

Ephesos as a Religious Center under the Principate

Edited by
ALLEN BLACK,
CHRISTINE M. THOMAS,
and TREVOR W. THOMPSON

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zum Neuen Testament*

Mohr Siebeck

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488



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and Trevor W. Thompson

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Table of Contents

Abbreviations	VII
List of Figures and Illustrations	XI

ALLEN BLACK

Preface	XV
---------------	----

CHRISTINE M. THOMAS

Introduction.....	1
-------------------	---

I. Ephesos the City

ELISABETH RATHMAYR

New Evidence for Imperial Cult in Dwelling Unit 7 in Terrace House 2 in Ephesos	9
--	---

HILKE THÜR

The House of C. Fl. Furius Aptus in Ephesos: Clubhouse of a Dionysiac Association?	37
---	----

ULRIKE MUSS

The Artemision of Ephesos in the Imperial Period	69
--	----

GUY MACLEAN ROGERS

Some Prytaneis of Ephesos	95
---------------------------------	----

STEVEN J. FRIESEN

The Customs House Inscription from Ephesos: Exchange, Surplus, Ideology, and the Divine	115
--	-----

DANIEL SCHOWALTER

Ephesos under the Flavians: The Domitiansplatz as a Marker of Local and Imperial Identity	139
--	-----

II. Ephesos in Christian Memory

PAUL TREBILCO

Reading Ephesians in Ephesos: A Letter to Pauline *and*
Johannine Christ-followers? 161

GREGORY STEVENSON

“Do Not Harm the Suppliant”: Inviolability and Asylum at Ephesos
and in the Book of Revelation 189

JERRY L. SUMNEY

Family and Filial Language in Ephesians 205

Publications and Academic Presentations of Richard Earl Oster, Jr. 227

List of Contributors 231

Bibliography 233

Index of Passages 253

Index of Modern Authors 261

Index of Subjects 265

Abbreviations

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAWW	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philos.-Hist. Klasse</i>
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
AE	<i>Archaologische Ephemeris</i>
AF	<i>Archäologische Forschungen</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AnBib	<i>Analecta Biblica</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
ASCSA	<i>American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
ATLA	<i>American Theological Library Association</i>
AvP	<i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i>
AYB	<i>Anchor Yale Bible</i>
AYBRL	<i>Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library</i>
BECNT	<i>Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament</i>
BEFAR	<i>Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i>
BerMat	<i>Berichte und Materialien</i>
BGU	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i>
BK	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>
BNTC	<i>Black's New Testament Commentaries</i>
BSNA	<i>Biblical Scholarship in North America</i>
BTS	<i>Biblical Tools and Study</i>
BZNW	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
CGTSC	<i>Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges</i>
CHANE	<i>Culture and History of the Ancient Near East</i>
CIJ	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
EA	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
EC	<i>Early Christianity</i>
ECC	<i>Eerdmans Critical Commentary</i>
EEC	<i>Encyclopedia of Early Christianity</i>
EDB	<i>Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible</i>
EPRO	<i>Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FCNTECW	<i>Feminist Companion to the New Testament and Early Christian Writings</i>
FiE	<i>Forschungen in Ephesos</i>
FWF	<i>Fonds zur Förderung der Wissenschaftlichen Forschung</i>
HThKNT	<i>Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament</i>

<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HTS</i>	Harvard Theological Studies
<i>IByz</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Byzantion</i>
<i>ICC</i>	International Critical Commentary
<i>IGSK</i>	<i>Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i>
<i>IGUR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae</i>
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>IvE</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i>
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JÖAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JRA</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology
<i>JRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KIPauly</i>	<i>Der kleine Pauly</i>
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
<i>MDAI (I)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Abt. Istanbul)</i>
<i>MDAI (R)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Röm. Abt.)</i>
<i>MTSR</i>	<i>Method and Theory in the Study of Religion</i>
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
<i>NewDocs</i>	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i>
<i>NIB</i>	<i>The New Interpreter's Bible</i>
<i>NTD</i>	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
<i>NICNT</i>	The New International Commentary on the New Testament
<i>NTG</i>	New Testament Guides
<i>NTL</i>	New Testament Library
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NovTSup</i>	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
<i>ÖAI</i>	Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut
<i>ÖAW</i>	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RAr</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Die Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i>
<i>RGZ</i>	Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz
<i>RHM</i>	<i>Römische Historische Mitteilungen</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
<i>SBL</i>	Society of Biblical Literature
<i>SBLStBL</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Studies in Biblical Literature
<i>SEG</i>	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
<i>SIG</i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>

SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra Pagina
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
<i>SPhiloA</i>	<i>Studia Philonica Annual</i>
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
<i>TAD</i>	<i>Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
TS	Texts and Studies
<i>ThesCRA</i>	<i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

List of Figures and Illustrations

Elisabeth Rathmayr, “New Evidence for Imperial Cult in Unit 7 in Terrace House 2 in Ephesos”

- Figure 1:* Ephesos, Terrace House 2. © Karin Koller ÖAW/ÖAI
Figure 2: Unit 7, Reconstruction. © Ingrid Adenstedt, ÖAW, and Robert Kalsek, TU Vienna
Figure 3: Unit 7, Peristyle Court 38b, Altar and Table. © Niki Gail, ÖAI
Figure 4: Unit 7, Room 38d, South Wall with Sacrificial Scene. © Niki Gail, ÖAI
Figure 5: Unit 7, Peristyle Court 38b and Room 38. © Niki Gail, ÖAI
Figure 6: Unit 7, Room 38, Find Context of the Portrait Busts of Tiberius and Livia and the bronze snake. © ÖAI, archive, DIA-006131
Figure 7: Unit 7, Efes Müzesi presentation of the Portrait Busts of Tiberius and Livia and the Bronze Snake. © Niki Gail, ÖAI
Figure 8: Unit 7, Peristyle Court 38b, Find Context of the Fountain on the North Stylobate. © ÖAI, archive, DIA 006267
Figure 9: Unit 7, Peristyle Court 38b, Wall Painting of Victoria found in the Eastern Hall. © Norbert Zimmermann, ÖAW

Hilke Thür, “The House of C. Fl. Furius Aptus in Ephesos: Clubhouse of a Dionysiac Association?”

- Figure 1:* Inscription on Barrier of South Portico in Peristyle Court (31a). © Niki Gail ÖAW/ÖAI
Figure 2: Floor Plan of Terrace House 2. © Karin Koller ÖAW
Figure 3: Floor Plan of Dwelling Unit 6, Building Phase 2. © Hilke Thür and Ingrid Adenstedt ÖAW
Figure 4: Reconstructed Sections of Dwelling Unit 6, Building Phase 2. © Hilke Thür and Anna Pyszkowski-Wyszkowski ÖAW
Figure 5: Floor Plan of Dwelling Unit 6, Building Phase 2. © Hilke Thür and Ingrid Adenstedt ÖAW
Figure 6: Stucco Decoration with Dionysos and Aphrodite in Vaulted Room (8a). © Niki Gail ÖAW/ÖAI
Figure 7: Peristyle Court (31a), South Portico with Barrier and Fountain. © Hilke Thür ÖAW/ÖAI
Figure 8: Peristyle Court (31a), Marble Door Frame in West Portico. © Niki Gail ÖAW/ÖAI
Figure 9: Room (31b), Threshold with Traces of Sliding Door. © Andrea Sulzgruber ÖAW
Figure 10: Room (31b), Reconstruction of Sliding Door and Lattice. © Hilke Thür and Anna Pyszkowski-Wyszkowski ÖAW.
Figure 11: Vaulted Room (36c). © Niki Gail ÖAW/ÖAI

- Figure 12: Entrée (36) and Apsidal Hall (8). © Niki Gail ÖAW/ÖAI
 Figure 13: Stucco in Vaulted Room (8a). © Niki Gail ÖAW/ÖAI
 Figure 14: Fragment of Dionysos Statue (Cat. pg. 9). © Niki Gail ÖAW/ÖAI
 Figure 15: Torso of Aphrodite Statue (Cat. pg. 46). © Niki Gail ÖAW/ÖAI
 Figure 16: Visualisation of Marble Hall (31). © Ivan Iliev ÖAW

Ulrike Muss, “The Artemision of Ephesos in the Imperial Period”

- Figure 1: General View of the Artemision. © Anton Bammer
 Figure 2: General Map of Artemision Area by J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus: Including the Site and Remains of the Great Temple of Diana*. (numbers added by author).
 Figure 3: Map of Artemision with Indication of Excavation Areas, according to Wood’s Field Notes. Adapted from Francois Kirbihler and Lilli Zabrana. “Archäologische, epigraphische und numismatische Zeugnisse für den Kaiserkult im Artemision.” *JÖAI* 83 (2014): 101–31.
 Figure 4: View of West Façade of Odeion and Parts of the Cavea. Adapted from Lilli Zabrana, “Vorbericht zur sogenannten Tribüne im Artemision von Ephesos: Ein neues Odeion im Heiligtum der Artemision.” *JÖAI* 80 (2011): 341–63.
 Figure 5: View of Artemision Area with Roman Buildings in the North (Marked with a Ring). © Anton Bammer.
 Figure 6: Drawing of Artemision Structures North of the Altar with Indication of Buildings and Find Context of Female Head. Adapted from © Anton Bammer
 Figure 7: View of Rectangular Building and Podium Building from the Northwest. © Ulrike Muss
 Figure 8: View of Rectangular Building from the North. © Ulrike Muss
 Figure 9: View of Podium Building and Stepped Structure from the Northwest. © Ulrike Muss
 Figure 10: Female Head, Likely Representing Dea Roma. © Ulrike Muss
 Figure 11: Reconstruction Drawing of Roman Buildings and Late Classical Temple of Artemis and Its Altar. © Anton Bammer
 Figure 12: Schematic Pattern of Cella Door of the Temple of Artemis Indicating Stone Positions. Otto Benndorf, *Forschungen in Ephesos*. FiE 1 (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1906), Figure 162.
 Figure 13: Stone I of Monument for Marcus Aurelius, Otto Benndorf, *Forschungen in Ephesos*. FiE 1 (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1906), Figure 163.
 Figure 14: Stone I of Honorary Monument for Marcus Aurelius and His Family. © Ulrike Muss.
 Figure 15: Stone II of Honorary Monument for Marcus Aurelius and His Family. © Otto Benndorf, *Forschungen in Ephesos*. FiE 1 (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1906), Figure 166.
 Figure 16: Stone III of Honorary Monument for Marcus Aurelius and His Family. © Otto Benndorf, *Forschungen in Ephesos*. FiE 1 (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1906), Figure 172.
 Figure 17: Stone VI of Honorary Monument for Marcus Aurelius and His Family. © Otto Benndorf, *Forschungen in Ephesos*. FiE 1 (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1906), Figure 179.

Figure 18: Stone VI and Three Joining Fragments from Honorary Monument for Marcus Aurelius and His Family. © Ulrike Muss.

Steven J. Friesen: “The Customs House Inscription from Ephesos: Exchange, Surplus, Ideology, and the Divine”

Figure 1: The Stele and Base of the Customs House Inscription (*IvE* 2389). © ÖAI, Negative II 423.

Figure 2: Explicit Transactions in the Customs House Exchanges.

Figure 3: Implicit Transactions in the Customs House Exchanges: *Publicanus*

Figure 4: Implicit Transactions: Rome.

Figure 5: Implicit Transactions: The Sea and the Divine.

Daniel Schowalter: “Ephesos under the Flavians: The Domitiansplatz as a Marker of Local and Imperial Identity”

Figure 1: Composite View of the Domitiansplatz, View from the Southwest. © James Walters.

Figure 2: Partially Reconstructed Memmius Monument from the South. © Daniel Schowalter

Figure 3: Tympanum from Memmius Monument Superstructure from North. © Daniel Schowalter

Figure 4: Sacred Way or “Kathodos” with Two Sculpted Bases at Entrance to the Domitiansplatz. © Daniel Schowalter

Figure 5: Chalcidicum from Southwest. © Daniel Schowalter

Figure 6: Inscription Blocks from Chalcidicum. © Daniel Schowalter

Figure 7: Pollio Monument from West. © Daniel Schowalter

Figure 8: Fountain of Domitian Incorporating Pollio Monument. © Daniel Schowalter

Figure 9: Fountain of Domitian, Second Story Fountain Court from East. © Daniel Schowalter

Figure 10: Fountain of Domitian, Reconstructed Pillars and Arch from West. © Daniel Schowalter

Figure 11: Domitiansgasse from North. © Daniel Schowalter

Figure 12: Partially Reconstructed Façade from Flavian Temple Platform from North. © Daniel Schowalter

Preface

Allen Black

*The editors and contributors dedicate
this book to Richard E. Oster,
scholar, teacher and friend.*

I met Richard E. Oster in the late 1970s. He began teaching at Harding School of Theology (HST) in 1978 and, although I had finished most of my classwork there in 1977, he was a reader for my thesis. Rick provided advice and encouragement as I pursued my PhD, especially as I wrote my dissertation. I began teaching at HST in 1983 and from that time forward he has in many ways remained a mentor to me. More importantly, in the ensuing decades he has been a great colleague and a faithful friend.

As a New Testament professor at HST, Rick has maintained a strong tradition first established in the 1950s by Jack Lewis, who holds a Ph.D. from Harvard in New Testament and another from Hebrew Union College in the Hebrew Bible. Jack established a tradition of high standards that Rick has continued. Rick's classes have primarily focused on New Testament backgrounds, the Pauline letters, Acts of the Apostles, the Book of Revelation, the theology of the New Testament, and Greek. His course on the New Testament World has had a long-standing reputation as the most difficult course in the curriculum. He augments it by teaching one-hour specialty courses in subjects like ancient inscriptions, iconography, the Septuagint, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Throughout his work as a researcher and teacher Rick has emphasized the historical setting of the Graeco-Roman world, with special attention to material culture.

Rick's educational background is unusual for a New Testament scholar trained in the United States. His undergraduate program at Texas Technical University was in classical Greek and Latin. For his thesis at Rice University he wrote an introduction, translation, and commentary on Julius Firmicus Maternus's *De errore profanarum religionum* (*On the Error of Profane Religions*). His dissertation at Princeton Theological Seminary then set the course for a career of study. The title was "A Historical Commentary on the Missionary Success Stories in Acts 19:11–40." In the methodological section at the beginning of his dissertation,¹

¹ "A Historical Commentary on the Missionary Success Stories in Acts 19:11–40." PhD diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1974, 5.

Rick observes that Robert M. Grant in a 1968 essay for the *Journal of Biblical Literature* “aggressively attacked New Testament scholars in America for neglecting ‘the concrete actuality of the ancient historians, of papyri, inscriptions, coins, and other archeological remains’ and attempting instead ‘to advance learning in their field by reading one another’s books.’”² Grant’s argument became the mantra for Rick’s career, which has focused on helping to fill this lacuna in the field. He has sought to do this both through his own research and through training students to use ancient primary sources, especially the often-neglected non-literary material remains.

In 1974–1975, the year following the completion of his dissertation, Rick received a grant that allowed him to spend the academic year in Europe doing independent research. He chose to work at the Franz J. Dölger-Institut at Bonn University, a major German research institute for the study of Christianity and its Graeco-Roman environment, and the publisher of the *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* and its supplementary annual *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*. During that year he worked on his first academic publication: “The Ephesian Artemis as an Opponent of Early Christianity,” published in the *JAC*.³ His studies there focused heavily on material backgrounds relevant to the New Testament, and included weekend visits to numerous European museums with major Graeco-Roman antiquities collections.

Throughout his career, Rick has sought to understand the documents that comprise the New Testament in the light of the prevailing features of their ancient cultural matrices, with a special emphasis on material cultural remains such as inscriptions, coins, and various forms of iconography. He has published several materials related to Ephesus. While on sabbatical in 1985 he pursued independent study at the Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut in Vienna (the primary excavators at Ephesus since 1895). Part of the outcome of that research was his *A Bibliography of Ancient Ephesus: With Introduction and Index*, published in the ATLA Bibliography Series in 1987.⁴ That book, and his article “Ephesus as a Religious Center Under the Principate Paganism Before Constantine,” published in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (1990),⁵ are perhaps his most well-known contributions to studies of Ephesus. However, beginning with his first publication (mentioned above) he has published five journal or *Festschrift* articles⁶ directly related to Ephesus as well as entries on “Ephesus” and re-

² Citing ROBERT M. GRANT, “American New Testament Study, 1926–1956,” *JBL* 87 (1968): 48.

³ “The Ephesian Artemis as an Opponent of Early Christianity,” *JAC* 19 (1976): 24–44.

⁴ *A Bibliography of Ancient Ephesus: With Introduction and Index*, ATLA Bibliography Series (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1987).

⁵ “Ephesus as a Religious Center Under the Principate Paganism Before Constantine,” *ANRW* 2.18.3 (1990) 1661–728.

⁶ “Ephesian Artemis as an Opponent”; “Christianity and Emperor Veneration in Ephesus: Iconography of a Conflict,” *RQ* 25 (1982): 143–49; “Notes on Acts 19:23–41 and an Ephesian

lated items in the following dictionaries or encyclopedias: *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*,⁷ *Anchor Bible Dictionary*,⁸ and *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*.⁹ In addition Rick has published on numismatics,¹⁰ inscriptions,¹¹ and various iconographical representations.¹²

Rick has been a member of the Society of Biblical Literature throughout his career. He co-chaired the SBL Archaeology of the New Testament group in the 1980s. His presentations at annual national meetings of the SBL further illustrate his academic interests: “Numismatic Windows into the Social World of Early Christianity: A Methodological Inquiry” (1979), “Research and Reference Tools for New Testament Archaeology” (1987), “Use, Misuse and Neglect of Archaeological Information in Recent Works on 1 Corinthians” (1989), “Religion and Philosophy in Ephesian Epigraphy” (1994), “Thoughts on Archaeological Resources for New Testament Studies in the Classroom” (1996), “Greek Inscriptions from Roman Oinoanda and the World of Early Christianity” (2001), “Ephesian Epigraphy and New Testament Studies” (2003), and “Archaeology and Ephesus” (2013). He was voted into the Society for New Testament Studies in 1989 and made presentations at annual SNTS meetings in 1986, 1994, and 1995.

Rick has spent his career at an institution that emphasizes teaching over research. His teaching loads have been heavy. A significant part of his contribution to scholarship concerning the New Testament and the Graeco-Roman world has been through his students. He has been devoted to students, making himself accessible in numerous ways. As part of his service he has offered tutoring in Greek and other subjects to students who are struggling in his classes. In addition, Rick works with students with special interests in the ancient world both for ministerial enrichment and for scholarly pursuits. His students who have contributed to this volume (Greg Stevenson, Jerry Sumney, and Trevor Thompson) are illustrative of those who have gone on to pursue PhDs and who continue to contribute academically to the intersection of the New Testament and the Graeco-Roman world. This volume, a collection of articles written by archaeologists and

Inscription,” *HTR* 77 (1984): 233–37; “Holy Days in Honor of Artemis,” in *NewDocs* 4 (1979): 74–82; “The Ephesian Artemis ‘Whom All Asia and the World Worship’ (Acts 19:27): Representative Epigraphical Testimony to Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσσία outside Ephesus,” in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies*, Texts and Studies 4 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), 212–31.

⁷ “Ephesians, Ephesus.”

⁸ “Ephesus,” “Demetrius the Silversmith,” “Christianity in Asia Minor.”

⁹ “Ephesus,” “Artemis of Ephesus.”

¹⁰ “Numismatic Windows into the Social World of Early Christianity: A Methodological Inquiry,” *JBL* 101 (1982): 195–223; “Show Me a Denarius: Symbolism of Roman Coinage and Christian Beliefs,” *RQ* 28 (1985–1986): 107–15; and the article on “Numismatics” in the *EEC*.

¹¹ “Greek Inscriptions,” in the *EDB*.

¹² This interest is especially seen throughout his most recent book: *Seven Congregations in a Roman Crucible: A Commentary on Revelation Chapters 1–3* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013).

by New Testament scholars with a deep interest in the intersection of archaeology and New Testament study, is a fitting tribute to his academic interests.

The editors thank Kevin Burr and Ryan Replogle for their editorial assistance in bringing this volume to completion.

Introduction

Christine M. Thomas

Richard E. Oster has contributed in a sustained and rigorous fashion to our understanding of how archaeology can elucidate the world of the New Testament. He was in the vanguard of a constellation of scholars who turned back to this issue in the 1980s, after more than two generations in which archaeological resources had been mostly overlooked within New Testament studies. Before this period of new work, so-called Biblical Archaeology meant above all excavations in and around Israel. For scholars of the Hebrew Bible, the geographic and chronological range of these materials was extensive and highly relevant, and the pursuit of archaeology revolutionized that field. For scholars of the New Testament, however, projects usually concentrated on Jerusalem and the Galilee, and were largely restricted to the lifetime of Jesus and his immediate disciples. This research concerned, above all, the gospels. When Oster and his colleagues began to turn to archaeology as a context for the letters of Paul in the 1980s, they were explicitly and consciously shifting the focus to the Aegean basin, to sites in Greece and Turkey.

Ephesos figures prominently among these sites. It is home to some of the most spectacular Roman imperial ruins outside Rome itself. Because of decades of diligent work by the Austrian Archaeological Institute, Ephesos has been extensively excavated, restored, and published over the course of the twentieth century. One can walk once again up and down its ancient streets, and view reconstructions of temples and public buildings that vividly recall how the ancient inhabitants themselves had seen them. Under Hermann Vetters, the Terrace Houses¹ became an important focus of excavation and publication, furnishing precious information about the everyday life of inhabitants of this highly relevant city of the Roman world, and providing materials that helped explore the domestic spaces that were the earliest meeting places of the Christians.

Accessing these publications, however, was challenging for novice students of archaeology. The assiduous discipline of prompt publication by members of the

¹ Published in a series extending back to the 1970s by the Austrian Archaeological Institute. The two latest volumes are HILKE THÜR and ELISABETH RATHMAYR, ed., *Das Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos: Die Wohninheit 6: Baubefund, Ausstattung, Funde*, FiE 8.9 (Vienna: ÖAW, 2014); and ELISABETH RATHMAYR, *Das Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos: Die Wohninheit 7: Baubefund, Ausstattung, Funde*, FiE 8.10 (Vienna: ÖAW, 2016).

Ephesos excavation team meant, for the researcher, a protracted period of paging through long series of extensive annual excavation reports, sometimes topping fifty pages of technical German for each individual year. The reports were not user-friendly: they usually lacked headings to set off the passages treating the individual structures. One would spend hours fruitlessly skimming every annual report for the two relevant paragraphs out of hundreds. A plethora of articles also presented detailed studies of particular items, but these were scattered among a variety of journals and series, like the billowing dust of the excavations. Or else the articles were interred in that sacred graveyard of scholarly publication, the *Festschrift*. Even the flagship journal, the redoubtable *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts (JÖAI)* was something of a bibliographic challenge. Each individual volume had two sets of identical page numbers, one for the main volume, and the other for the *Beiheft* (supplementary volume).

This is, in part, a long account of how I myself met Oster, who became the guardian angel of my graduate studies, even before I met him personally. I had worked at the Austrian excavations in Ephesos for a number of years in the 1990s, during my graduate student days, the beneficiary of the tireless efforts of my advisor, Helmut Koester, to develop professional contacts with field archaeologists for the benefit of his New Testament students; and I returned in every subsequent year through 2010 to pursue excavations and museum publications at Ephesos and in Turkey generally. Oster's *Bibliography on Ancient Ephesus*² was one of the first scholarly books I bought and placed on the tiny shelf in my graduate dorm, opting to own it rather than depend on the dilapidated copy at the Andover-Harvard Theological Library. It was the one absolutely indispensable book in those days for anyone working with the material culture of Ephesos as a context for early Christianity. In this age of online databases, of digital library catalogues with live links to PDFs of the actual articles, and – gasp! – of searchable PDFs, it is important to remember what it meant to do research in the decades before these advances, and to recall that the research of a generation of scholars was built upon the foundation of Oster's wonderful *vademecum*.

But this signature service to scholarship was only part of the fundamental work that Oster did in what was a new and emerging area of research. The article in the *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (ANRW)* after which this volume is named³ was the first work of its kind on Ephesos, or any city central to Paul's mission. It provided a scholarly and up-to-date overview of the entire religious landscape of a single city, with attention to various forms of religious activity, and to all the relevant archaeological evidence. It reflected intensive engagement with the sources, and also a sustained dialogue with the excavators

² *A Bibliography on Ancient Ephesus: With Introduction and Index*, ATLA Bibliography Series 19 (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987).

³ "Ephesos as a Religious Center Under the Principate I: Paganism Before Constantine," *ANRW* 2.18.3 (1990): 1661–728.

themselves. As we learn from Allen Black's preface, the *Bibliography on Ancient Ephesus* was merely a side product and a preliminary study for this magisterial treatment of religion at Ephesus in the Roman imperial period.

Oster was also far ahead of his colleagues in the sophistication of his approach to material culture. He penned a number of articles that are concise gems of theoretical reflection. In his article, "Use, Misuse and Neglect of Archaeological Evidence in Some Modern Works on 1 Corinthians," he pushes his peers to consider questions of method more seriously:⁴

Since archaeological data are not self-interpreting, issues of methodology are essential to the responsible and productive use of these materials in the study and interpretation of the New Testament.

His work throughout also shows a sensitivity not only to material culture as evidence for the social, spatial, and religious context of the New Testament, but also an awareness of the value of the non-discursive forms of communication that material culture presupposes.⁵

In a culture and civilization not undergirded by the dissemination of the printed page, visual language was part of the lingua franca in a way foreign to our present experience ... To dismiss or neglect these visual testimonies from antiquity, to expel them to the field of artistic trivia, is to confine the historian of the Empire and the early church to a Braille-like encounter with ancient civilization.

The present volume attempts to honor Oster's contribution in two ways. First, it reflects the intense and dialogical engagement with the material culture of Ephesus that characterizes his work by presenting, side by side, studies by both field archaeologists at Ephesus and by New Testament scholars working with the Pauline correspondence. In a sort of interdisciplinary turnabout, we present some articles by archaeologists at Ephesus treating the topic of religion, and some articles by scholars of religion treating the topic of Ephesus. This reversal of roles is only possible because of decades-long engagement of New Testament scholars with the archaeological evidence, in which Oster himself was a forerunner, and which he also facilitated.

The second important emphasis are the clear advances in method that these articles represent. Instead of using archaeology simply as illustrative materials, the contributions in this volume reflect a deeper engagement with the archaeological materials in terms of their visual and spatial import, their "textual" aspect as communicative objects, and their position in a landscape of religious attitudes and activities. In this way, they also follow in the path that Oster cleared for us.

⁴ "Use, Misuse and Neglect of Archaeological Evidence in Some Modern Works on 1 Corinthians," *ZNW* 83 (1992): 52–73, esp. 53.

⁵ "Numismatic Windows into the Social World of Early Christianity: A Methodological Inquiry," *JBL* 101.2 (1982): 195–223, esp. 200.

The first brace of articles explicitly treats the ruins of Ephesos and their use as sources for the religious life of the ancient city. Elisabeth Rathmayr presents evidence from the ongoing investigations of the Terrace Houses located southeast of the famous Library of Celsus. Terrace House 2 is famous for the beautifully preserved busts of Tiberius and his mother Livia on display in the Efes Müzesi in Selçuk. The latest research confirms that the busts were components of an important construction in the first century CE, including an altar and an offering table, that purposefully created a space within the house for the worship of the emperors. She proposes a motive and a date, and provides a family tree of the owners of the dwelling who set up this area of worship.

Hilke Thür explores the Dionysiac scenes in Unit 6 of Terrace House 2, and concludes that, since the apartment lacks any of the rooms typically devoted to private habitation, it existed primarily for public meetings. Because of the pervasive Dionysiac imagery, complemented with Aphrodite and her entourage, she proposes that the space might have been used as a Dionysiac clubhouse for meetings, and provides valuable comparanda of similar structures in the Roman Empire. Because of the restricted access to some of the rooms, there is a good possibility that the worship of Dionysus here included the performance of mystery initiations.

Ulrike Muss documents a little-explored aspect of one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the appearance of the Temple of Artemis during the Roman imperial period. She investigates in detail the buildings particular to that period, which include a late first-century CE odeon, part of the second-century Damianus Stoa, and two late first-century CE structures built on top of an earlier structure. She uses the most recent archaeological and epigraphic discoveries to propose that these last three structures belong to a precinct within the Temple of Artemis devoted to the imperial cult, that is, the sanctuary of Augustus and Roma known from literary and epigraphic sources.

Guy MacLean Rogers collects and analyzes all the epigraphically attested *prytaneis* of Ephesos, a central office in the civic government similar to a mayor or city councillor, held by prominent citizens of Ephesos who also served in other civic offices. He notes important trends in participation, particularly the increase in women holding the office in the high imperial period, and the steady proliferation of Roman citizens in the office.

Steven J. Friesen analyzes the famous customs-house inscription from Ephesos. The inscription contains a list of donors for the construction of a building to facilitate the taxation of the Ephesian fishing industry. Friesen observes that the list has been used inaccurately as an example of an association similar to the Pauline communities, and as a map of a socio-economic profile similar to that found in the Pauline communities. Neither is compellingly supported by evidence. Instead, Friesen uses discourse analysis to highlight misrecognitions in the portrayal of economic exchanges, and to emphasize the role of divine be-

ings in these exchanges: they appear where surpluses are generated, and at points where severe gaps exist between ideology and practice.

Daniel Schowalter assesses the impact of the construction of the various monuments crowding the space known as the Domitiansplatz: the Memmius Monument, the Chalcidicum, the Pollio Monument, the Domitian Fountain, and the façade on the north terrace of the Flavian temple, along with the three roads entering and exiting the plaza. Each of the three routes into the *Domitiansplatz*, which correspond to three different religious processions attested epigraphically, offers a unique view of this monumental space where the Roman identity of the city intersects with the older traditions of Ephesian history and benefaction.

The second part of the volume engages directly with the text of the New Testament. Paul Trebilco explores the recent proposal of John Muddiman that Ephesians was a document written to Pauline and Johannine Christians in Ephesos. Trebilco establishes the likelihood that the Gospel of John and the epistles of John were penned in Ephesos and argues for the influence of Johannine language and imagery upon the letter to the Ephesians, if not from the text itself, then from the oral traditions that preceded the composition of the gospel. He identifies the presence of four prominent Johannine themes in Ephesians: realized eschatology, unity, the church, and the language of darkness and light, and concludes that the author of Ephesians was employing Johannine language and concerns to address more effectively the community of Christians at Ephesos, who depended upon both Pauline and Johannine traditions.

Greg Stevenson investigates the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos as a site of asylum for suppliants. His analysis emphasizes the uptick in asylum claims during times of political conflict and war, the investment of the Roman government in regulating asylum, and the extension of asylum from temples to the cities that surrounded them. The practice and ideology of Greek asylum afford a rich conceptual background for reading the passages in the book of Revelation in which God protects the righteous as suppliants, usually in the context of a war between the powers of good and the powers of evil. The safe places for innocent suppliants in Revelation are first the altar before the throne of God, then the temple in the heavens, and then the entire city of the New Jerusalem.

Jerry Sumney explores the language of sonship and inheritance in Ephesians in light of the varying practices of adoption and inheritance among Jews, Greeks, and Romans in the early imperial period, attested in epigraphic and archaeological materials. In particular, he demonstrates how the pervasive filial language in Ephesians serves as a basis for unity among Jews and Gentiles, for the establishment of community boundaries, and for the provision of a legal basis for salvation.

We the authors and editors present this volume to Richard E. Oster in gratitude for his generosity and with congratulations for a scholarly life well spent.

I. Ephesos the City

New Evidence for Imperial Cult in Dwelling Unit 7 in Terrace House 2 in Ephesos

Elisabeth Rathmayr

The results presented in this article are based on the contextual analysis of Dwelling Unit 7 undertaken by the author in the context of a three-year project, which was financed by the Austrian Research Fund (FWF).¹ Before discussing the archaeological evidence of imperial cult in Dwelling Unit 7, I will briefly describe Terrace House 2 and specifically Dwelling Unit 7 during its construction periods.

A. Terrace House 2

Terrace House 2 is situated in the city center of the Hellenistic-Roman town of Ephesos (fig. 1). It is an *insula* with seven peristyle houses (Dwelling Units) with varying dimensions. The so-called Kouretes Street, one of the main thoroughfares of the town and an important processional way, borders Terrace House 2 to the north; in the south the so-called Hanghausstrasse (“Terrace House Street”) is located, and on the east and west sides the dwelling units are flanked by steep alleys, the so called Stiegengassen (“uphill alleys,” STG). Although in the early 60s of the last century, a test pit was undertaken in the area of Dwelling Unit 4, the actual excavation of Terrace House 2 started in 1967 and lasted until around 1985. Dwelling Unit 7, the focus of this contribution, was excavated by Hermann Vettters between 1975 and 1982.²

The Dwelling Units 1 to 7 of Terrace House 2 were newly built after the abandonment of the Hellenistic structures on this area in the second quarter of the

¹ FWF-Project P 22102-G19 entitled “Dwelling Unit 7 of Terrace House 2 in Ephesos: Analysis of the Building and the Finds in Their Context.” The project, which started in 2010, has been published in the series *Forschungen in Ephesos* (FiE): ELISABETH RATHMAYR, *Das Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos: Die Wohneinheit 7: Baubefund, Ausstattung, Funde*, FiE 8.10 (Vienna: ÖAW, 2016). The project was carried out at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Culture at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna.

² HERMANN VETTERS, “Ephesos: Vorläufiger Grabungsbericht 1980,” *AAWW* 118 (1981): 148–51; HERMANN VETTERS, “Ephesos: Vorläufiger Grabungsbericht 1981,” *AAWW* 119 (1982): 72–76; HERMANN VETTERS, “Ephesos: Vorläufiger Grabungsbericht 1982,” *AAWW* 120 (1983): 111–22.

first century CE.³ Building period 2 is a major rebuilding phase that can be observed in all the Dwelling Units in the late Trajanic–early Hadrianic era. The following building period 3, in the middle of the second century CE, is mainly defined by the erection of the Apsidal Hall 8 in the neighboring Dwelling Unit 6, while building period 4, around 220–230 CE, can again be observed in all the Dwelling Units. The Units were finally destroyed by a series of earthquakes in the third quarter of the third century CE and not rebuilt afterwards. Only some parts of Terrace House 2 were used after the destruction,⁴ but for functions other than habitation.

B. Dwelling Unit 7

Dwelling Unit 7 was built as a peristyle house on two terraces (fig. 2).⁵ With the exception of the western parts, the ground floor is well preserved. The central peristyle 38b.1 from the upper terrace is destroyed, and there, only the southern rooms still remain. Each floor was probably entered from STG 3. One entrance might have led from the alley directly into the peristyle 38b on the ground floor, and another into room 37 on the upper floor. From the second entrance, the service area in the southern part would have been accessible. The ground floor and the upper floor were connected by the interior staircase 39.

³ Although in the previously published volumes of Dwelling Units 1, 2 and 4, building period 1 was considered to have a late Augustan to early Tiberian date, on grounds of the stratigraphic analysis of Dwelling Units 6 and 7 it is clear that the Hellenistic structures in the area of Terrace House 2 were destroyed in the first quarter of the first century CE; immediately afterward, the Dwelling Units 1 to 7 were built; for the latest results see HILKE THÜR, “Zur Datierung der Bauphasen: Anmerkungen zur Methodik,” and ELISABETH RATHMAYR, ALFRED GALIK, MARTINA SCHÄTZSCHOCK, HILKE THÜR, BARBARA TOBER, and ALICE WALDNER, “Hellenistische Strukturen und Funde: Ergebnisse und Interpretationen,” in *Das Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos: Die Wohneinheit 6: Baubefund, Ausstattung, Funde*, ed. HILKE THÜR and ELISABETH RATHMAYR, FiE 8.9 (Vienna: ÖAW, 2014), 13–15 and 833–36. For the chronology of Terrace House 2 see SABINE LADSTÄTTER, “Die Chronologie des Hanghauses 2,” in *Das Hanghaus 2 von Ephesos: Studien zu Baugeschichte und Chronologie*, ed. FRIEDRICH KRINZINGER, AF 7 (Vienna: ÖAW, 2002), 9–39; HILKE THÜR, *Das Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos: Die Wohneinheit 4: Befund, Ausstattung, Funde*, FiE 8.6 (Vienna: ÖAW, 2005), 9–40; SABINE LADSTÄTTER and ELISABETH RATHMAYR, “Rekonstruktion der Bauphasen,” in *Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos: Die Wohneinheiten 1 und 2: Baubefund, Ausstattung und Funde*, ed. FRIEDRICH KRINZINGER, FiE 8.8 (Vienna: ÖAW, 2010), 81–104 and 426–42.

⁴ Mills and a stone saw were installed in the western parts of Terrace House 2; see FRITZ MANGARTZ, *Die byzantinische Steinsäge von Ephesos: Baubefund, Rekonstruktion, Architekturteile*, Monographien RGZ 86 (Mainz: RGZ, 2010); STEFANIE WEFERS, *Die Mühlenkaskade von Ephesos: technikgeschichtliche Studien zur Versorgung einer spätantiken bis frühbyzantinischen Stadt*, Monographien RGZ 118 (Mainz: RGZM, 2015).

⁵ The building periods of Dwelling Unit 7 are described in detail by ELISABETH RATHMAYR, “Rekonstruktion der Bauphasen,” in RATHMAYR, *Wohneinheit 7*, 103–46.

Index of Passages

Dead Sea Scrolls

1QS 11:7–8 176

Ancient Jewish Writers

Josephus

Jewish Antiquities

14.10.11 99
14.10.12 99
14.10.25 99
15.89–90 198 n. 45
16.167–168 200
20.256 169 n. 35

Jewish War

7.410–419 169 n. 35

Philo

De confusione linguarum

145–147 209 n. 23, 217

De mutatione nominum

147 219 n. 75

De sobrietate

56 209 n. 23, 216

New Testament

Matthew

16:18 182 n. 96
18:17 182 n. 96

Luke

16:8 185 n. 112
22:53 184 n. 107
22:55 175 n. 63

John

1:5 184, 185 n. 114
1:9 185 n. 111
1:16 168 n. 30
2:19–21 183 n. 102
3:3 182 n. 97
3:7 182 n. 97
3:13f. 175 n. 58
3:16 182 n. 97

3:18–19 177
3:19 184
3:20–21 185 n. 114
3:21 185
3:29 183
4:42 180
5:21 177 n. 77
5:24–25 177
5:28–29 178 n. 81
6:39–40 178 n. 81
6:44 178 n. 81
6:54 178 n. 81
8:12 184, 185
8:44 175 n. 58, 185 n. 114
9:5 185
10:1–18 182
10:10 177
10:11 183

- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 10:15 | 183 | 6:8 | 176 n. 64 |
| 10:16 | 179 | 8 | 216 n. 60 |
| 10:17–18 | 183 | 8:15 | 216 |
| 11:51–52 | 179 | 8:17 | 176 n. 64 |
| 12:25 | 178 n. 81 | 8:23 | 216 |
| 12:31 | 178 n. 78 | 8:29 | 168, 216 n. 60 |
| 12:32 | 180, 182 n. 98 | 9:4 | 216, 216 n. 59 |
| 12:35 | 184, 184 n. 106, 185 | 11 | 216 |
| 12:36 | 185, 185 n. 112, 185 n. 114 | 12:4 | 179 n. 84 |
| 12:40 | 185 n. 111 | 13:12 | 185 n. 114 |
| 12:46 | 184, 185 n. 111 | 16:11 | 122 n. 27 |
| 12:48 | 178 n. 81 | 16:15 | 122 n. 27 |
| 14:2–3 | 178 n. 81 | | |
| 14:18 | 178 n. 81 | <i>1 Corinthians</i> | |
| 14:20 | 175 n. 58 | 3:6 | 168 |
| 14:26 | 175 n. 58 | 3:9–12 | 168 |
| 14:28 | 178 n. 81 | 3:16 | 168 |
| 15:1–2 | 182 | 4:8 | 176 |
| 15:1–10 | 180 | 6:2 | 176 |
| 15:2 | 180 | 6:3 | 176 |
| 15:4 | 175 n. 58, 182 | 15:32 | 163 |
| 15:7 | 182 n. 99 | 15:48 | 176 |
| 15:8 | 175 n. 58 | 16:8 | 163, 167 |
| 17 | 180, 180 n. 88 | 16:19–20 | 167 |
| 17:11 | 180 | | |
| 17:11–12 | 175 n. 58 | <i>2 Corinthians</i> | |
| 17:20–23 | 180 | 4:14 | 176 n. 64 |
| 17:21 | 180 | 12:2–4 | 176 |
| 17:22 | 183 n. 102 | | |
| 17:24 | 175 n. 58, 178 n. 81 | <i>Galatians</i> | |
| 18:36 | 175 n. 58 | 3 | 217 |
| <i>Acts</i> | | 4:2 | 215 n. 54 |
| 8:40 | 169 | 4:5 | 216 |
| 18:27 | 167 | 4:26 | 176 |
| 18:18–20:38 | 163 | | |
| 19:1–7 | 167 | <i>Ephesians</i> | |
| 19:8 | 163, 167 | 1 | 216 |
| 19:9 | 167 | 1:1 | 163, 164, 165 n. 17 |
| 19:9–41 | 167 | 1:2 | 223 |
| 19:10 | 163, 167 | 1:3 | 176, 223 |
| 21:8–10 | 169 | 1:3–14 | 215, 215 n. 55, 216, 216 n. 60, 218 |
| | | 1:4–6 | 205 n. 2 |
| <i>Romans</i> | | 1:5 | 168, 218 |
| 1–2 | 213 | 1:6 | 175 n. 58 |
| 1:7 | 165 n. 17 | 1:7 | 217 |
| 3:24–28 | 168 | 1:8–10 | 179 |
| 4:2 | 168 | 1:9–10 | 178 n. 80 |
| 6:3–5 | 176 n. 64 | | |

1:10	168 n. 30	3:18	214
1:12	178	3:19	168 n. 30, 175 n. 58
1:13	181	3:21	177 n. 70, 181, 183 n. 102
1:14	178, 217, 218, 219 n. 80, 220, 223	4-6	178 n. 79, 179
1:15	163, 164, 165, 165 n. 17, 166	4:3	179
1:17	220	4:3-4	181
1:18	176, 178, 181, 183 n. 102, 219, 220, 223	4:4	178
1:21	178 n. 80	4:4-6	180 n. 88
1:22	181	4:6	220, 223
1:22-23	181	4:9 f.	175 n. 58
1:23	168 n. 30, 181	4:11	182 n. 100, 185 n. 115
2	212, 216	4:12	183 n. 102
2:1	212, 212 n. 43, 213	4:13	168 n. 30
2:2	212, 217, 222	4:13-16	179
2:3	212, 214	4:14	165
2:4-6	215, 175	4:17	165, 222 n. 95
2:5	213	4:19-20	165
2:6	176, 177, 181	4:21	163 n. 10
2:8-9	168	4:25	175 n. 58, 185 n. 114
2:11	213	4:25-30	184 n. 105
2:11-22	166 n. 22, 181, 213, 218	4:25-5:2	220
2:12	178, 212, 218 n. 71	4:30	175 n. 58, 178 n. 80, 181
2:13	212	5	184
2:14-18	180	5:1	220, 220 n. 83, 221, 221 n. 88, 222 n. 92, 223
2:14-22	178	5:1-2	220, 220 n. 83
2:15	180	5:1-5	220 n. 83
2:16	181	5:1-10	220
2:17	177 n. 70, 212	5:3	165, 184 n. 105, 220
2:18	218, 223	5:3-8	220 n. 84
2:19	176, 177 n. 70, 181, 212, 218, 224	5:5	175 n. 58, 178 n. 80, 184 n. 105, 220, 221, 222
2:19-22	181, 183 n. 102	5:5-8	220
2:20	182 n. 100, 185 n. 115	5:6	222
2:20-22	168	5:6-7	165
3:1	214	5:8	184, 185, 185 n. 112, n. 114, 222
3:1-13	218	5:11	184, 185 n. 114
3:2-3	163 n. 15	5:13	185 n. 114
3:2-4	163, 164, 165, 166	5:13-14	185
3:2-13	214	5:16	178 n. 80
3:5	182 n. 100, 185 n. 115 213, 214, 215, 218 n. 73	5:18-19	181
3:6	181, 214, 218, 219, 220, 224	5:20	220, 222, 223
3:9	214	5:21	178 n. 80
3:10	177 n. 70, 181, 214	5:22-33	181
3:14	214, 220, 223	5:23	181, 183 n. 102
3:14-15	214, 215	5:23-25	183
3:16	214, 215	5:24	181
		5:25	181, 183

5:26–32	183 n. 101		
5:27	181		
5:28–29	183		
5:29	181		
5:30	183 n. 102		
5:32	181		
6:8–9	178 n. 80		
6:12	184		
6:13	178 n. 80		
6:21	205 n. 1		
6:21–22	164, 166		
6:23	205 n. 1		
<i>Philippians</i>			
3:20	176		
3:21	176 n. 64		
<i>Colossians</i>			
1:3	215 n. 54		
1:12	177, 185 n. 114		
1:13	184 n. 107		
1:19	168 n. 30		
2:9	168 n. 30		
2:12	175 n. 62, 177		
2:13	175 n. 61		
3:1	175 n. 62, 177		
3:3	177		
3:1–4	177 n. 75		
3:5–8	220 n. 84		
3:15	179 n. 84		
<i>1 Thessalonians</i>		205 n. 1	
3:13	177		
5:4–5	185 n. 114		
5:5	185 n. 112		
<i>2 Thessalonians</i>			
1:10	177		
<i>1 Timothy</i>			
1:3	163 n. 7		
<i>2 Timothy</i>			
1:18	163 n. 7		
4:12	163 n. 7		
		<i>1 Peter</i>	175 n. 60
		<i>1 John</i>	
		1:5–7	184 n. 109
		2:8–11	184 n. 109
		<i>Revelation</i>	
		2:1–7	163
		2:11	202
		6	202
		6:9–11	202
		6:10–11	202
		6:11–17	202
		6:16–17	202
		7	202
		7:2	201
		7:2–3	202
		7:14	202
		7:16–17	202
		8:3–5	202
		9:4	201, 202
		9:10	201
		9:13	202
		9:19	201
		11	202
		11:1–2	202
		11:5	201, 202
		12:17	201
		13:7	201
		14:18	202
		16:5–6	202
		16:6–7	202
		17:6	202
		18:5	201
		18:20	202
		18:24	202
		21	203
		21:3	203
		21:7	203
		21:8	203
		21:16	203
		21:22	203
		21:27	203
		22:3	203
		22:11	201, 203
		22:14	203
		22:15	203

Early Christian Writings

Acts of John 169 19.27	77	5.24.2	169 n. 36
Eusebius <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> 3.31.3	169 n. 36	Ignatius <i>To the Ephesians</i> 12:2	167 n. 27

Graeco-Roman Literature

Achilles Tatius <i>The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon</i> 7.12	69 n. 2	Appian <i>The Civil Wars</i> 1.4	197 n. 44
7.13.2	70 n. 7	5.1.9	197 n. 45
7.13.2–4	198 n. 50	<i>Roman History</i> 12.61–63	141
7.13.3	69 n. 1, 201n 13	Aristotle <i>The Art of Rhetoric</i> 3.11.5	201 n. 62
8.2.1	189	<i>Historia animalium</i> 588a, 8–10	207
8.2.1–3	194	Arrian <i>Anabasis of Alexander</i> 1.17.12	194–95
8.2.2	69 n. 1	Athenaeus <i>The Deipnosophists</i> 13.593a–b	194
8.8.9–1	193–94	Aulus Gellius <i>Noctes atticae</i> 5.19	211
Aelian <i>Historical Miscellany</i> 3.26	192 n. 11	Cicero <i>Against Verres</i> 2.1.85	197 n. 40
Aelius Aristides <i>Orations</i> 24	200	21.33.85	69 n. 1
Aeschylus <i>Suppliant Maidens</i> 83–85	193	<i>De domo suo</i> 35	201 n. 30
Anthologia palatina 9.222.2	20 n. 56		
Apollodorus <i>Epitome</i> E.5.21	194 n. 21		
<i>Library</i> 1.9.8	194 n. 21		
1.9.28	194 n. 21		

- Demosthenes
Against Leochares
 44.63 221 n. 91
Against Neaera
 59.89 210 n. 28
- Dio Cassius
Roman History
 39.16.3 197 n. 41
 48.24.2 197 n. 45
- Diodorus Siculus
 13.62.4 194 n. 21
 19.63.5 194 n. 21
 29.1 197 n. 39
- Diogenes Laertius
 2.51 69 n. 2
- Euripides
Ion
 1312–1319 193
- Herodotus
Histories
 1.26 192 n. 11
 1.160 194 n. 21
 5.46 194 n. 21
- Homer
Iliad
 13.624–625 20 n. 56
- Lycurgus
Against Leocrates
 93 193
 128 194 n. 22
- Lysias
Against Eratosthenes
 96 194 n. 21
- Ovid
Fasti
 5.129 75 n. 43
 5.147 f. 73 n. 43
- Ex Ponto*
 2.8.1–6 21
 4.9.105–114 21
 8.55–56 21
- Pausanias
Description of Greece
 4.31.8 76, 191 n. 8
 7.2.6–8 191 n. 8
 10.38.6–7 71
- Philostratus
The Epistles of Apollonius
 65 200
Vitae sophistarum
 2.23.2 71
- Plautus
Bacchides
 312 69 n. 2
- Plutarch
Alexander
 42.1 195
Antonius
 24 45 n. 69
Aratus
 28 196 n. 32
Numa
 12.2 207
De Vitando aere alieno
 828D 69 n. 1, 200 n. 59
- Polybius
Histories
 4.35.2–4 194 n. 21
 4.73.9–10 196 n. 32
 9.29.4 194 n. 21
- Procopius
Orations
 20 79 n. 70
- Ps.-Isocrates
Ad Demonicum
 9–11 220 n. 85

Sallust		2.47	23 n. 76
<i>Bellum catalinae</i>		3.60–63	199 n. 54
31	211 n. 35	3.61	196 n. 33
		4.13.1	23 n. 76
Seneca		4.15	23 n. 74
<i>Naturales quaestiones</i>		4.55–56	23 n. 74
2,32	20 n. 56	4.64.3	21
		<i>Historiae</i>	
Strabo		3.61	191n. 9
<i>Geography</i>			
14.1.23	195 n. 26, 197 n. 44, 199		
		Thucydides	
Suetonius		<i>History of the Peloponnesian War</i>	
<i>Divus Augustus</i>		1.134.1–3	194 n. 22
7.1	21	3.81.5	194 n. 22
31.4	75 n. 43		
<i>Tiberius</i>		Vitruvius	
37.3	200 n. 57	<i>De architectura</i>	
		V 1.4	142
Tacitus		Xenophon	
<i>Annales</i>		<i>Anabasis</i>	
1.73.3	18 n. 42	5.3.6	69 n. 2

Index of Modern Authors

- Abbott, Thomas K. 171, 185
Alföldi-Rosenbaum, Elisabeth 22
Alzinger, Wilhelm 139–43
Amelung, Walter 46
Andreae, Bernard 145
Arnold, Clinton E. 162, 164–66, 171, 181, 184
Ascough, Richard S. 119
Aurenhammer, Maria 18, 23
- Bachmann, Martin 47, 49–50
Bair, Jennifer 129
Bammer, Anton 72–73, 139, 141–42
Barrett, C. K. 162, 185
Barth, Markus 212, 214, 216, 219
Bartmann, Elizabeth 18
Battaglia, G. B. 14
Bauckham, Richard 170, 174
Beard, Mary 131
Beasley-Murray, George R. 180
Becker, Jürgen 165
Becker, Marshall J. 206–8
Bekker-Nielsen, Tønnes 118
Bendlin, Andreas 75
Benndorf, Otto 78–79, 91–93
Bennett, Florence M. 191
Best, Ernest 162–66, 168, 171, 175–78, 181,
184, 212, 214, 216–17, 219–20, 222
Billington, Clyde E., Jr. 190–91, 196
Black, David A. 165
Boehringer, Erich 47
Bohn, Richard 47
Bollmann, Beate 48–49
Bosanquet, Robert Carr 47
Boschung, Dietrich 18, 23
Bourdieu, Pierre 123–26
Bradley, Keith 206
Brands, Gunnar 39
Breresford, James 131
Bricault, Laurent 131
Brodie, Thomas L. 171
- Brown, Raymond E. 168–69, 172, 177–78,
182
Bruneau, Philippe 20
Bultmann, Rudolf 182
Buraselis, Kostas 21–22
Burke, Trevor J. 209, 215–17
Burkert, Walter 45–46, 129
Burrell, Barbara 21, 23, 25, 28, 139, 146
Butcher, Kevin 195
Byrne, Brendan 209, 216, 219
- Campbell, William S. 166, 178
Canciani, Fulvio 22
Chaniotis, Angelos 79, 192–93, 201
Clauss, Manfred 21
Cole, Susan Guettel 97, 129
Conzelmann, Hans 165
Cook, James L. 163
Corbier, Mireille 128, 210–11
Corley, Kathleen E. 211, 216, 221
Cottier, Michel 117–18
Cramer, John Anthony 69
Cramme, Stefan 24
Crawford, Michael H. 117–18
Crowther, C. V. 117–18
Culpepper, R. A. 180, 182
Cumont, Franz 46
Curtius, Ernst 75
- Dahl, Nils 169, 213, 215
Dahmen, Karsten 15, 21–22
Dally, Ortwin 79
Deckers, Johannes 15, 22
Deissmann, Adolf G. 209
Deonna, Waldemar 16
Deutsch, Celia 203
Dickmann, Jens-Arne 49
Dmitriev, Sviatoslav 98
Dräger, Michael 23
Dräger, Olaf 16, 22

- Eakins, Kenneth J. 207
 Eck, Werner 23
 Elsner, Jaś 77
 Engelmann, Helmut 69–70, 76, 117–18
 Eyben, Emiel 221

 Ferrary, Jean-Louis 117–18
 Fleischer, Robert 19, 77
 Fowl, Stephen E. 162, 164–65
 Fraser, Peter M. 16
 Friedrich, Gerhard 165
 Friesen, Steven J. 4–5, 25, 139
 Friesinger, Herwig 139
 Fröhlich, Theodor 13–14

 Galik, Alfred 10
 Galil, Gershon 206
 Gallant, Thomas W. 206, 208
 Gardner, Jane F. 211
 Giebel, Marion 45
 Gnilka, Joachim 165
 Golda, Thomas Matthias 13, 16
 Goodspeed, E. J. 163
 Gould, John 190
 Gräbe, Petrus J. 176, 205
 Graindor, Paul 46
 Grant, Robert M. XVI
 Guarducci, Margherita 196
 Günther, Matthias 161, 169

 Hamdorf, Friedrich Wilhelm 45
 Hammer, Paul L. 218
 Harland, Philip 119
 Harrington, Wilfred J. 203
 Harter-Uibopuu, Kaja 12
 Hartmann 14
 Hays, Richard B. 170–74, 186
 Head, Barclay V. 96, 200
 Heckel, Ulrich 178–80
 Heil, John Paul 165
 Hermann, Werner 16
 Herrmann, Peter 198
 Hester, James D. 209–10, 212, 217, 221
 Hicks, E. L. 196, 201
 Hill, Charles E. 169, 173
 Hodge, Caroline Johnson 209, 212, 219
 Hoehner, Harold W. 164–65, 184, 214,
 216–17, 219

 Hoepfner, Wolfram 39
 Hölscher, Tonio 13, 27
 Hooker, Morna 174
 Hopkins, Terence K. 129, 131
 Horsley, G. H. R. 117, 119–20, 128, 196,
 207
 Horster, Marietta 69
 Hübner, Sabine R. 208

 Ilieva, Petta 129
 İnan, Jale 22
 İplikçiöğlü, Bülent 20, 42–43, 70

 Jacob-Felsch, Margrit 16
 Jessen, O. 69
 Jobst, Werner 53
 Jucker, Hans 18

 Karwiese, Stefan 17–18
 Kaufmann-Heinimann, Annemarie 22
 Keil, Josef 45, 72, 115–16
 Kirbihler, François 70–71, 74–76, 82
 Kirby, John C. 162, 185
 Kloppenborg, John S. 119
 Knibbe, Dieter 20, 37, 42–43, 69–70, 72–
 73, 77, 111, 117–18
 Koester, Helmut 2, 161, 166
 Koller, Karin 11, 19, 39–40, 51
 Krauskopf, Ingrid 12–13
 Krauss, Friedrich 47
 Kreikenbom, Detlev 23
 Krinzinger, Friedrich 37
 Krinzinger, Fritz 139
 Kukula, Richard C. 79

 Ladstätter, Sabine 10, 13, 15, 19, 37–39,
 43–44
 Lagia, Anna 206–7
 Langmann, Gerhard 72
 Läßle, Alfred 203
 Lehner, Michael F. 24
 Levick, Barbara 117–18
 Lewis, Naphtali 107
 Lincoln, Andrew T. 163–64, 168, 171, 176–
 77, 179, 181, 185, 211, 214, 217–20
 Lindsay, Hugh 206, 208, 210–11, 219
 Longfellow, Brenda 140, 143–45
 Lytle, Ephraim 118, 127

- MacDonald, Dennis R. 171
 MacDonald, Margaret Y. 206, 211, 213,
 219–20, 222, 224
 MacMullen, Ramsay 77
 Magie, David 197, 199–200
 Malan, François 221
 Malherbe, Abraham J. 205
 Mangartz, Fritz 10
 Martin, Ralph 165–66
 Martínez, Florentino García 209, 217, 219
 Marzano, Annalisa 117, 119
 Maschek, Dominik 140, 145–46
 Mawhinney, Allen 215
 Meeks, Wayne 216, 221
 Megow, Wolf-R. 18, 23
 Mendel, Gustave 16
 Meriç, Recep 69–70
 Merkelbach, Reinhold 38, 44–45, 69, 107,
 111
 Meyboom, Paul G. P. 131
 Michaels J. Ramsey, 179–80
 Mitchell, Stephen 117
 Mitton, C. L. 168
 Moffatt, J. 161
 Moormann, Eric M. 22
 Moss, Christopher F. 12, 16
 Muddiman, John 5, 161–67, 172, 174–81, 185
 Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome 161–62, 195,
 197–98, 200
 Muss, Ulrike 4, 69–70, 73–74, 78–79

 Nathan, Geoffrey S. 210
 Nielsen, Inge 39, 45, 118
 Nilsson, Martin P. 196
 Nohlen, Klaus 47
 Nongbri, 116
 North, John 131

 Oberleitner, Wolfgang 72
 O'Connell, Kevin G. 207
 Oliver, James Henry 12, 19
 Omanson, Roger L. 163
 Osiek, Carylyn 206, 224
 Oster, Richard E. XV–XVIII, 1–3, 21, 77,
 134–35, 161, 189, 198, 205, 227–29
 Outschar, Ulrike 139–41, 147

 Padilla Monge, Aurelio 43

 Passeron, Jean-Claude 125
 Pekáry, Thomas 17, 21–22, 27
 Peppard, Michael 211, 217
 Perkins, Pheme 214, 218, 220–22
 Picard, Christian 191
 Plattner, Georg A. 11, 15
 Poland, Franz 25, 27
 Pomeroy, Sarah B. 206, 208
 Porter, Stanley E. 171
 Prescendi, Francesca 13
 Price, Simon 131
 Prigent, Pierre 170

 Quatember, Ursula 12–14, 52

 Radt, Wolfgang 47, 50
 Rathmayr, Elisabeth 1, 4, 9–14, 17–21, 24–
 27, 37–43, 49, 51–53
 Ratzan, David M. 208
 Rawson, Beryl 208, 210, 221
 Reber, Karl 12
 Remijsen, Sofie 24
 Reynolds, Joyce 198
 Richter, Gisela M. A. 16
 Richter, W. 14, 20
 Rieger, Anna-Kathrina 13
 Rigsby, Kent J. 195–200
 Robbins, Richard H. 206
 Robert, Louis 14, 17
 Roberts, J. H. 181
 Robinson, Betsey Ann 140
 Robinson, Thomas A. 169
 Röder, Josef 43
 Rogers, Guy M. 4, 46, 69–70, 95, 131, 140,
 142–43, 148
 Rose, Charles B. 18
 Rossner, Margarete 114
 Rüpke, Jörg 46

 Saller, Richard P. 208
 Saporiti, Nada 191
 Schädler, Ulrich 22
 Schäfer, 44, 46–48
 Schätzschock, Martina 10, 17–18
 Scheibelreiter-Gail, Veronika 11, 40–41, 51
 Scheidel, Walter 120
 Scherrer, Peter 22–23, 27, 70, 74–75, 142,
 147, 150

- Schindel, Nikolaus 17
 Schnackenburg, Rudolf 176–77, 181
 Schörner, Günther 12–13
 Schrader, Hans 16
 Schumacher, Rob W. M. 190–91, 195–96
 Schwarzer, Holger 45, 47
 Schweizer, Eduard 181
 Schwindt, Rainer 165
 Sealey, Raphael 210, 219
 Siebert, Anne Viola 12
 Sim, David C. 171–72
 Sinn, Ulrich 191, 197
 Smith, R. R. R. 146
 Smith, Wilfred Cantwell 116
 Spencer, John R. 207
 Stanton, Graham N. 168
 Steuernagel, Dirk 74–75
 Stevenson, Gregory 5, 202
 Strelan, Rick 69, 161
 Strocka, Volker Michael 144
- Taeuber, Hans 25, 37, 40–41, 43, 52, 115
 Talbert, Charles 215
 Talloen, Peter 75
 Tang, Birgit 21
 Tellbe, Mikael 161, 166
 Thielman, Frank 165, 184
 Thiessen, Werner 161
 Thomas, Christine M. 193
 Thompson, Marianne Meyer 220
 Thompson, Trevor W. 77
 Thür, Hilke 1, 4, 10–11, 15, 17, 24–25, 37–
 42, 44, 46, 49–52, 73, 141, 146, 198
 Thurston, Bonnie 214, 217
 Tober, Barbara 10
 Trebilco, Paul R. 5, 163, 166–67, 169, 176–
 77
 Trell, Bluma L. 77
 Trümper, Monika 18
- Usener, Hermann 45
 van Bremen, Riet 97
 van der Watt, Jan G. 177–78
 van Nijf, Onno 117
 Vásquez, Manuel A. 125
 Vellanickal, Matthew 209, 212
 Versluys, Miguel John 131
 Vettors, Hermann 1, 9, 12, 14, 17, 37–38, 44
 Villiers, Pieter G. R. De 205
 Vogliano, Achille 46
 von Kaenel, Hans-Markus 18
 von Wahlde, Urban C. 162, 169
- Wachsmuth, Dietrich 20, 22
 Wacquant, Loic J. D. 124
 Waldner, Alice 10, 17–18, 43
 Wallerstein, Immanuel 129
 Walters, James C. 208, 210–12, 217
 Wedderburn, Alexander J. M. 168, 171,
 176–77, 181
 Weerakkody, D. P. M. 208
 Weinstock, Stefan 197
 Wiegand, Theodor 16
 Winkes, Rolf 18
 Witetschek, Stephan 161
 Witt, R. E. 131
 Wood, J. T. 70–72, 74–76, 78, 81–82
 Woodhouse, 221
 Wörrle, Michael 117–18
 Wulf-Rheidt, Ulrike 47, 50
- Yarbrough, O. Larry 221
 Yavis, Constantine George 16
 Yegül, Firket K. 142, 145–49
- Zabрана, Lilli 70–76, 82–83
 Zimmermann, Norbert 11, 13, 15, 19, 41–
 42, 44, 51
 Zuiderhoek, Arjan 98, 125, 133

Index of Subjects

- 1–2 Timothy 163, 167
1–3 John 163 166n22, 169–70, 169n33
- access to sacred space 4, 15, 49–52, 54
adoption 5, 205n2, 206, 208–12, 215–19,
221–24. *See also*; fatherhood, divine
adrogation 210–11
agonothete 96, 99–100, 102, 105, 109–10,
113
Agrippina 117, 132
altar 4–5, 12–13, 15–16, 19–22, 26–27, 31,
48, 70, 72–77, 85, 90, 102, 131, 150, 190,
191n10, 192–94, 199, 201–2
alytarch 25, 28, 54, 108
Aphrodisias 146n42, 198, 200
Aphrodite 4, 41, 43, 48, 51–54, 60, 66, 198
Apollo 75n42, 77, 96, 100, 190
apotropaic 14, 17
apse 15n33, 39, 41, 48, 50–51, 53–54, 144
Apsidal Hall 8: 10, 41, 43–44, 50, 52–53,
65
aqueduct 143
arch 20, 144, 155
archiereus 23–24, 27–28, 104–5, 110
Ariadne 45, 45n66, 53
Artemis
– and city officials 95, 97, 105, 109–10,
113–14
– depiction of 13n19
– floruit and decline of cult 76–79
– as object of worship or dedication
19n51, 48, 72, 102, 127, 129, 131–33, 149
– as protector 189–200
Artemision
– appearance and furnishing of 69–94
– and asylum 5, 189–200, 203
– donor list of 23, 25, 27
– great altar of 74, 75
– and imperial cult 28n100, 70–71, 74–76
Asclepius, 14n28, 19, 26–27, 96, 100
asiarch 24, 28, 102, 104, 108, 110–12
assistance, divine 131, 189, 191. *See also*
protection, divine; salvation
associations 4, 15, 37–38, 44–49, 53–54,
119
asylum 5, 69, 189–203
Athena/Minerva 13, 14n23, 19n51, 48, 71–
72, 75, 190
Athens 46–48, 53n130, 150, 207, 210
Augusteum 70–71, 74–75
Augustus 4, 12n17, 18n42, 19n51, 20n56,
21–22, 27, 70–71, 75, 76, 96, 101, 199, 217
axis, 15, 17, 40, 43, 73–74, 116, 142, 150
- banquet 38, 44, 46, 46n74, 48–49, 53–54
banquet hall 39, 41, 47–50, 52, 54, 71, 72
basilica 22, 27, 44
Basilica Stoa 142–43, 147–49
bath 11, 16n38, 40, 42, 45n66, 49–52
benefaction 5, 13n21, 23–27, 96–98,
133n64, 143, 149
boule 19n51, 106–7, 110
boundary stones 70, 70n14, 196, 201. *See also*
peribolos wall; temenos
Bourdieu, 123–26. *See also* discourse; ex-
change; ideology
burial of children 207
bust 4, 13–15, 17–18, 21–23, 25–27, 33–34,
40, 43. *See also* statue
- C. Fl. Furius Aptus 25–26, 28, 37, 40–44,
53–54
Calvisius Ruso 140, 143–45, 149
capital. *See* resources
ceramics 17–18, 27n97, 43
Chalcidicum 5, 142–43, 147, 153
Christ-followers
– Johannine 161–62, 166n22, 167, 168–70,
172–74, 187
– Pauline 161–62, 166–68, 166n22
citizenship, Roman 4, 26, 42, 75, 96–97,
120, 122–23, 131, 211

- clubhouse 4, 27, 38, 44, 47–49, 53–54
 coins 17, 18, 96, 195, 200
 commodity chain 129–30, 135
 consul 40, 43, 101, 107, 141
 Croesus 191–92
 cult, imperial
 – in domestic setting 4, 9, 21–22, 24–27, 28n100, 47, 48
 – in temples 4, 12n17, 22–23, 47, 74–76, 146–50
- Damianus Stoa 4, 73
 Dea Roma 4, 19n51, 26, 74–76, 89
 dedication 23n78, 27, 48, 70, 75, 78, 96, 101, 102, 116–17, 126–28, 131–33, 141, 143–45
 Demeter 16n36, 45, 77, 129
 Demos 19n51, 96, 102–3, 113, 143, 210
 Dionysus
 – and city officials 25, 37–38, 44, 96, 99–100, 106, 107, 112
 – cult association of 4, 45–46, 48, 51–54, 60, 66
 discourse 5, 122–23, 125, 126nn39–40, 127–28, 129n57, 130, 133–34, 170. *See also* ideology; practice
 Divus 19n51, 75–76
 Dokimeion 40, 43
 Domitian 70, 74n35, 102, 139–40, 143–49, 154–55
 Domitiansgasse (“Domitian Lane”) 145–49, 156
 Domitiansplatz (“Domitian Square”) 5, 139–142, 146–48, 150–52
 Dwelling Unit 2 12n14, 21, 53
 Dwelling Unit 6 10–11, 14n28, 15, 21, 24–25, 28, 37–44, 46, 49, 52–54, 57–59
 Dwelling Unit 7 9–27, 39, 41
- eagle 20, 22, 27, 72
 earthquake 10, 23, 24n81, 27, 38–39, 42
 East Stoa 149
 Embolos/Kouretes Street 9, 38–39, 42, 45, 53, 139–41, 145, 147–48, 150n47
 Ephesians (letter)
 – addressees of 163–66
 – authorship of 163–65, 167
 – literary relationship with Gospel of John 171–87
 – occasion for writing 161–62, 166, 187, 223–24
 – relationship to Colossians 164n15, 168, 171n46, 177–78, 205, 215n54, n56
 – shared themes and language with Gospel of John 175–85, 175n58
 – vis-à-vis Pauline tradition 164, 167–68, 173–74, 177–78, 181, 205, 213n45
 equestrian rank 43, 98, 113
 Eros 52–54, 144
 eschatology 175–78, 186, 213–15, 218
 ethnicity 122–23, 166n22, 212. *See also* Gentile; Jew
euergetism. *See* benefaction
 exchange 5, 74, 115–16, 123–34, 137
 exedra 39–40, 50, 53, 73
- familial imagery. *See* adoption; fatherhood, divine
 fatherhood, divine 180, 214–24. *See also* adoption
 Faustina 76, 78
 fictive kinship 212, 215. *See also* adoption; fatherhood, divine
 field 124–27, 129, 132–35
 figurine 27
 fountain 5, 11, 16n38, 19, 26, 34, 39–40, 49, 52–54, 60, 140, 141n15, 143–45, 147–49, 154–55
- games, sacred 72, 102, 113, 195
 Gentiles 5, 120, 162, 166n22, 167, 177–81, 201, 212–16, 218–24
 gerousia 18n42, 19n51, 103, 107, 111
 glass 17–18, 27n97, 41, 51, 53
 Gospel of John 5, 161n3, 163, 166n22, 168–75, 177–80, 182, 184, 185–86. *See also under* Ephesians
 graffiti 24, 25n88, 27n97, 37, 40, 43
 grammateus 23, 28
 grotto 45n65, 145, 149
- Hadrian 19n51, 21, 76n47, 107
 Hestia 102, 108
 Hierapolis 163n12, 169
 Hydeion 141–42
 hypocaust 50, 51, 71

- idenity, common 213–15, 220–24. *See also* unity
 ideology 5, 115–16, 125–26, 128, 132–33, 135, 190, 200, 202. *See also* exchange
 incense 13n18, 27n96
 inheritance 5, 176–78, 206, 208–10, 212n41, 218–24
 infant exposure 208
 infant mortality 206–8
 Intertextuality
 – Method of 170–75
 – Between Ephesians and Gospel of John 171–87
 Iobakchoi 46–48, 53n130
 inviolability 189–92, 195–96, 198–200, 203. *See also* asylum
 Isis 45, 131–32, 134–35
 Italy 13, 46, 48–49, 145

 Jews 5, 120, 166n22, 167, 179, 181, 207, 212–16, 218–20, 223–24
 John (author) 163n8, 166, 168–69
 John the Baptist 166, 167
 judgment, divine 177, 201–2. *See also* justice
 Julius Caesar 74, 196–98, 217
 justice 190, 194, 200–203. *See also* asylum

 Kathodos 142, 145, 147–148, 152
 Koreossos Gate 140n5, 147
 Kouretes Street/Embolos 9, 38–39, 42, 45, 53, 139–41, 145, 147–148, 150n47

 labor 129–30, 129n53
 Laodicea 163n12, 164, 164n15
 libation 13, 19, 26, 48
 Livia 4, 13, 15, 17, 20–22, 23n74, 26–27, 33–34

 Magnesian Gate 140n5, 147–149
 marble
 – artifacts 12, 12n17, 14n28, 18, 26, 54, 115–16, 134
 – in building architecture 11, 15, 19, 20, 26, 27, 40 49–51, 53, 61, 68, 71, 73
 – Hall 31: 25n88, 39–43, 49, 52–53, 67
 Marc Antony 45, 197, 199
 Marcus Aurelius 18n42, 21, 25, 76, 78, 79n69, 91–94, 97, 209n19
 mediator legal 190, 217
 Melos 47–48
 Memmius monument 5, 140–43, 147, 149, 151–52
 misrecognition 5, 126–27, 132, 135
 Mithridates 197–99
 mosaics 11, 26, 40, 41, 49, 51, 53, 71
mystai 45–46, 45n66, 49, 52, 107. *See also* mysteries
 mysteries (cultic) 45–46, 51–54, 95, 107, 129. *See also* associations

 neokoros 25, 28, 104, 131
 neopoios 25–26, 28, 103, 106–7, 110
 Nero 117, 129, 132
 network (social) 123, 124n32, 125, 126, 128, 129n53, 130
 niche 11, 12n14, 13–15, 17–21, 22n68, 26–27, 47–48, 50–52, 54, 148
 Niche Monument, 148

 Octavia 117, 132
 odeion 72–73, 75, 83
 Odysseus 20n56, 145, 149
 offering (cultic) 4, 12n17, 13, 15–16, 21–22, 26–27, 27n96, 45n65, 48, 77, 145
 oppressed 189–90, 201. *See also* asylum

 palm branch 190, 202
paterfamilias 210, 216, 218–19. *See also* fatherhood, divine
 Pergamon 27n96, 47–48, 49n102, 150, 200
 peribolos wall 70n14, 71, 72, 75. *See also* boundary stone; temenos
 platform 76, 146, 146n39, 157
 Plotina 21
 podium 47–48, 73–74, 76, 86, 88, 144
 Pollio Monument 5 143–44, 147, 154
 Poseidon 190
 pottery 43. *See also* ceramics
 practice 5, 116, 125, 126n40, 127n45, 128, 132–35. *See also* exchange; ideology
 priest 25, 27, 37–38, 44, 46, 54, 71, 74, 96, 100, 103, 107, 112, 190, 195, 198n50
 priestess 15n29, 46, 102–7, 109–11, 113

- procession, religious 5, 19, 45, 53, 72, 73, 140, 142, 147–50
 proconsul 107, 114, 140, 143–44
 production control of 128, 130
 protection, divine 189–91, 194, 200–204.
 See also asylum
 prytaneion, 77, 95–97, 112, 148
 prytanis 95–114, 131n61
 – economic standing of 96–98
 – gender of 96–98
 – and Roman citizenship 96–98
 purification 13n22, 49
putealia 13, 16–17, 19, 26

 redemption 178n80, 217–18, 219n80. *See also* adrogation
 refuge. *See* asylum
 reliefs 12, 12n14, 14n28, 16, 19n51, 20, 27, 48, 53–54, 72, 142
 religion, domestic. *See under* cult, imperial
 resources 125–26, 131, 133–34
 Roma 4, 19n51, 26, 74–76, 89
 Roman citizenship 4, 26, 42, 75, 96–97, 120, 122–23, 131, 211
 Rome 1, 13, 23n76, 43, 46, 74, 75n43, 103, 127–29, 132, 134, 138, 140–141, 143, 146n42, 150, 164, 197, 199, 207–8, 216
 Royal Stoa. *See* Basilica Stoa

 sacrifice 12–13, 20, 27, 48, 96, 131n61
 Salutaris inscription 19n51, 21, 140, 142, 148–49
 salvation 5, 129, 168, 175, 205n2, 212–13, 218–19, 223. *See also* protection, divine; redemption
 Samothracian deities 129–31
 Sardis 198, 200
 sculpture 14–15, 20n55, 27n97, 46, 48–51, 53–54, 142
 sea 52–53, 70, 117n13, 118, 128–131, 135, 138
 senate 19, 23, 108, 128, 130–131, 199
 senatorial rank 25, 28, 38, 43–44, 97–98, 108, 110, 114, 144
 shrine 74–75, 129–30. *See also* space, sacred; temple
 slaves 117n13, 122–23, 190, 195, 197–198, 201, 210–11, 217
 Smyrna/Izmir 23, 78n67, 200
 snake 13–15, 17–18, 33–34
 social formation 124–25
 space
 – dark 51, 149–50
 – sacred 69n5, 76, 195. *See also* shrine; temenos; temple
 square. *See* Domitiansplatz
 statue (unspecified) 15n30, 39, 73, 148
 – of Emperors (and family) 15n33, 18, 19n51, 21–22, 27, 75, 78, 96, 101, 102, 149
 – of gods and goddesses 41, 48, 51, 52, 66, 72, 74, 77, 79, 143–45, 190
 – of other people 19n51, 23n78, 25, 26n92, 101, 102, 131
 statue base 12n14, 16n34, 23n78, 25n87, 41, 43, 52, 73, 131n59, 135
 statuette 13–14, 17, 21
 stucco 19, 26, 41, 51–54, 60, 65
 supplication 189–90, 192, 201–2. *See also* asylum
 surplus 116, 129–130, 135. *See also* exchange; ideology
 symposium 45n65, 48. *See also* banquet

 table (cultic) 4, 12–13, 12n17, 15–16, 20–22, 26–27, 31
 taxation 4, 117–18, 127–28, 130–35
 temenos 15n33, 47, 69–70, 72, 96, 101, 118, 146–147, 150. *See also* boundary stone; peribolos wall
 temple
 – of Artemis. *See* Artemision
 – Augusteum 70–71, 74–75
 – of Dionysus 145n36
 – in Ephesians 168, 183n102
 – Greek, inviolability of 190–91, 193–200
 – of the Flavian Emperors/Domitian 5, 74n35, 139–40, 146–50, 157
 – of Hadrian 19n51
 – of Livia (Smyrna) 22–23
 – podium temple 74, 76
 – in Revelation 201–3
 – of Roma and Divus Julius 75
 – unidentified 71
 – in the Upper Agora 74n35
 terrace 5, 140, 142–43, 145–50
 Terrace Houses 1, 4, 20, 139

- Terrace House 2: 4, 9–10, 12–15, 16n38,
21, 23–24, 26, 27n97, 29, 37–38, 46, 49,
53, 56
- theater
- and cultic associations 12n17, 21, 45,
47–48, 54
 - the, at Ephesos 21, 70n14, 72, 101,
140n5, 147–48
- thiasos, maritime 39, 41, 48, 52
- Tiberius
- asylum reforms of 191, 199–200
 - benefaction of 23–24, 26–27
 - images of 4, 12n17, 13–14, 15, 17–18, 21–
23, 26–27, 33, 34
- tomb 141, 143–44, 198n45, 206n5, 207
- Trajan 21, 70, 140, 149
- transaction 116, 123, 126n44, 127–28,
129n57, 130–32, 134, 137–38
- triclinium* 47–48, 51
- unity among Christ-followers
- in Ephesians and Gospel of John 5, 162,
166n22, 178–80, 186–87
 - expressed in familial language, in Ephe-
sians 5, 205n1, 212–15, 218n72, 219–20,
223–24
- universality of the church 181–82, 213n47
- Upper Agora 22, 27, 74n35, 139, 142–43,
146–49
- Upper City 140n5
- urban canyon 145–46, 148–49
- vengeance, divine 190, 201–202
- Victoria 19, 26–27, 35
- wall painting 11, 11n12, 13–14, 13n18, 15n29,
19, 26–27, 35, 53, 71
- war 5, 70, 141, 189–91, 193, 197, 199–202
- water basin 11, 41, 50–51, 54, 142
- wicked 193, 200–202, 222
- wine 13 n. 18, 45, 45nn65–66, 145
- women 4, 96–98, 120, 134
- Zeus/Jupiter 20–22, 27, 72 112, 143–44,
190

