (ältere Funde)*. 2 vols. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1927–1957
- WBC Word Biblical Commentary
- WUNT Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
- ZECNT Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

## Editorial Signs for Papyri and Inscriptions

$\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$	letters uncertain
... or -10-	approximate number of letters illegible
[...] or [-10-]	approximate number of letters missing
] or [] or [	missing letters of unknown number
[ $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$ ]	letters restored by the editor
< > or ***	lacuna in text (by scribe), not restored
< $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$ >	additions of editor to fill lacuna
( $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$ )	resolution of abbreviations by editor
{ $\alpha\beta\delta$ } or {...} or { $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$ }	interpolations
[[ $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$ ]]	erasures by the scribe
<u><math>\alpha\beta\gamma\delta</math></u>	letters read previously but no longer visible
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## Chapter 1

# Benefaction in the Study of Galatians

## 1.1 Introduction

All languages are firmly embedded in culture. Ludwig Wittgenstein notes that “to imagine a language means to imagine a form of life.”<sup>1</sup> Meaning in language is integrated into the activities and shared spaces of human (embodied) interaction and getting along together in the world. Wittgenstein uses the term “language-game” (*Sprachspiel*) “to emphasize the fact that the *speaking* of language is part of an activity, or of a form of life.”<sup>2</sup> The field of Cognitive Linguistics explains that “meaning is encyclopedic in nature,” that is, “word meaning cannot be understood independently of the vast repository of encyclopedic knowledge to which it is linked.”<sup>3</sup> A word is like a node in a network that gives access to a large cultural storehouse of practices, customs, institutions, attitudes, emotions, values, concepts, know-how, hierarchies, stories, domains, schemas, frames, scripts, and more in any given usage.<sup>4</sup> As Umberto Eco similarly observes, “every text (even the most simple sentence) describes or presupposes a possible world.”<sup>5</sup> So, for example, the English word *Monday* can only be understood as a part of a seven-day week, which is itself understood

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<sup>1</sup> “Und eine Sprache vorstellen heißt, sich eine Lebensform vorstellen.” Wittgenstein, *PI*, §19.

<sup>2</sup> Wittgenstein, *PI*, §23. He categorizes a fairly comprehensive list of language games: “Giving orders, and acting on them,” “Describing an object by its appearance, or by its measurements,” “Constructing an object from a description (a drawing),” “Reporting an event,” “Speculating about the event,” “Forming and testing a hypothesis,” “Presenting the results of an experiment in tables and diagrams,” “Making up a story; and reading one,” “Acting in a play,” “Singing rounds,” “Guessing riddles,” “Cracking a joke; telling one,” “Solving a problem in applied arithmetic,” “Translating from one language into another,” “Requesting, thanking, cursing, greeting, praying.”

<sup>3</sup> Vyvyan Evans and Melanie Green, *Cognitive Linguistics: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 206. Bolded text removed.

<sup>4</sup> For domains, schemas, frames, and scripts, see John R. Taylor, *Linguistic Categorization*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 87–95. Taylor states, “Word meanings are cognitive structures, embedded patterns of knowledge and belief; the context against which meanings are characterized extends beyond the language system as such.” Thus, the term *toothbrush* gains its meaning “from the role of toothbrushes in dental hygiene, and not from paradigmatic contrasts with other terms in the language system” (87).

<sup>5</sup> Umberto Eco, *Mouse or Rat? Translation as Negotiation* (London: Phoenix, 2003), 19.



only with the temporal concept of “the recurring night-day cycle.”<sup>6</sup> The week constitutes the domain within which *Monday* is comprehensible, and the night-day cycle of time the domain for the concept of the seven-day week.<sup>7</sup> But *Monday* also needs to be understood as a part of the regular work week that is divided into five days of work and two days of rest – Monday being the day that begins the work week and ends the leisure period.<sup>8</sup> If a someone asks a coworker, “How are you?,” and they respond, “It’s Monday,” the response is only comprehensible in the context of the attitudes associated with the transition from leisure to work in the seven-day week. So, the answer, “It’s Monday,” would likely communicate an unenthusiastic or pessimistic attitude.<sup>9</sup> To take an example in Greek during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, the term *χαίρειν* creates a greeting frame from the sender to the recipient.<sup>10</sup> The simple term prompts the recipient to construe their interaction in a certain way, sets their expectations, and guides their response.<sup>11</sup> Words are a door into a language-game and a wider cultural frame. As a result, understanding Paul’s use of certain terms in his letter to the Galatians opens the door to his cultural context – the ancient cultural encyclopedia – to help determine the sense of each word and what broader cultural scripts, practices, and institutions Paul is invoking for his auditors.

New Testament scholarship in the last few decades has shown that Paul uses language and concepts drawn from the domain of civic benefaction and that understanding the reciprocity systems of patronage and benefaction helps contextualize Paul’s portrayal of divine generosity and the proper human response(s).<sup>12</sup> Chiefly, the term *χάρις* is embedded in the benefactor-recipient relationship in the ancient Greco-Roman Mediterranean society of which Paul and his Christ-associations were a part. The term *χάρις* carries a different sense

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<sup>6</sup> Taylor, *Linguistic Categorization*, 87.

<sup>7</sup> Taylor, *Linguistic Categorization*, 87.

<sup>8</sup> Taylor, *Linguistic Categorization*, 89.

<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the opposite attitude could be understood, depending on the person, the parties involved, the speaker’s general attitude toward their job, the tone of voice, shared knowledge of that particular weekend, or other local circumstances or relationships.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., *OGIS* 223.2 (late 4th–mid 3rd c. BC); 2 Macc 1:1; *BGU* 6.1296.2 (210 BC); *BGU* 6.1248.2 (137 BC); *P. Tebt.* 2.519.1 (AD 11); *BGU* 7.1660.3 (AD 41); *BGU* 1.37.2 (AD 50). Unless otherwise noted, for the text of the LXX this dissertation uses Alfred Rahlfs and Robert Hanhart, eds., *Septuaginta*, rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006).

<sup>11</sup> Evans and Green, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 11.

<sup>12</sup> The two most significant studies in this regard are by Frederick Danker and James Harrison. See Frederick W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis: Clayton, 1982); James R. Harrison, *Paul’s Language of Grace in Its Graeco-Roman Context* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003). For further bibliography, see the history of research section below. Another significant study, though not as focused on the institution of euergetism, is John M. G. Barclay, *Paul and the Gift* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015).

based on the context in which it occurs: the sense of (1) generosity or favorable disposition (usually of the benefactor), (2) a concrete benefaction or favor in the form of deeds or items, or (3) the return favor or response of gratitude and thanks to the benefactor(s).<sup>13</sup>

Of the three senses of χάρις that Paul uses in his letters, sense three (gratitude) proves easiest to identify. Paul uses this sense regularly with the phrase χάρις τῷ θεῷ. The same usage of giving χάρις to God, who is conceptualized as the divine benefactor, occurs in Philo of Alexandria (*Alleg. Interp.* 2.60) and the Stoic philosopher Epictetus (*Disc.* 4.7.9).<sup>14</sup> In this usage, the beneficiary or recipient of divine generosity (Paul) renders gratitude (χάρις) to the divine benefactor (God). Paul responds to God with gratitude as a response to the deeds and gifts of his great benefactor for liberation from slavery to sin (Rom 6:17–18), deliverance from “this body of death” (Rom 7:24–25), and victory over death (1 Cor 15:54–57).<sup>15</sup> Further, Paul thanks God for making his “scent”

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<sup>13</sup> Several people describe the senses of χάρις similarly. BDAG: “a beneficent disposition toward someone” (sense 1), “practical application of goodwill” (sense 2), and “response to generosity or beneficence” (sense 3). BDAG, “χάρις,” 1079–1081. LSJ: “on the part of the doer, *grace, kindness, goodwill, τινος for or towards one*” (sense 1; LSJ, “χάρις,” A.II.1), “in concrete sense, a favor done or returned, *boon*” (sense 2; LSJ, “χάρις,” A.III), “on the part of the receiver, sense of favor received, *thankfulness, gratitude* (sense 3; LSJ, “χάρις,” A.II.2). Zeller: “Die Gunst,” whether “als Gesinnung” (sense 1) or “konkret als Gunsterwies, Gab” (sense 2), “der darauf antwortende Dank” (sense 3). Dieter Zeller, *Charis bei Philon und Paulus* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1990), 13–14. Crook: “virtue of generosity” (sense 1), “act or item of generosity” (sense 2), “gratitude for generosity” (sense 3). Zeba A. Crook, “Grace as Benefaction in Galatians 2:9, 1 Corinthians 3:10, and Romans 12:3; 15:15,” in *The Social Sciences and Biblical Translation*, ed. Dietmar Neufeld (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 25–38. deSilva: “the disposition to show ‘favor’” (sense 1), “the ‘gift’ or ‘assistance’ given” (sense 2), “the response to the favor received, hence ‘gratitude’ or ‘thanks’” (sense 3). David A. deSilva, *The Letter to the Galatians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2018), 255. The other main sense of χάρις, “of the object of favor, *the quality of charm or agreeableness*,” occurs outside the benefaction frame and does not occur in Galatians. Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 576–577; cf. Crook, “Grace as Benefaction.” BDAG posits another sense, “exceptional effect produced by generosity” (BDAG, “χάρις,” 1080). Others do not recognize this additional sense.

<sup>14</sup> Speaking about Noah’s nakedness (which was contrary to virtue), Philo states, “But, thanks be to God (χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ), (ὅτι) the change of condition and the stripping of the mind which ensued upon the deprivation of virtue, did not spread out abroad and reach those outside, but stayed in the house” (Philo, *Allegorical Interpretation*, 2.60 [Colson and Whitaker, LCL]). Epictetus, speaking about the truly free person, says that “he will be free, serene, happy, unharmed, high-minded, reverent, giving thanks for all things to God (χάριν ἔχον ὑπὲρ πάντων τῷ θεῷ), under no circumstances finding fault with anything that has happened, nor blaming anything” (Epictetus, *Disc.*, 4.7.9 [Oldfather, LCL]; cf. 4.4.7).

<sup>15</sup> Rom 6:17 (χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ ὅτι ἦτε δοῦλοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὑπηκούσατε δὲ ἐκ καρδίας εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδασχῆς); Rom 7:25 (χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν); 1 Cor 15:57 (τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις τῷ δίδόντι ἡμῖν τὸ νίκος διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ).

known abroad (2 Cor 2:14), giving the civic virtue of enthusiasm (σπουδή) to Titus (2 Cor 8:16), and for giving “his indescribable gift” (τῆ ἀνεκδιγήγητο αὐτοῦ δωρεᾶ; 2 Cor 9:15).<sup>16</sup>

Determining whether χάρις refers to the generous disposition of the benefactor (sense 1) or to the concrete manifestation of the benefactor’s generous disposition (sense 2) can be difficult. The most determinative factor is that when χάρις is the object of giving (e.g., δοῦναι) or receiving (e.g., λαβεῖν, δέχεσθαι), then it more likely refers to a concrete object (a deed or item).<sup>17</sup> Typically, God is the giver and Paul and/or other people are the recipients.<sup>18</sup> Thus, χάρις in these contexts refers to the giving and receiving of a concrete

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<sup>16</sup> 2 Cor 2:14 (τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις τῷ πάντοτε θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τὴν ὄσμην τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ φανεροῦντι δι’ ἡμῶν ἐν παντί τόπῳ); 2 Cor 8:16 (χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ τῷ δόντι τὴν αὐτὴν σπουδὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ Τίτου); 2 Cor 9:15 (χάρις τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνεκδιγήγητο αὐτοῦ δωρεᾷ). The term σπουδή is characteristic of benefactors. In 2 Corinthians 8:16, Paul is thanking God for providing the Corinthians with the same attribute of σπουδή (enthusiasm). In honorific inscriptions, σπουδή and its cognates are the most common ways to describe “the enthusiasm with which benefactors approach their responsibilities.” Danker, *Benefactor*, 320. For examples of σπουδή in honorific inscriptions, see, e.g., *IG* XL.4.687.4 (3rd c. BC, Delos); *IG* XII.4.135.20 (280 BC, Kos); *IGBulg* I<sup>2</sup> 13.41 (48 BC, Dionysopolis). Another identifiable instance of this sense of χάρις occur in 1 Corinthians 10:30 in which Paul speaks about partaking in a meal “with gratitude” (ἐν χάριτι). So, BDAG translates, “in thanksgiving.” BDAG, “χάρις,” 1080.

<sup>17</sup> Rom 1:5 (οἱ οὐ ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ ἀποστολὴν εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ); Rom 12:3 (λέγω γὰρ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τῆς δοθείσης μοι παντὶ τῷ ὄντι ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ’ ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν, ἐκάστῳ ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἐμέρισε μέτρον πίστεως), Rom 12:6 (ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα, εἶτε προφητεῖαν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογία τῆς πίστεως); Rom 15:15 (τολμηρότερον δὲ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἀπὸ μέρους ὡς ἐπαναμνησκῶν ὑμᾶς διὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ); 1 Cor 1:4 (εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ δοθείσῃ ὑμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ); 1 Cor 3:10 (κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων θεμέλιον ἔθηκα, ἄλλος δὲ ἐποικοδομεῖ. ἕκαστος δὲ βλέπετο πῶς ἐποικοδομεῖ); 2 Cor 6:1 (συνεργοῦντες δὲ καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν μὴ εἰς κενὸν τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ δέξασθαι ὑμᾶς); 2 Cor 8:1 (γνωρίζομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δεδομένην ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Μακεδονίας); Gal 2:9 (γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι); cf. Eph 3:2, 7, 8; 4:7, 29. *DGE* gives χάριτας δέχεσθαι the gloss “acceptar favores.” *DGE*, “δέχομαι.” A particular stock usage of χάρις pairs it with ἀποδοῦναι (and cognates) and occurs in manifesto clauses of honorific inscriptions to indicate a reciprocal act with which the beneficiaries give a favor (χάρις) to the benefactor in return for his or her deed(s) or gifts. Harrison, *Paul’s Language of Grace in Its Graeco-Roman Context*, 40–43. Such a construction, though, does not occur in Paul’s commonly accepted letters. See, e.g., *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1 400.9–10 (ca. 350–339 BC; ὁ δῆμος χάριτας ἀποδ[ί]δωσιν τοῖς εἰς εἰς αὐτὸν φιλοτι[μιο]-μύνοις).

<sup>18</sup> A possible exception to God being the subject is Romans 1:5, where Christ may be the subject. In this case, it appears that Christ (a benefactor himself) is acting as an intermediary between God and Paul and whoever he includes in the “we.” The δία may suggest this arrangement.

object. Perhaps, though, the English word “favor” may be helpful in covering some of the ambiguity of these two senses of χάρις. So, for example, one could render Romans 15:15 as “the benefaction given to me by God” or more ambiguously as “the favor given to me by God” (διὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ).

The χάρις-language in Roman political displays of generosity or in local displays of gratitude for benefits helps contextualize Paul’s uses of χάρις. For instance, Sulla informs the Guild of Dionysiac Artists that they are granted exemption from liturgies, military service, and taxes by the Senate’s “generosity/favor” (χάριτι; *RDGE* 49B.6; 84 BC). In Ephesus, a partial tax-reduction or immunity was enacted “by the generosity/favor of Emperor Caesar Augustus” (χάρι<τι> Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ; *SEG* 36.1027.92–93). A road was constructed in Ephesus “by the generosity/favor of Caesar Augustus” ([τῆ] ἰ Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστο[ῦ] χάριτι); 22/21 BC; *SEG* 41.971.1–2; see also *NewDocs* 10 §11). In Egypt, Tiberius Ilius Alexander reaffirmed a tax-immunity that was enacted “by the generosity/favor of the god Claudius” (τῆι τοῦ θεοῦ Κλαυδίου χάριτι; *OGIS* 669.28–29; AD 68; see Sherk [1988] §80). In the mid-first-century AD, the prefect of Egypt was lauded for “his godlike benefactions” (αἱ ἰσόθεοι αὐτοῦ χάριτες; *OGIS* 666.21; AD 55–59; see Sherk [1988] §63). A few decades later, the Aphrodisians attributed their longtime “freedom and autonomy” to “the generosity/favor of the Augusti” (τῆ τῶν Σε[βασ]τῶν χάριτι; Reynolds §42.8–9; AD 89–90).<sup>19</sup> An inscription from Kyzikos remarks how local kings thanked the emperor Gaius for his benefactions, saying, “the kings, even if they racked their brains, were not able to find appropriate ways of repaying their benefactions to express their gratitude to such a great god.”<sup>20</sup> The inscription remarks how the kings were “reaping the abundant fruits of his [i.e., Gaius’s] immortal favor” (οἱ <δὲ> τῆς ἀθανάτου χάριτος τὴν ἀφθονίαν καρποῦμενοι; *IGR* 4 145.7–8) and enjoying their royal station “as a result of the favor of Gaius Caesar” (ἐ<κ> τῆς Γαίου Καίσαρος χάριτος; *IGR* 4 145.9).<sup>21</sup> It is no surprise then that in an inscription from Sardis (AD 41–54) the *demos* displays their “piety and thanksgiving” (εὐσέβεια καὶ εὐχαριστία) to Tiberius Caesar by hailing him as “benefactor of the world” for his benefits (εὐεργέτης τοῦ κόσμου; *SEG* 36.1092.11–13).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> References to *OGIS* 669 and *SEG* 24.1108 thanks to Harrison, *Paul’s Language of Grace in Its Graeco-Roman Context*, 48. On the customs law of Asia (*SEG* 36.1027), see *NewDocs* 10 §16.

<sup>20</sup> κἄν πάνυ ἐπινοῶσιν, εἰς εὐχαριστίαν τηλικούτου θεοῦ εὐρεῖν ἴσας ἀμοιβὰς οἷς εὐεργέτηνται μὴ δυναμέων (*IGR* 4 145.5–6; AD 37). *IGR* 4 145 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 798 = PH288719. Translation from Simon Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 244. See also, Sherk [1988] §42B.

<sup>21</sup> Translation from Price, *Rituals and Power*, 244.

<sup>22</sup> Translation from *NewDocs* 9 §10.

In Galatians, Paul highlights the generosity/favor and benefaction of God and Christ. Not only does Paul open and close his letter to the Galatians by wishing upon them the generosity/favor or benefaction (χάρις) of God and Christ (Gal 1:3; 6:18), he invokes χάρις at key points in his letter to strengthen the persuasive force of his arguments. He remarks how the Galatian assemblies were “called” (καλησαι) “by the generosity/favor of Christ” (ἐν χάριτι χριστοῦ; Gal 1:6) and how accepting mandatory circumcision cuts them off from Christ’s generosity/favor or benefaction (τῆς χάριτος ἐξέπεσατε; Gal 5:4). Paul claims that he himself is the recipient of a divine benefaction from God (τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι; Gal 2:9), and that he was called by God’s generosity/favor to herald God’s messiah among the nations (καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ; Gal 1:15). Further, Paul asserts that his understanding of δικαιοσύνη does not nullify God’s benefaction (οὐκ ἄθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ; Gal 2:21). It is beyond the limit of the present study to exhaustively catalogue the senses of χάρις – this study is not an analysis of the term χάρις – but others have attempted to categorize every use of χάρις in the New Testament or Pauline corpus.<sup>23</sup> Their categorizations indicate that Paul comfortably uses the word χάρις with its several normal uses within the civic benefaction framework. In Galatians, then, Paul’s uses of χάρις suggest that he is operating in the broad cultural domain of benefaction (Gal 1:3, 6, 15; 2:9, 21; 5:4; 6:18; cf. χαρίζεσθαι in 3:18).<sup>24</sup> Importantly, though, his use of χάρις points beyond the term itself to the broader cultural encyclopedia of civic benefaction. In this study, the focus is not limited to the word χάρις itself; rather, the term χάρις is merely the entry point into the wider cultural scripts and motifs of benefaction.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., Zeba A. Crook, *Reconceptualising Conversion: Patronage, Loyalty, and Conversion in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), 143; Crook, “Grace as Benefaction,” 36; BDAG, χάρις, 1079–1081.

<sup>24</sup> On the use of χαρίζεσθαι in the epigraphical record to describe an act of benefaction/favor or disposition to do a favor, see, e.g., *IG IX.1* 78.12–13 (Abai [Phokis], 208 BC; καὶ ὑμῖν βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι); *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 588.67–69 (Miletos, early 2nd c. BC; τοὺς δὲ ὑπεράγον[τας] αἰχμαλώτους τοὺς Μιλησίων χαρίζόμενος ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μαγνήτων ἔδωκεν [ἄ-|ν]εν λύτρου Ῥοδίου); *IG XII.6* 1.145.6–7 (Samos, 2nd c. BC; βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι ἀπέστειλεν ἄνδρας καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς); PH149475.A29–30, B50–51 (Beroia, 1st third of 2nd c. BC; οὔτε φίλοι χαρίζόμενος οὐ-||τε ἐχθρὸν βλάπτω παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον [II. A29–30]; ὅς ἂν αὐτῶι δοκῆ ἄριστα τὸ σῶμα διακείσθαι οὔτε χάριτος ἔνεκεν οὔτε ἐχθρας οὐδεμῆς [II. B50–51]; note the parallel use of χαρίζεσθαι and χάρις to refer to doing a favor); Reynolds §13.4–6 (Aphrodisias, 31–19 BC; οὐ γάρ ἐστιν δίκαιον τὸ πάντων μέγιστον φιλόνητον εἰκῆ καὶ χωρὶς αἰτίας χαρίζεσθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ || ὑμῖν μὲν εὐνοῶ καὶ βουλοίμην ἂν τῆ γυναικί μου ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν σπουδαζούσῃ χαρίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ | οὐχ ὥστε καταλύσαι τὴν συνήθειάν μου); *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 5173.3 (41–54 AD; ἐχαρίσατο); PH345421.12–13 (Ariassos [Pisidia], ca. 238 AD; δίδημι δὲ καὶ χ<a>ρίζομαι τῆ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι μου| κτήσιν μου).

The institution of civic benefaction, or euergetism, was widespread across the Greek-speaking cityscape in the centuries surrounding Paul's letters.<sup>25</sup> Civic benefaction typically consisted of a prominent local or foreign individual benefitting a civic body and in return the city, in gratitude, memorialized the benefactor's deeds by giving public praise, prestige, and rewards. The benefactor(s) might help conclude a treaty (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 227*), assist in the liberation of a city (*IG II<sup>3</sup> 1.918*), supply food during a famine (*OGIS 194*), defend a city (*OGIS 765*), complete a building project (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 505*), provide medical services (*OGIS 220*; *SEG 27.513*), relieve debt (*SEG 49.1041*), act as an envoy to secure an advantageous alliance (*Syll.<sup>3</sup> 591*), ransom captives (*IG II<sup>3</sup> 1.430, 875*), or benefit the community in other ways.<sup>26</sup> A public inscription in a prominent place like the acropolis, agora, or temple publicized the benefactions and rewards and in so doing enshrined the benefactor's civic service(s) and virtues into public memory.<sup>27</sup> For a civic community the act of publicly bestowing

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<sup>25</sup> For the origins and early development of euergetism, see Marc Domingo Gygax, *Benefaction and Rewards in the Ancient Greek City: The Origins of Euergetism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). On its development in the Hellenistic period, see Philippe Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (IV<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> siècle avant J.-C.): contribution à l'histoire des institutions* (Paris: École Française d'Athènes, 1985). On euergetism in the early Roman Empire in Asia Minor, see Arjan Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). A wide view of the institution of benefaction across antiquity can be found in the collection of essays in Marc Domingo Gygax and Arjan Zuiderhoek, eds., *Benefactors and the Polis: The Public Gift in the Greek Cities from the Homeric World to Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021). On different aspects of Roman civic patronage, see, e.g., Claude Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), and John Nicols, *Civic Patronage in the Roman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2014). For benefactor-kings in the Hellenistic period, see Klaus Bringmann, "The King as Benefactor: Some Remarks on Ideal Kingship in the Age of Hellenism," in *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World*, ed. Anthony W. Bulloch, Erich S. Gruen, A. A. Long, and Andrew Stewart (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 7–24; cf. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs*, 39–53. By the early second century BC at the latest, euergetism had made its way into Judea. On Jewish familiarity with Greek benefaction and how Judeans implemented a modified version of Greek-style civic benefaction, see Gregg Gardner, "Jewish Leadership and Hellenistic Civic Benefaction in the Second Century B.C.E.," *JBL* 126, no. 2 (2007): 327–343. On women citizen-benefactors, see Przemysław Siewierka, Krystyna Stebnicka, and Aleksander Wolicki, *Women and the Polis: Public Honorific Inscriptions for Women in the Greek Cities from the Late Classical to the Roman Period*, vols. 1–2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021).

<sup>26</sup> See also the succinct list of benefaction types in W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, 3rd ed. (Cleveland, OH: World, 1952), 108–109.

<sup>27</sup> The rewards could include various packages of the following (among others): inviolability of possessions, public announcement of the crown at a festival like the Dionysia, freedom from certain taxes, free public meals, priority access to the city council, citizenship, the



praise (ἔπαινος) and rewards to benefactors functioned as a signal to would-be benefactors that the community returns appropriate gratitude to those who would do it good. With these public rewards the community sought to stimulate further generosity from the benefactor or from others.

Despite the many studies in New Testament scholarship devoted to contextualizing the various documents in their benefaction context, the phenomenon of endangered benefaction and Paul's letter to the Galatians have featured less in the scholarship compared to other topics related to benefaction.<sup>28</sup> Endangered benefaction occurs in two distinct but often overlapping forms. The first expression of endangered benefaction focuses on the benefactor himself. In this form a benefactor voluntarily risks his or her life to benefit another person or a group, whether it be a king (e.g., *OGIS* 220), emperor (e.g., *SEG* 54.1625), or a city (e.g., *I.Priene* 17; *SEG* 28.60; *I.ScM* I 15; *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1.1147). This pattern of endangered benefaction forms a part of a wider cross-cultural motif of self-endangerment in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods (e.g., Diodoros of Sicily, *Bib. hist.*, 18.34.2; Theophrastos, *Characters*, 25.6; Josephus, *Life*, 14–16). In the second expression of endangered benefaction an individual or group is in some sort of dangerous situation or crisis that a benefactor addresses through acts of service that deliver the imperiled person or group from the oppressive circumstances (e.g., *I.ScM* I 54). Not infrequently the benefactor's service also involves self-endangerment on the recipient's behalf (e.g., *SEG* 28.60; *I.ScM* I 15; *SEG* 54.1625).

Paul's portrayal of Christ's self-endangerment unto death for the benefit of his constituents in Galatians (e.g., Gal 1:4; 2:20; 3:13) opens the possibility for comparing Christ with the wider phenomenon of endangered benefaction. Moreover, other cultural norms of gift-giving and reciprocity could use a fresh evaluation based on examples of gift-events and specific benefaction relationships in the historical records of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods – roughly the period of “the long Hellenistic Age” from Alexander III to Marcus Aurelius.<sup>29</sup> The aim of such an evaluation is not to offer a comprehensive reconceptualization of ancient reciprocity systems nor is it to simply restate what

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right of import/export in war and peace, front seat privileges at games, statue(s), equestrian statue(s), a golden or leaf crown.

<sup>28</sup> The phrase “endangered benefaction” and its first formulation as a distinct motif comes from Frederick Danker. See Frederick W. Danker, “The Endangered Benefactor in Luke-Acts,” in *Society of Biblical Literature 1981 Seminar Papers*, ed. Kent Harold Richards (Atlanta: SBL Press, 1981), 39–48; Danker, *Benefactor*, 417–435; Frederick W. Danker, “Imaged Through Beneficence,” in *Reimagining the Death of the Lukan Jesus*, ed. Dennis D. Sylva (Frankfurt: Anton Hain, 1990), 57–67, 184–186.

<sup>29</sup> On the phrase “the long Hellenistic Age,” see Angelos Chaniotis, *Age of Conquests: The Greek World from Alexander to Hadrian* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 3–9, 386–400. The present study also includes some sources from the late Classical period (ca. 400–323 BC).

other New Testament scholars have already stated; rather, the goal is to survey the ancient sources for select dynamics and motifs that find prominent expression in Galatians and to focus on historical examples that can help calibrate likely cultural scripts and expectations for Paul and his audience. For example – to take some of the more noted themes from Galatians – the topics of freedom, enslavement, promise, fidelity, defection, and imitation all feature in the varied examples of benefaction and gifting. Thus, when these and other related topics are combined with the motifs of danger, self-endangerment, and benefaction, they come together to produce a more full-orbed account of the benefaction dynamics in Galatians. The ensuing chapters detail how examining a rich panoply of benefaction-events and attendant motifs affords one with conceptual resources to understand Galatians in its historical-cultural context.

## 1.2 Thesis

The basic thesis of this dissertation is that in Galatians Paul uses benefaction terminology, motifs, and social scripts in continuity with their normal range of usage and understanding. Nevertheless, he configures and combines these various elements in a distinctive manner as a herald of the eschatological restoration of Israel from among the nations.<sup>30</sup> In other words, in general Paul is culturally ordinary because he uses shared terminology, motifs, and social scripts related to benefaction, but (like anyone else) he is different in how he individually employs them in his specific local context. Consequently, comparing Paul's message in Galatians with the wider cultural encyclopedia of benefaction yields similarities and differences at distinct levels of abstraction. The similarities are at the higher level of abstraction of shared language, motifs, and social scripts, and the differences are at the lower level of abstraction of how those shared cultural elements are combined and used in individual local contexts.

## 1.3 Survey of Post-1980 Research on Benefaction in Galatians

Several studies have made comparisons between how Paul's language and concepts in Galatians compare with other concepts or practices in his environment to better understand his message. For example, the topics of noble death, the Greek *pharmakos* ritual, Jewish Martyrology, and the Roman *devotio* have all featured in comparative works devoted to or involving Paul's portrayal of the

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<sup>30</sup> On Paul as proponent of an Israelite eschatological restorationist perspective, see Jason A. Staples, *Paul and the Resurrection of Israel: Jews, Former Gentiles, Israelites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024).



death of Christ in Galatians.<sup>31</sup> Lacking from the corpus of comparative studies is one that thoroughly investigates how Paul's language of benefaction and endangered benefaction in Galatians exhibits similarities and differences to the wider cultural context.<sup>32</sup>

### 1.3.1 Benefaction Studies and New Testament Studies

Modern English scholarship on Greek and Roman reciprocity systems in relation to ancient Judaism and the New Testament has proliferated since the 1980s.<sup>33</sup> Frederick Danker's 1982 monograph *Benefactor* marks a definitive moment for the study of benefaction in the New Testament because of its comprehensiveness and its detailed incorporation of Greek inscriptions. In the ensuing decade, Danker made several smaller contributions to the study of benefaction in Paul.<sup>34</sup> After Danker, research into benefaction in Paul has been con-

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<sup>31</sup> E.g., David Seeley, *The Noble Death: Greco-Roman Martyrology and Paul's Concept of Salvation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990); B. Hudson McLean, *The Cursed Christ: Mediterranean Expulsion Rituals and Pauline Soteriology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); Basil S. Davis, *Christ as Devotio: The Argument of Galatians 3:1–14* (New York: University Press of America, 2002); Jarvis J. Williams, *Maccabean Martyr Traditions in Paul's Theology of Atonement: Did Martyr Theology Shape Paul's Conception of Jesus's Death?* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2010), 112–113; *Christ Redeemed 'Us' from the Curse of the Law: A Jewish Martyrological Reading of Galatians 3:13* (London: T & T Clark, 2019); Joel L. Watts, *Jesus as Divine Suicide* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2019). See also Christina Eschner's significant study, *Gestorben und hingegeben „für“ die Sünder: Die griechische Konzeption des Unheil abwendenden Sterbens und deren paulinische Aufnahme für die Deutung des Todes Jesu Christi*, 2 vols (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchen Verlag, 2010), esp. 1:383–413, 421–422, 423–445, 476–483.

<sup>32</sup> Ferdinand Okorie recently examined Galatians in its benefaction context, but his work leaves room for a study that more closely attends to ancient sources and has a more detailed analysis of ancient Greek civic benefaction in relation to Galatians. Ferdinand Okorie, "Benefaction in Galatians: An Analysis of Paul's Language of God's Favor in Its Greco-Roman Context" (PhD diss., Loyola University Chicago, 2018). See now a revised and updated version of his dissertation in Ferdinand Okorie, *Favor and Gratitude: Reading Galatians in Its Greco-Roman Context* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2021). Note that the published version of Okorie's dissertation is significantly revised, the original being 297 pages long and the published version being 126 pages. I will primarily refer to the published version throughout.

<sup>33</sup> On scholarship on benefaction (including on Paul) that spans the whole twentieth century, see the summary in Harrison, *Paul's Language of Grace in Its Graeco-Roman Context*, 3–23. On prominent twentieth century studies on χάρις, see Crook, *Reconceptualising Conversion*, 132–148.

<sup>34</sup> Frederick W. Danker, *2 Corinthians* (Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989); Danker, "Imaged Through Beneficence," 57–67, 184–186; Frederick W. Danker, "Paul's Debt to the *De Corona* of Demosthenes: A Study of Rhetorical Techniques in Second Corinthians," in *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhe-*

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