

JAMES R. HARRISON

Paul's Language of Grace in its Graeco-Roman Context

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Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This book is a revision of my PhD thesis that was completed at the School of Ancient History, Macquarie University, Sydney in 1996. It was recommended for publication in the WUNT series by the series editor, Professor Martin Hengel, in 1999. I am grateful to Professor Hengel for the honour of being published in such a highly regarded series. I am also thankful to Professor Jörg Frey, the current editor, whose continued interest has encouraged me to complete the project.

The subsequent delay in publication was due to the demands of preparing undergraduate and postgraduate lectures at Wesley Institute and Robert Menzies College School of Christian Studies. However, I feel that the book has benefited from my classroom discussions with students, so I do not regret the lapsed time.

There are two substantial differences between the original thesis and this book. First, on the suggestion of Professor Hengel, I omit discussion of grace in the Dead Sea Scrolls. This is replaced by an exploration of grace in Pseudo-Philo's two synagogal sermons, *De Sampson* and *De Jona*, which better approximate the Diaspora context of Paul's house churches. Second, at the suggestion of Professor Albrecht Dihle, I examine the 'servant leader' motif of Antisthenes as a backdrop to 2 Corinthians 8:9. These changes, I believe, enable Paul's understanding of grace to be better situated within its Graeco-Roman and Diaspora context.

Many people have contributed to my thinking about the theme of the book. I am grateful to Dr Mark Harding, Dean of the Australian College of Theology, and Professor Judith Lieu, King's College, London, for their help with the Jewish literature. Mr Graham Joyner was invaluable to my early work on the Greek inscriptions, as was Mr Greg Fox with the fragments of Antisthenes.

Dr Christopher Forbes has been a close friend and mentor. His astute advice helped me to steer away from errors and into profitable areas of research. He has always been available and willing to discuss my work and talk about wider scholarly issues.

Emeritus Professor Edwin Judge exercises a profound influence on my research. He is lavish of his time and skills, and this book reflects some of his many interests as a Roman and New Testament social historian. As a mentor,

he shows a personal interest that has made this task much easier to complete. Although he retired from the Chair of Ancient History at Macquarie University in 1993, he supervised my thesis until completion and continues generously to offer advice on various issues. This represents an act of grace on his part that goes far beyond the requirements of his official duties.

Three other people deserve special mention. Mrs Beth McPherson and Ms Gill McPherson are proofreaders par excellence and their dedication to their task saved me from many errors. Elisabeth, my wife, never doubted that I would complete this book. In recent months, she spared time from her own academic career to help format it. Like Phoebe, she has been *προστάτις* and *διάκονος* and I dedicate this thesis to her with my love and thanks.

Finally, production of a book often reflects a personal journey. Professor Hengel suggested that I emphasise more forcefully than I had in the original thesis the reality of divine love behind divine grace. In this regard, the truth of Galatians 2:20b continues to overpower me each day as I struggle with ingrained character traits that resist the transformation of the new creation.

Jim Harrison
Sydney
June 2003

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Abbreviations

<i>AClass</i>	<i>Acta Classica</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> ed. H. Temporini
<i>ATR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
<i>AusBR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist Reader</i>
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Berliner griechische Urkunden (Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin)</i>
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester</i>
<i>BMI</i>	<i>Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum</i>
<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<i>C&M</i>	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
<i>CIJ</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum</i> , ed. J.B. Frey
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>Comm Viat</i>	<i>Communio Viatorum</i>
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CPJ</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum</i> , ed. V. Tcherikover
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CurTM</i>	<i>Currents in Theology and Mission</i>
<i>DHA</i>	<i>Dialogues d'histoire ancienne</i>
<i>Ephesos BMI</i>	<i>Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum (Ephesos)</i>
<i>ETR</i>	<i>Études théologiques et religieuses</i>
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>F.Gr.H.</i>	<i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , 1932- ed. F. Jacoby
<i>FD</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes. 3. Épigraphie</i> , et al., ed. G. Colin

<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae, et al.</i> , ed. W. Dittenberger
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>I. AnkyraBosch</i>	<i>Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum</i> , ed. E. Bosch
<i>I. Assos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Assos</i> , ed. R. Merkelbach
<i>I. Délos</i>	<i>Inscriptions de Délos, et al.</i> , ed. F. Durrbach
<i>I. Ephesos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos, et al.</i> , ed. H. Wankel
<i>IGRR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, et al.</i> , ed. R. Cagnat
<i>I. Iasos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Iasos</i> , ed. W. Blümel
<i>I. Kalchedon</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Kalchedon, et al.</i> , ed. R. Merkelbach
<i>I. Keramos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Keramos</i> , ed. E. Varinlioglu
<i>I. Kyme</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Kyme</i> , ed. H. Engelmann
<i>I. Kyzikos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung</i> , ed. E. Schwertheim
<i>I. Magnesia</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> , ed. O Kern
<i>I. Mylasa</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Mylasa. I. Inschriften der Stadt</i> , ed. W. Blümel
<i>I. Perge</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Perge</i> , ed. S. Sahin
<i>I. Priene</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Priene</i> , ed. F. Hillier von Gaertringen
<i>I. Prusa Olymp.</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympum</i> , ed. T. Corsten
<i>I. Stratonikeia</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia</i> , ed. S. Sahin
<i>I. Tralleis</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Tralles und Nysa. I. Die Inschriften von Tralleis</i> , ed. F.B. Poljakov
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JRH</i>	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>

<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>Michel</i>	<i>Recueil d'inscriptions grecques</i> , ed. by C. Michel
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
<i>New Docs</i>	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i> , eds. G.H.R. Horsley (vols 1-5); S.R. Llewelyn (vols 6-9)
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , ed. W. Dittenberger
<i>P & P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>Pap. Agon.</i>	<i>Zehn agonistische Papyri</i> , ed. P. Frisch
<i>P. Ath. Univ. Inv.</i>	<i>The Carbonised Papyrus of the Institute of Classical Philology at the University of Athens</i> , ed. N. Livadaras
<i>P. Bon.</i>	<i>Papyri Bononienses</i> , ed. O. Montevecchi
<i>P. Brem.</i>	<i>Die Bremer Papyri</i> , ed. U. Wilcken
<i>P. Erasm.</i>	<i>Papyri in the Collection of the Erasmus University (Rotterdam)</i> , eds P.J. Sijpesteijn and P.A. Verdult
<i>P. Fam. Tebt.</i>	<i>A Family Archive from Tebtunis</i> , ed. B.A. van Groningen
<i>P. Fuad I Univ.</i>	<i>Fuad I University Papyri</i> , ed. by D.S. Crawford
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<i>P. Herc.</i>	<i>Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi</i> , ed. M. Gigante
<i>P. Lond.</i>	<i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i> , eds. F.G. Kenyon & H.I. Bell
<i>P. Louvre</i>	<i>Notices et extraits des papyrus grecs du Musée du Louvre et de la Bibliothèque Impériale</i> , ed. J.A. Letronne
<i>P. Mert.</i>	<i>A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton, F.S.A., et al.</i> , H.I. Bell
<i>P. Mich.</i>	<i>Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection, et al.</i> , ed. C.C. Edgar
<i>P. Oxy.</i>	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri, et al.</i> , eds B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt
<i>P. Oxy. Hels.</i>	<i>Fifty Oxyrhynchus Papyri, et al.</i> ed. by H. Zilliacus
<i>P. Princ.</i>	<i>Papyri in the Princeton University Collections, et al.</i> , ed. A.C. Johnson
<i>P. Ross Georg.</i>	<i>Papyri Russischer und Georgische Sammlungen</i> , ed. G. Zereteli

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<i>P. Soter.</i>	<i>Das Archive des Soterichos</i> , ed. S. Omar
<i>P. Strass.</i>	<i>Griechische Papyrus der Kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg</i> , ed. F. Preisigke
<i>P. Tebt.</i>	<i>The Tebtunis Papyri, et al.</i> , ed. B.P. Grenfell
<i>P. Turner</i>	<i>Papyri Greek and Egyptian, edited by various hands in honour of Eric Gardner Turner on the occasion of his 70th birthday</i>
<i>P. Warren</i>	<i>The Warren Papyri, et al.</i> , ed. M. David
<i>P. Wash. Univ.</i>	<i>Washington University Papyri, I: Non Literary Texts (nos 1-61)</i> , ed. V.B. Schuman
<i>P. Würzb.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen aus der Würzburger Papyrussammlung</i> , ed. U. Wilcken
<i>P. Wisc.</i>	<i>The Wisconsin Papyri</i> , ed. P.J. Sijpesteijn
<i>P. Yale</i>	<i>Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library I. Et al.</i> , ed., J.F. Oates
<i>PGM</i>	<i>Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauber papyri</i> , ed. K. Preisendanz
<i>PSI</i>	<i>Papiri greci e latini, et al.</i> , G. Vitelli
<i>PWSup</i>	<i>Pauly-Wissowa Supplement</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>ResQ</i>	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
<i>Rev Exp</i>	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
<i>RIDA</i>	<i>Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité</i>
<i>RivB</i>	<i>Rivista Biblica</i>
<i>SE</i>	<i>Studia Evangelica, ed. by F. Cross</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SIG³</i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , ed. W. Dittenberger
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris, et al.</i> , ed. E. Kalinka
<i>TAPhA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>

<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>UPZ</i>	<i>Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit</i> , ed. U. Wilcken
<i>USQR</i>	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
<i>VSpir</i>	<i>Vie spirituelle</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
<i>ZST</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie</i>

Chapter 1

Paul and the Reign of Grace

This thesis will argue that the Graeco-Roman *benefaction* context of χάρις is the backdrop for Paul's understanding of divine and human grace. Paul's language of grace would have been assessed by his auditors against the hellenistic reciprocity system that shaped the rituals of giving and receiving throughout the eastern Mediterranean basin.¹ This was, after all, the area in which Paul founded and pastored his fledgling house churches. Paul's Gentile converts were intimately familiar with the operations of hellenistic beneficence. To be sure, the Roman patronal system was well known in the Greek East, initially through the benefactions of the republican luminaries, and later through the munificence of the Caesars. But the traditional benefaction system of the Greek city-states continued to flourish well into the imperial period, along with its reciprocity conventions and terminology. This is illustrated by the numerous honorific inscriptions scattered throughout the entire region of the eastern Mediterranean.

To honour a benefactor the Council of a Greek city-state would usually inscribe a decree on a stone slab or bronze plaque and erect it in a conspicuous public place. Typically, the inscription eulogised the merit of a civic benefactor, detailed the benefits that he had conferred on the citizens, and specified what honours had been decreed to him by the Council. The city-state thereby ensured that the moral and social status of the benefactor was enhanced, in the hope that it would elicit further benefits from him and/or his peers.

An ethos of reciprocity governed the relations between the benefactor and his beneficiaries. Reciprocity — or the return of favour for acts of generosity by benefactors — created networks of obligation that were a matter of honour for benefactor and beneficiary alike. In conferring a range of public honours, the Council recompensed the benefactor's quest for honour (φιλοτιμία). Simultaneously, by means of the return of honour to its benefactor, the

¹ S.C. Mott (*The Greek Benefactor and Deliverance from Moral Distress* [unpub. Ph.D. diss. Harvard University 1971], 75) comments: 'The relationship with the gods as benefactors has the same reciprocal character as with human benefactors'.

Council maintained its own reputation of gratitude in front of the other Greek city-states. It is important to realise that by the first century AD χάρις had become the central leitmotiv of the hellenistic reciprocity system. By making this terminology the touchstone of his theology of grace, it would seem that Paul *deliberately* chose to articulate his understanding of χάρις over against the theological and social beliefs of the eastern Mediterranean city-states regarding beneficence.

It should be observed in this regard that Paul's Jewishness would not have insulated him against the impact of hellenistic reciprocity ideology. The very fact that Paul, in sharp contrast to the LXX, chose χάρις ('grace') over against ἔλεος ('mercy') as his central description of beneficence (divine and human) should alert us to this. Whereas *hesed* ('mercy') was the most frequently used Hebrew word for covenantal beneficence in the Old Testament, Paul rarely employs its LXX equivalents (ἔλεος, ἐλεεῖν). Instead, unexpectedly, he magnifies χάρις and its cognates.²

Moreover, the Jewish communities of Palestine and the diaspora had sought legitimation for the reciprocity ideology of their milieu in the Mosaic law and in the LXX narratives, domesticating its more socially congenial practices, and critiquing many of the same benefaction *topoi* as the popular philosophers. As Chapter 4 will demonstrate, χάρις retained its hellenistic reciprocal aspect even in a Jewish context.

Why, then, was χάρις so advantageous a term for Paul as he sought to unveil his gospel of grace for his Gentile converts?

First, the semantic versatility of χάρις in its hellenistic context meant that the word was ideally suited for reciprocity rituals. It designated the 'favour', 'good-will', or 'grace' conferred by the benefactor on the beneficiary. Equally, it could refer to the return of 'favour' or 'thanks' by the beneficiary to the benefactor, whether human or divine. Almost universally, Paul uses χάρις and its cognates in a benefaction context, but at times with reserve as far as reciprocity is concerned. The familiarity of χάρις and its associated reciprocity conventions ensured its ready recognition by Paul's first-century auditors and would probably have captured their attention as the apostle began to invest the word with new theological content.

Second, χάρις allowed Paul the opportunity to interact theologically and socially with the benefaction culture of his times. The emperor Augustus, for example, had ushered in an 'age of grace' that eclipsed all his rivals by virtue

² In the undisputed and disputed letters, Paul uses ἔλεος 10 times; ἐλεεῖν 12 times. By contrast, Paul uses χάρις 97 times; χάρισμα 16 times; χαρίζεσθαι 13 times; χάριτᾶν once; εὐχαριστία 12 times; εὐχαριστεῖν 24 times; εὐχάριστος once; ἀχάριστος once.

of the (seemingly endless) χάριτες he was able to marshal for his beneficiaries. As we will argue, this unilateral display of Augustan beneficence may well have provided the cue for one of Paul's central theological forays: the reign of eschatological grace. Again, the numerous honorific inscriptions celebrating the χάριτες of civic benefactors may have prompted the question: what differentiates the Christian views of generosity and gratitude from their hellenistic counterparts? Χάρις, nevertheless, became the primary vehicle for Paul's theological and social response.

Furthermore, this interaction with contemporary benefaction culture was not necessarily initiated by Paul himself. There were, undoubtedly, occasions when Gentile converts and interested outsiders would have enquired about the relationship of the gospel to various hellenistic perceptions of divine and human beneficence. The ethics of beneficence were widely discussed in the works of the popular philosophers on χάρις, as the conventions of reciprocity system reached down to the base of the social pyramid. The likelihood that some of Paul's converts understood gift-giving as a social exchange may well have forced the apostle's hand theologically on several occasions. Thus the central leitmotiv of eastern Mediterranean reciprocity, χάρις, was re-defined by Paul for believers in the light of the sacrifice of the crucified Christ.

Additionally, the debate between the Stoics and the Epicureans over divine beneficence and divine wrath continued to rage into the first-century AD and well beyond. It is hard to believe that Paul's teaching concerning justification by grace through faith was not somehow related to the wider theological questions of Graeco-Roman society.

At the outset, three questions should be posed regarding previous scholarship in our area. First, how far have modern studies of Graeco-Roman benefaction enabled us to unearth the first-century social strata in which χάρις lies embedded? Second, to what extent have modern studies on the Pauline theology of grace shown an interest in the Graeco-Roman benefaction context and its impact on the apostle's message? Third, what has been the contribution of modern social-scientific studies of patronage and grace in helping us to understand Paul's view of divine and human beneficence?

1.1. Modern Scholarship on Benefaction: The Clue to the First-Century Context of Charis?

There is no modern study of the Graeco-Roman benefaction system which devotes significant attention to χάρις, whether it be in the documentary or

literary evidence. This omission is hardly surprising. Scholars writing on benefaction prior to World War 2 — with the exception of W.P. Clark — largely ignored the evidence of honorific inscriptions of the eastern Mediterranean city-states. Thus the civic context of hellenistic reciprocity rituals was overlooked, with the result that the language of moral obligation was cut loose from its referential moorings: that is, the *polis* or the Greek city-state.³ Inevitably, the role that χάρις played in promoting the ethics of civic beneficence in the Greek *poleis* failed to capture the interest of historians.

What do we learn from these early studies of benefaction? The dissertation of W.P. Clark is a wide-ranging account of gift-giving among the Greeks in antiquity, with a wealth of epigraphic evidence detailing the donations of local benefactors to their *poleis*.⁴ In the view of Clark, Christianity added nothing new to Greek beneficence because the Stoic idea of a common humanity had sufficiently generated an ethos of mutual helpfulness by the first century AD. Ultimately, Clark concludes, the Christian vision of charity was exclusivist, confined as it was to the relief of Christian communities.⁵ The only real distinctive of Jewish-Christian charity was its imperatival framework ('Thus says the Lord'; 'I say unto you') over against the deliberative tradition of the Greek moralists.⁶ Unfortunately, Clark does not ground his views concerning Christian beneficence in a serious, socially nuanced analysis of the relevant New Testament texts. He also misses the point that ancient observers like Julian complained precisely of the fact that Christians *did* extend financial aid to others.⁷ Clark prefers the luxury of large interpretative brush strokes over against the rigour of historical detail.

E. Skard's pioneering study of rulers who were called 'benefactors' (εὐεργέται) in antiquity includes a useful analysis of a range of benefaction terminology.⁸ Helpfully, he argues that the classical writers were heavily indebted to the stable, stereotyped formulae of the honorific inscriptions.⁹ If

³ See especially W.A. Meeks, *The Origins of Christian Morality: The First Two Centuries* (New Haven and London 1993), 12-13, 37-51.

⁴ W.P. Clark, *Benefactions and Endowments in Greek Antiquity* (unpub. Ph.D. diss. Chicago University 1928).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 72-73, 80.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁷ See S. Davis, 'Philanthropy as a Virtue in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages', in J.B. Schneewind (ed.), *Giving: Western Ideas of Philanthropy* (Bloomington and Indianapolis 1996), 1-23, esp. 8-13.

⁸ E. Skard, *Zwei religiös-politische Begriffe: Euergetes-Concordia* (Oslo 1932), 6-66. The later article of B. Kötting ('Euergetes', *RAC* 6 [1965], 846-860) largely covers the same ground as Skard.

⁹ E. Skard, *op. cit.*, 14-15.

Skard is correct in this regard, the honorific inscriptions represent — over against the literary evidence — a superior historical source for the ethical terminology of beneficence. But, unfortunately for us, Skard does not touch on χάρις at all.

H. Bolkestein investigates charity and poor relief in Egypt, Palestine, Greece and Rome in pre-Christian antiquity.¹⁰ His thesis is that the extension of the meaning of mercy (ἔλεος) to include compassion to the poor and almsgiving (ἐλεημοσύνη) arose from the traditions of the Greek-speaking Orient rather than from the conventions of the Graeco-Roman benefaction system. Although Bolkestein misrepresents Graeco-Roman beneficence in this regard (§7.1 n.4), he also examines a spread of benefaction terminology, including χάρις. Bolkestein notes that beneficence was normally extended to good men, not to the poor, because only the good were able to reciprocate with commensurate thanksgiving (χάρις) and favour (χάρις).¹¹ Finally, after listing the reciprocity terminology found in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* — consisting of a series of ἀντί-compounds — Bolkestein observes that χάρις, like ξένος ('host', 'guest'), embodies the bilateralness of reciprocity rituals in its meaning.¹²

Since 1968 this trickle of interest in benefaction studies has swollen into a torrent of publication. Four fundamental studies demonstrate this. First, A.R. Hands ranges widely across the terrain of the Graeco-Roman benefaction system, including a section on reciprocity rituals and (usefully for the average reader) a selection of translated honorific inscriptions.¹³

Second, S.C. Mott's unpublished dissertation studies the use of σωτήρ ('saviour', 'deliverer') — along with its allied benefaction terminology — as a description of hellenistic benefactors.¹⁴ In seeking to apply his results to the study of the Pastorals, Mott pays meticulous attention to the evidence of the honorific inscriptions, is sensitive to the hellenistic ethos of reciprocity, and frequently draws attention to the important role of χάρις in Jewish and Graeco-Roman benefaction contexts.¹⁵ While conceding that from the first

¹⁰ H. Bolkestein, *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum* (rpt. New York 1979: Gmn. orig. 1939).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹² *Ibid.*, 159-160.

¹³ A.R. Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (London and Southampton 1968). Hands (*ibid.*, 35) draws attention to a series of bilateral terms, including χάρις.

¹⁴ S.C. Mott, *op. cit.* See also the 1951 essay of A.D. Nock, 'Soter and Euergetes', in *id.*, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* Vol.2 (Oxford 1972), 720-735.

¹⁵ On reciprocity, see S.C. Mott, *op. cit.*, 41, 66-74, 79-80, 102-109, 157-158; *id.*, 'The Power of Giving and Receiving: Reciprocity in Hellenistic Benevolence', in G.F. Hawthorne (ed.), *Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation: Studies in Honor of Merrill C.*

century AD onwards the Stoics argued for an increased dependence on divine grace, Mott still considers the Jewish emphasis on the unilateral nature of God's grace to be distinctive in antiquity.¹⁶

Third, in a fine coverage of the Graeco-Roman benefaction system, P. Veyne argues that traditional euergetism had no direct link with the gods, and thus differed markedly from the ethical religiosity of Christian charity.¹⁷ But, like W.P. Clark before him, Veyne weakens his case by ignoring the evidence of the Pauline epistles.

Fourth, F.W. Danker has performed an invaluable service for ancient historians by exploring the benefaction phenomenon in the honorific inscriptions, including its conventions and semantic fields.¹⁸ Like A.R. Hands, he provided a wide selection of translated texts, with rich historical and philological commentary. Further, he has drawn attention to the presence of benefaction terminology and motifs throughout the entire New Testament.

Since Danker, ancient historians are continuing to research aspects of the Graeco-Roman benefaction system,¹⁹ but, more recently, New Testament scholars have gained the ascendancy in publication on the topic. H.L. Hendrix has written a regional study of Roman benefactors at Thessalonica, providing the kind of detailed analysis required for a meaningful comparison of Greek euergetism and Roman patronage in the eastern Mediterranean basin.²⁰ A similar epigraphic and literary trail could profitably be followed in the case of the other New Testament urban centres. Elsewhere, Hendrix insightfully argues that the letter to the Ephesians reflects the structure of the honorific decrees and the Caesarian loyalty oaths.²¹

The issue of patronal relations within the Pauline house-churches and their interaction with Graeco-Roman social conventions has been a constant focus

Tenney (Grand Rapids 1975), 60-72. On χάρις, see *id.*, *op. cit.*, 48-49, 83, 106, 114-115, 302, 361; *id.*, *Biblical Ethics and Social Change* (Oxford 1982), 22-38.

¹⁶ *Id.*, *op. cit.* (1971), 305-306.

¹⁷ P. Veyne, *Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism* (London 1990: Fr. orig. 1976), 19-34.

¹⁸ F.W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Field* (St. Louis 1982). Danker (*ibid.*, 245, 441) makes brief reference to the role of χάρις as regards the appropriateness of gratitude.

¹⁹ G. Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (Cambridge 1987); A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society* (London and New York 1990).

²⁰ H.L. Hendrix, *Thessalonians Honor Romans* (unpub. Th.D. diss. Harvard University 1984). See also *id.*, 'Beyond "Imperial Cult" and "Cults of Magistrates"' in H.R. Kent (ed.), *Society of Biblical Literature 1986 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta 1986), 301-308; *id.*, 'Benefactor/Patron Networks in the Urban Environment: Evidence from Thessalonica', *Semeia* 56 (1992), 39-58.

²¹ *Id.*, 'On the Form and Ethos of Ephesians', *USQR* 42/4 (1988), 3-15.

of the writings of E.A. Judge.²² The momentum of Judge's pioneering research in this area has been maintained by scholars such as P. Marshall, R.M. Kidd, J.K. Chow, A.D. Clarke, B.W. Winter, and S. Joubert.²³ But, of all these authors, only Marshall and Joubert touch on the role of χάρις and *gratia* in benefaction ideology.²⁴

Finally, G.W. Peterman argues that while Paul endorses certain Graeco-Roman reciprocity conventions, he gives priority to the demands of the gospel in social relations.²⁵ The strength of Peterman's discussion lies in its theological insight. Importantly, he draws attention to the role of χάρις and its cognates in the return of gratitude, as well as its accompanying language of commensurability (ἄξιος, 'of like value', 'worthy'; κατὰξιός, 'very worthy') in antiquity.²⁶ However, Peterman's dissertation is so focused on the evidence of Philippians — especially Paul's phrase δόσις καὶ λήμψις (Phil 4:15)²⁷ — that inevitably his treatment of Graeco-Roman reciprocity is truncated. Unfortunately, Peterman underestimates the extent to which reciprocity governed both divine and human relationships in antiquity. As we will see, the gods, as much as human beings, could be put under counter-obligation.²⁸ Peterman is often overly reliant on the Roman evidence of Seneca at the expense of the Greek popular philosophers. Whereas Peterman

²² See our discussion of the work of E.A. Judge in §7.1 for pertinent references.

²³ P. Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians* (Tübingen 1987); R.M. Kidd, *Wealth and Beneficence in the Pastoral Epistles: A 'Bourgeois' Form of Early Christianity?* (Atlanta 1990); J.K. Chow, *Patronage and Power: A Study of Social Networks* (Sheffield 1992); A.D. Clarke, *Secular and Christian Leadership in Corinth: A Socio-Historical and Exegetical Study of 1 Corinthians 1-6* (Leiden-New York-Köln 1993); B.W. Winter, *Seek the Welfare of the City: Christians as Benefactors and Citizens* (Grand Rapids 1994); S. Joubert, *Paul as Benefactor: Reciprocity, Strategy and Theological Reflection in Paul's Collection* (Tübingen 2000).

²⁴ P. Marshall, *op. cit.*, 23-24; S. Joubert, *op. cit.*, 74 n.4, 101-102 n.98, 135-136, 153, 196, 199, 201-202, 216.

²⁵ G.W. Peterman, *Paul's Gift from Philippi: Conventions of Gift-Exchange and Christian Giving* [Cambridge 1997], 8): 'the demands of social reciprocity did not have the power to usurp the supreme place of the gospel in the apostle's life'. See, too, the helpful chapter of D.A. deSilva (entitled 'Patronage and Reciprocity: The Social Context of Grace') in *id.*, *Honor, Patronage, Kinship and Purity: Unlocking New Testament Culture* (Downers Grove 2000), 95-119.

²⁶ G.W. Peterman, *op. cit.*, 71ff, 83.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 53-65.

²⁸ G.W. Peterman (*ibid.*, 89) overdraws the contrast between the LXX and hellenistic reciprocity when he writes: 'Divine reward does not enter into Greco-Roman reciprocity'. For support, Peterman cites G. Herman (*op. cit.*, 48-49). But, like Peterman in this instance, Herman has made a sweeping judgement unsupported by the wider evidence. On the gods reciprocating human piety, see our summary in §6.5.

extensively discusses reciprocity in several important papyri, his treatment of the honorific inscriptions is brief and unsatisfactory.²⁹ As a result, he does not sufficiently appreciate the civic and international scope of the hellenistic reciprocity system.³⁰ In sum, it would be unwise to assume that Peterman's study represents a balanced, definitive treatment of ancient reciprocity ideology.

Overall, very little attention has been paid to χάρις by modern writers on benefaction in antiquity. The time is opportune for a major investigation of divine and human grace in its Graeco-Roman benefaction context.

1.2. Modern Scholarship on Charis: A Timeless Construct?

Twentieth-century scholars who have written on χάρις largely ignore its Graeco-Roman context. One typical approach is to concentrate on the role of χάρις in the Greek epic poetry ranging from Homer to Pindar.³¹ Such studies adeptly unfold for us the Homeric world of the counter-gift. However, the hellenistic reciprocity system of the first century AD is a complex social

²⁹ For the respective coverages, see G.W. Peterman, *op. cit.*, 73-83, 84-86. A similar comment might be made about S. Joubert's excellent book on the Jerusalem collection. Joubert confines himself to the literary evidence in discussing Roman patronage (e.g. Pliny the Younger, Martial, Juvenal and Seneca: *op. cit.*, 28-37, 40-51) and — less extensively — Greek euergetism (Aristotle, Dio Chrysostom: *op. cit.*, 38-40, 55-56). In an insightful coverage, Joubert devotes the most attention to Seneca. But Joubert's discussion of the honorific inscriptions, apart from the six decrees lightly touched on (*op. cit.*, 51-55), is largely dependent on the work of others. In sum, in spite of the fact that Paul's organisation of the Jerusalem collection took place in the eastern Mediterranean basin, Joubert presents us with a (predominantly) literary portrait of Roman imperial patronage for the conceptual background to ancient reciprocity. To some extent, Joubert redresses this imbalance with a fine discussion of Jewish benefaction and the Romanisation of Greek euergetism (*op. cit.*, 58-69, 93-98). But what is demanded is a thorough investigation of the eastern Mediterranean documentary evidence if the beneficence practised in Paul's house churches is to be accurately assessed in its proper context. For analysis of this material, see Chapters 2 and 3 *infra*. A more detailed response to Joubert's stimulating case regarding the Jerusalem collection is found in §7.2.2.3.

³⁰ See our summary at the beginning of §7.3.2.

³¹ See J.W. Franzmann, *The Early Development of the Greek Concept of Charis* (unpub. Ph.D. diss. Wisconsin University 1972); M. Scott, 'Charis in Homer and the Homeric Hymns', *AClass* 26 (1983), 1-13; *id.*, 'Charis from Hesiod to Pindar', *AClass* 27 (1984), 1-13; B. MacLachlan, *The Age of Grace: Charis in Early Greek Poetry* (Princeton 1993). Mention might be made here of P. Hummel's study of χάρις in Pindar's poetry: *id.*, 'Le labeur et la grâce: Étude d'une constellation lexicale. δαπάνη, πόνος et χάρις dans Pindare', *Revue de philologie* 70/2 (1996), 247-254.

phenomenon which, if it is to be properly understood, requires a wide-ranging investigation of the literary and documentary sources. Certainly, the Homeric evidence may well throw light on hellenistic reciprocity conventions, but this can only be determined after a detailed study of the first-century Graeco-Roman benefaction context.

Various studies have also been written on the *Charites*, the daughters of Zeus, who personified grace, charm, and beauty.³² O. Loew has also argued that the *Charites* conveyed pleasure, drawing his support from the etymological link of χάρις with χάρα ('joy').³³ However, the relevance of this material for the New Testament social historian is limited, precisely because Paul eschews the plural χάριτες when describing divine and human beneficence. At best, studies on the *Charites* belong to the wider cultural tapestry of Graeco-Roman society and only partially explain why Paul avoided the plural form of χάρις.

Several Christian scholars have touched on the topic of Pauline grace as a precursor to the later theological debates of the Church Fathers.³⁴ Needless to say, such studies labour under the weight of historical generalisation. Furthermore, in studies where the New Testament use of χάρις is the exclusive focus,³⁵ grace is usually treated as a timeless construct with minimal

³² See T. Zielinski, 'Charis and Charites', *CQ* 18 (1924), 158-163; K. Deichgräber, *Charis und Chariten: Grazie und Grazien* (München 1971).

³³ O. Loew, *XAPIΣ* (diss. Marburg 1908). Loew (*ibid.*, 46) describes the *Charites* as 'deae laetificatrices'.

³⁴ E. Jauncey, *The Doctrine of Grace up to the End of the Pelagian Controversy* (London 1925); T.F. Torrance, *The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers* (Edinburgh 1948); R.F.G. Burnish, *The Doctrine of Grace from Paul to Irenaeus* (unpub. Ph.D. diss. Glasgow University 1971). However, A McGrath (*Thomas F. Torrance: An Intellectual Biography* [Edinburgh 1999], 59) notes that T.F. Torrance worked on the inscriptions documenting χάρις with M.N. Tod as part of his Basil thesis on grace, written under the supervision of Karl Barth. Unfortunately, this valuable research was largely omitted from his subsequently published work (*op. cit.*).

³⁵ See J. Moffatt, *Grace in the New Testament* (London 1931); W. Manson, 'Grace in the New Testament', in W.T. Whitely (ed.), *The Doctrine of Grace* (London 1932), 33-60; J. Wobbe, *Der Charis-Gedanke bei Paulus: Ein Beitrag zur neutestamentlichen Theologie* (Münster 1932); R. Winkler, 'Die Gnade im Neuen Testament', *ZST* 10 (1933), 642-680; L. Cerfaux, 'La théologie de la grâce selon Saint Paul', *VSpir* 83 (1950), 5-19; C. Ryder Smith, *The Bible Doctrine of Grace* (London 1956); W. Grundmann, 'Die Übermacht der Gnade: Ein Studie zur Theologie des Paulus', *NovT* 2/1 (1957), 50-72; R.F. Surburg, 'Pauline Charis: A Philological, Exegetical, and Dogmatical Study', *CTM* 29/10 (1958), 721-741; E.E. Flack, 'The Concept of Grace in Biblical Thought', in J.M. Myers (ed.), *Biblical Studies in Memory of H.C. Alleman* (Locust Valley 1960), 137-154; T.N. Schulz, *The Meaning of Charis in the New Testament* (Genova 1971); D.J. Doughty, 'The Priority of XAPIΣ: An Investigation of the Theological Language of Paul', *NTS* 19 (1973), 163-180; H. Conzelmann and W. Zimmerli, 'χάρις, χαρίζομαι, χαριτώ, ἀχάριστος, χάρισμα,

relevance to the social and theological framework of Graeco-Roman society. The result is that the apostle of grace, who struggled to see his Gentile converts grow into maturity in Christ, vanishes into theological abstraction. Admittedly, several of these writers (e.g. J. Moffatt; W. Manson; H. Conzelmann and W. Zimmerli; H. Dörrie *et al.*) seek to locate χάρις in its wider Graeco-Roman context. But, in each case, their coverage is broad, with little attempt made to sift through the evidence chronologically, thematically, or according to its genre. It is simply assumed that this amorphous collection of ancient texts is somehow relevant to Paul's first-century social context.³⁶

εὐχαριστέω', *TDNT* 9 (1974), 372-402; H. Dörrie *et al.*, 'Gnade', *RAC* 2 (1981), 314-446; M. Theobald, *Die überströmende Gnade: Studien zu einem paulinischen Motivfeld* (Würzburg 1982); K. Berger, 'χάρις', in H. Balz and G. Schneider (eds), *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* Vol.3 (Grand Rapids 1993), 457-460; H. Boers, 'Ἀγάπη and Χάρις in Paul's Thought', *CBQ* 59/4 (1997), 693-713; M. Winger, 'From Grace to Sin: Names and Abstractions in Paul's Letters', *NovT* 41/2 (1999), 145-175.

³⁶ The recent article of H. Boers (*art. cit.*) illustrates how deeply the paradigms of past scholarship remain entrenched. Boers asserts that Paul's use of χάρις does not move 'beyond anything expressed by that word in his Greek and Hebrew-Jewish background' prior to the writing of Galatians and Romans (*art. cit.*, 705). This sweeping statement is based on the analysis of a single Graeco-Roman text (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 2.7.2: *art. cit.*, 703) and two paragraphs on select LXX texts (*art. cit.*, 704-705). This is accompanied by the obligatory (but uncritical) appeal to the works of G.P. Wetter and J. Moffatt (*art. cit.*, 704 n.17) as confirmation. However, Boer's assumption that Paul's use of χάρις is entirely conventional before Galatians and Romans is facile. Why does Paul, in contrast to the honorific inscriptions, resort to such profuse 'grace' language in 2 Corinthians 8-9 (χάρις 10 times; εὐχαριστία twice) if the Jerusalem collection is just another example of Graeco-Roman reciprocity? For our discussion, see §7.2.2.3. Boer — resurrecting the thesis of W. Wrede (*Paul* [Boston 1908], 122-137) — then proceeds to argue that Paul's doctrine of justification by faith in Galatians and Romans is polemical because it is aimed at the judaizing circumcision party (*art. cit.*, 709-710). Once again, the understanding of grace in Judaism and in early Christianity is reduced to timeless dogmatics and divorced from a detailed analysis of the Graeco-Roman reciprocity system. Precisely because Boer reads the Romans evidence through Galatian spectacles, he never pauses to ask whether Paul might be saying something distinctive about χάρις to the believers in Rome, the home of the imperial benefactors. For example, see the stimulating comments of D. Georgi (*Theocracy in Paul's Praxis and Theology* [Minneapolis 1991: Gmn. orig. 1987], 79-104) and J.L. White (*The Apostle of God: Paul and the Promise of Abraham* [Peabody 1999], 110-135, 173-206) regarding Augustus as divine benefactor. Also see our discussion in §6.1.2.4—§6.1.2.5. Boer concludes that Paul's use of χάρις acquires 'a certain technical status' in Galatians and Romans (*art. cit.*, 709) and this prevents us from clarifying the meaning of χάρις in the apostle's earlier letters. Note the telling comment of B. Eastman (*The Significance of Grace in the Letters of Paul* [New York 1999], 10) regarding such approaches: 'Focusing on grace with reference only to Paul's view of the law yields an incomplete picture of the role of grace in Paul's thought. Paul uses the concept of grace in *other than polemical* contexts, and it may be that in ignoring those occurrences has led to a diminished appreciation of the role of grace in Paul' (my emphasis). Finally, Boer fails to recognise the formative theological

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