

E. A. JUDGE

The First Christians in the Roman World

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Mohr Siebeck

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229



E. A. Judge

The First Christians in the Roman World

Augustan and New Testament Essays

Edited by

James R. Harrison

Mohr Siebeck

E. A. JUDGE, born 1928; Emeritus Professor of History at Macquarie University.

JAMES R. HARRISON, born 1952; 1976 BADipEd; 1989 MA; 1997 PhD; Head of School of Theology, Wesley Institute, Sydney, Australia; Honorary Associate, Macquarie University Ancient History Department.

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Preface

In February 1973, the third year of my undergraduate studies at Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia, I enrolled in an Ancient History unit called 'The Roman Nobility'. The lecturer was to be Professor E.A. Judge, responsible for the field of Ancient History. I had lost my way over the two previous years, becoming disillusioned with English literature, and barely tolerating the *melée* of social movements and ideologies that comprised Modern History. Already my academic record was stained with several failures and I could not see how the one subject I had really enjoyed, Philosophy, would earn me a living.

I do not remember much about the first week of lectures, except that Professor Judge was committed to investigating thoroughly the ancient sources. His study guide not only provided us with translated extracts from the famous Greek and Roman historians of the later periods but also with fragments of little-known Roman historians of the time. The historical rigour demanded by Judge's text-based approach plunged us from the beginning into the methodology of history – debates about the reliability and the point of view of the sources and the implications of this for historical interpretation – as opposed to the interminable surveys of periods and movements of Modern History.

The second week of Judge's lectures on the Roman ideal of glory was a transformative experience for me. By the time Judge had worked his way through the Study Guide extracts of Ennius, Cicero, and the inscriptional epitaphs of the Scipios, carefully distilling the motivations fuelling the Roman noble's quest for ancestral glory, my future career had been decided: I would be teaching ancient history in some form or another.

But something more special started to happen as the course unfolded. Judge challenged the scholarly consensus on topic after topic. Here was a radical and innovative thinker who engaged his audience in a most enticing way. Even more exciting was that, as we studied the documentary and literary evidence for our weekly tutorial papers, we started to see why the scholarly consensus – with all its deficiencies expertly laid bare by Judge – had to be challenged. Whether it was the Gracchi, Marius or Sulla, Pompey or Caesar, Judge presented highly original research arising from the

ancient sources and critiqued the viewpoints of the key scholars in the field with fairness, grace and objectivity.

Judge undertook the same approach in 'Augustan Rome', his teaching unit for the second half of that year. He dismantled brick by brick the interpretative edifice erected by Sir Ronald Syme, the world authority on the Augustan revolution, without forgetting to bring into the conversation the giants of the past like Theodore Mommsen. But, throughout, we were encouraged to develop our own arguments from the ancient sources and to launch forays against Judge's newly built construction when we felt the evidence warranted it.

Three other defining moments stood out for me. In Dr Robert Banks' 1975 unit, 'The New Testament in Its Times', Professor Judge delivered a guest lecture on Paul's critique of Graeco-Roman society, with special focus on the apostle's dismantling of Graeco-Roman boasting culture in 2 Corinthians 11:16–12:10. I remember walking away from the lecture dazzled by Judge's distillation of the social implications of Paul's message. Sometime in the future, I thought, I would like the opportunity to pursue research like that.

In 1989, in a Masters unit entitled 'Historical Documents in Greek', Judge translated and commented on the famous Priene inscription honouring Augustus,¹ comparing the use of the inscriptional vocabulary with the same words in the New Testament. This tantalising methodology led me inexorably to Frederick Danker's *Benefactor* and the genesis of my doctoral studies under Judge in 1991.²

After an initial meeting with Professor Judge, I decided to look at the ancient benefaction context of the Jerusalem collection. I noticed that there was an explosion of grace language when Paul described the collection in 2 Corinthians 8–9. I was also intrigued to discover that Nero used the same language of grace of his short-lived liberation of the province of Greece in AD 67.³ At my next meeting with Professor Judge, I tentatively put forward a refined doctoral proposal: an exploration of Paul's use of *charis* against the backdrop of the inscriptions, papyri, popular philosophers, and the Greek literature of Second Temple Judaism. Judge leaned across the table and gave me the kind of advice that a doctoral candidate craves: "If you want to make your thesis original, start with the inscriptions".

My experience of Judge's inspiring teaching ability, the originality of his writings and their suggestive ideas for research, his ability to motivate

¹ *DocsAug*, no. 98a.

² F.W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St Louis 1982).

³ See J.R. Harrison, *Paul's Language of Grace in Its Graeco-Roman Context* (Tübingen 2003) 62.

and challenge his listeners, and his care for his doctoral candidates is typical of his impact upon students and the general public who heard him. He was Professor of History at Macquarie University in Sydney (1969–1993) and the Director of the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre (1981–1996). While he was a Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Sydney, Judge held an Alexander von Humbolt Fellowship at Cologne (1962) and, during his Macquarie years, held it again twice at Bonn (1972; 1977).

During his time as Professor of History at Macquarie University, Judge developed the discipline of Ancient History into the powerhouse that it is today. The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre became the launching pad for the internationally regarded series, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. The ‘Corpus of Christian Papyri’ project, of which Judge has been a foundation member, nears its publication. Judge also contributed to the wider life of the university by serving as Pro-Vice Chancellor (1990–1991) and as Deputy Vice-Chancellor (1992–1994). Many other singular honours – his founding co-editorship of the Australian classical journal *Antichthon*; his appointments as visiting fellow, Yale Divinity School, 1980, and Visiting Professor of Classics and History, University of California, Berkeley, 1984; his election to membership of the *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas*; and his honorary doctorate (University of Sydney, 2006) – also testify to the formidable international reputation of Judge as a scholar.

What is surprising, however, is that his scholarly impact has not been achieved through the usual path of producing monographs with prestigious publishing houses. Rather it has arisen through the publication of three small booklets and a vast array of articles in various places, many difficult to access for researchers.⁴ The impact of the Judge’s presentations at Australian and international conferences has also contributed powerfully to the sense of awe that his learning evokes.⁵ Moreover, whereas most scholars master only one discipline, Judge has demonstrated wide-ranging expertise in diverse historical periods, disciplines and methodologies. The time is long overdue for these writings to be placed in the hands of scholars and the general public in a more accessible and permanent format.

⁴ E.A. Judge, *The Social Pattern of the Christian Groups in the First Century* (London 1960); *id.*, *The Conversion of Rome: Ancient Sources of Modern Social Tensions* (Sydney 1980); *id.*, *Rank and Status in the World of the Caesars and St Paul* (Christchurch 1982).

⁵ For an excellent sample of Judge’s ability in handling questions from his audience, see the minutes of the colloquy of 29 April 1984 at the University of California, Berkeley, in ‘On Judging the Merits of Augustus’, 224–313 below.

This Mohr Siebeck collection of Judge's writings draws together his Augustan studies (Section I) and a wide range of his New Testament studies illustrating his fascination with 'Antike und Christentum' (Sections II–IV). The original occasion of their delivery is indicated by asterisk at the beginning of each chapter. The selection and arrangement are mine. Within the collection several unpublished shorter and more popular pieces have been included. Another collection of Judge's better-known New Testament pieces, *Social Distinctives of the Christians in the First Century* (D.M. Scholer [ed.]: Peabody, Hendrickson), appeared in 2008. A second Mohr Siebeck volume, *What Jerusalem Had to Do With Athens: Cultural Transformation in Late Antiquity* (A.M. Nobbs [ed.]), will explore the issue of the Christianisation of Antiquity. The contents of the three volumes, in order of their original composition, may be found in the 'Collected Papers of E.A. Judge', 733–737 below.

A few agreed typographical and other editorial adjustments have been made (notably to standardise the biblical references), and a very few orthographic errors corrected, but the style and substance of the original publications has not been updated, correlated or modified except where that is explicitly indicated. Translations of literary texts are mostly taken from standard editions such as the Loeb series, but sometimes with adjustments, while the author has normally translated the documents. With the exception of three pieces,⁶ the Greek has been transliterated throughout the collection.

Abbreviations for the inscriptions follow the epigraphic checklist of G.H.R. Horsley and J.A.L. Lee,⁷ whereas abbreviations for the papyri are to be found in the web edition of the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*.⁸ In the case of the classical, biblical, and Jewish authors, abbreviations conform to SBL conventions and *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*,⁹ whereas abbreviations for periodicals, reference works, and serials follow SBL Conventions and *L'Année Philologique*.

Finally, our thanks must be extended to several individuals, whose skills and dedication have ensured that the project would be completed. Dr Kevin Kaatz began processing many of the articles before he returned to the

⁶ See 'The Regional *kanōn* for Requisitioned Transport', 'A Woman's Behaviour', and 'Did the Churches Compete with Cult-groups?', chs 19, 20 and 38 below.

⁷ G.H.R. Horsley and J.A.L. Lee, 'A Preliminary Checklist of Abbreviations of Greek Epigraphic Volumes', *Epigraphica* 66 (1994) 129–170.

⁸ J.F. Oates et al. (eds), *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*: <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>

⁹ P.H. Alexander et al. (eds), *The SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody 1999); S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd ed. Oxford 1996).

United States. Dr Erica Mathieson took over this demanding work most adeptly and has formatted the script. Her sharp eye has saved us from many errors. We are also indebted to Mrs Beth Lewis, Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, who has retyped several of the articles in the collection, and to Mrs Jon Dalrymple, who has worked on the indexes. We also express our thanks to the Committee of the Society for the Study of Early Christianity at Macquarie University, which has generously extended funding for editorial assistance. The constant interest and encouragement of Professor Jörg Frey, WUNT series Editor, and Dr Henning Ziebritzki, Editorial Director (Theology and Jewish Studies), Mohr Siebeck, made bringing the project to completion much easier.

But, above all, we are thankful to Professor Judge who, initially against his better judgement, let his arm be twisted about the importance of publishing these “lost causes” and “museum pieces”, to borrow his own words. He has grown increasingly tolerant of the idea of a published corpus as the collection began to reach its final shape. The decisive influence in this was Professor Martin Hengel, the former editor of this series, who asked for such a collection.

Abbreviations

<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>ABG</i>	<i>Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte</i>
<i>Abh. Berlin</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
<i>ABR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
<i>AÉ</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
<i>AHC</i>	<i>Annuario Historiae Conciliorum</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AKG</i>	<i>Archiv für Kulturgeschichte</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i>
<i>AnnSE</i>	<i>Annali di storia dell' esegesi</i>
<i>AS</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>BAGD</i>	<i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , ed. W. Bauer et al.
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i>
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i>
<i>Bib.</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BEFAR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i>
<i>BMC</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>Chronique d' Égypte</i>
<i>CIJ</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CIMRM</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae</i>
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CPJ</i>	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
<i>DACL</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i>
<i>Dessau</i>	see <i>ILS</i>

<i>DHA</i>	<i>Dialogues d'histoire ancienne</i>
<i>Diels</i>	see <i>Dox. Graec.</i>
<i>Diz. Ep.</i>	<i>Dizionario Epigrafico d'Antichità romane</i>
<i>DJD</i>	<i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert</i>
<i>DocsAug</i> ²	<i>Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius</i> , 2 nd edn
<i>DocsFlav</i>	<i>Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors Including the Year of Revolution, AD 68–96</i>
<i>DocsGaius</i>	<i>Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero</i>
<i>Dox. Graec.</i>	<i>Doxographi Graeci</i>
<i>Fast. Amit.</i>	<i>Fasti Amiternini</i>
<i>Fast. Praen.</i>	<i>Fasti Praenestini</i>
<i>FGrH</i>	<i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , ed. F. Jacoby
<i>FIRA</i>	<i>Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani</i>
<i>GB</i>	<i>Grazer Beiträge</i>
<i>Ges. Schr.</i>	<i>Gesammelte Schriften</i> , T. Mommsen
<i>G&R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
<i>HRRel.</i>	<i>Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae</i> , ed. H. Peter
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>H&T</i>	<i>History and Theory</i>
<i>HT</i>	<i>History Today</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>ICS</i>	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IGLSyria</i>	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i>
<i>IGRR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i>
<i>IGSK</i>	<i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i>
<i>IGUR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i>
<i>IkaZ</i>	<i>Internationale Katholische Zeitschrift, Communio</i>
<i>IKephesos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i>
<i>IKyme</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Kyme</i>
<i>ILLRP</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae</i>
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
<i>Insc. Italiae</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> , ed. A. Degrassi
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JJP</i>	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i>

<i>JNG</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte</i>
<i>JPh</i>	<i>Journal of Philosophy</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 New Testament</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>Hermes</i>	<i>Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie</i>
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>Latomus</i>	<i>Latomus. Revue d'études latines</i>
<i>MAAR</i>	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
<i>MDAI(A)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>Meditarch</i>	<i>Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
<i>MM</i>	<i>Miscellanea Mediaevalia</i>
<i>NBD</i>	<i>New Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>NEB</i>	<i>New English Bible</i>
<i>NIV</i>	<i>New International Version</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>New Docs</i>	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i>
<i>NSA</i>	<i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i>
<i>OLP</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
<i>ORF</i>	<i>Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. H. Malcovati
<i>O.ROM</i>	<i>Ostraka in the Royal Ontario Museum</i>
<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
<i>Pap.Colon.</i>	<i>Papyrologica Coloniensia</i>
<i>P.Berol.</i>	<i>Papyrus Berolinensis</i>
<i>P.Coll.Youtie</i>	<i>Collectanea Papyrologica: Texts Published in Honor of H.C. Youtie</i>
<i>P.Fouad</i>	<i>Les papyrus Fouad I</i>
<i>PGM</i>	<i>Papyri Graecae Magicae</i> . cf. H.D. Betz, <i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells</i>
<i>P.Hamb.</i>	<i>Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek</i>

<i>P.Haun.</i>	<i>Papyri Graecae Haunienses</i>
<i>P.Herc.</i>	<i>Catalogo dei papiri ercolanesi</i>
<i>PIR</i>	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i>
<i>P.Köln</i>	<i>Kölner Papyri</i>
<i>P.Lille</i>	<i>Papyrus grecs</i> , ed. P. Jouguet
<i>P.Lond.</i>	<i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i>
<i>PLM</i>	<i>Poetae Latini Minores</i>
<i>P.Mich.</i>	<i>Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection</i>
<i>P.Oxy.</i>	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i>
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>PSI</i>	<i>Papiri greci e latini</i>
<i>P.Stras.</i>	<i>Griechische Papyrus der kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg</i> , vols 1 and 2; <i>Papyrus grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg</i> , vols 3–
<i>P.Tebt.</i>	<i>The Tebtunis Papyri</i>
<i>P.Vindob.</i>	<i>Einige Wiener Papyri</i> , ed. R.P. Salomons
<i>Salomons</i>	
<i>P.Yale</i>	<i>Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Real-encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft</i>
<i>RecSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
<i>RG</i>	<i>Res Gestae Divi Augusti</i>
<i>RGDA</i> ²	<i>Res Gestae Divi Augusti</i> , 2 nd edn, T. Mommsen
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>RIDA</i>	<i>Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité</i>
<i>RSV</i>	<i>Revised Standard Version</i>
<i>RTR</i>	<i>Reformed Theological Review</i>
<i>SB</i>	<i>Sammbelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten</i>
<i>SE</i>	<i>Studia Evangelica</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SHA</i>	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>
<i>Sherk, Roman Empire</i>	R.K. Sherk, <i>The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian</i>
<i>Sherk, Roman Documents</i>	R.K. Sherk, <i>Roman Documents from the Greek East</i>
<i>SIG</i> ³	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , ed. W. Dittenberger. 3 rd edn
<i>SIRIS</i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae</i>
<i>SPB</i>	<i>Studia Patristica et Byzantina</i>

SR	<i>Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses</i>
TAPhA	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
TynBul	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
WB	<i>Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden, mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienschilder usw. aus Ägypten</i>
WS	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
WZHalle	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg</i>
YCS	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZRG	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: romanistische Abteilung</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>
ZWT	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

Introduction

The Early Intellectual Development of E.A. Judge

Four people were formative in the early intellectual development of E.A. Judge: the Rev. William A. Orange, later Warden of Tyndale House, Christchurch; the Latinist L.G. Pocock, Professor of Classics at Canterbury University College; the soon-to-be famous Austrian émigré, Karl Popper, lecturer in philosophy at the same college; and, finally, the doyen of English ancient historians, A.H.M. Jones, Professor of Ancient History, Cambridge University.¹ Each contributed to shaping Judge's text-based approach to historical enquiry, framing his conception of the historical enterprise, and stimulating his interest in the intersection of the classical world with the innovative gospel of the first Christians.

The first intellectual mentor of Edwin Judge was the Anglican clergyman, the Rev. William Orange.² He ran a one-hour Bible Class at three o'clock on Sunday afternoons in Sumner, a suburb of Christchurch, New Zealand. A small group of eager students, belonging to the local chapter of the Crusader Union, cycled the ten miles from other churches to hear Orange expound a chapter of the Bible, while they sat in the church pews prior to evensong.

Judge remembers being mystified and captivated by Orange's expositions. The hermeneutical approach adopted towards the text was highly symbolic and typological. As Judge listened to the expositions, he could not discern from the text the evidence for the dispensational hermeneutic that Orange, open to Brethren influence, sometimes taught or

¹ This material is indebted to my own conversations with E.A. Judge, as well as the following writings: the unpublished paper of F.S. Piggin, 'Surprised by Judge: An Anglican History Professor and Australia's Public Life', Centre for the History of Christian Thought and Experience, Department of Ancient History, Macquarie University; M. Hutchinson, 'Professing History II: An Interview with Professor Edwin Judge, 12 September 1990', *Lucas* 11 (1991) 28–40; the introduction of D.M. Scholer (ed.), in E.A. Judge, *Social Distinctives of the Christians in the First Century* (Peabody, Mass. 2008).

² William Orange left Sumner in 1946 to become Warden of Tyndale House, Christchurch, New Zealand, and later became precentor of Christchurch cathedral.

for the text's purported symbolic reference. Yet Orange's studies were, in Judge's words, 'irresistible'. Everything was expounded, including the forty-two chapters of Job over an entire year, Judge recalls. Orange's theology was orthodox, correct in its social application, and educationally formative. It aroused in Judge a profound and serious interest in the contents of the Scriptures.

In his last year at Christchurch Boys High School (1944), Judge bought with a gift of money from his mother a copy of William Scroggie's *Know Your Bible* and began to examine the Scriptures from a more contextual and historical perspective. Judge's first serious encounter with the writings of the apostle Paul also occurred in the same year. New Zealand law required that one period of the school week had to be devoted to the study of Scripture. The government had specified that senior High School students had to read silently a prescribed quantum of Scripture in class, though with no comment allowed from the teacher. During that year Judge read the allocated texts, the Pauline epistles, and was so thoroughly engrossed by them that he won the Archbishop's prize for Scripture.

Judge clearly remembers that when he left high school he was fascinated by the contents of the Bible, loved Roman literary texts in the original Latin, and was hoping somehow to integrate the academic study of the classical and biblical texts. Towards the end of the year Judge aired his desire to pursue this path of study with the school career adviser, Gordon Troup. Thus the genesis of 'Antike und Christentum' was already in place in Judge's final year of high school studies. Astute advice from two trusted mentors suggested a way forward, though each had a different emphasis. A Latin teacher, 'Holy Joe' Hercus, advised Judge to start Greek, whereas William Orange counselled Philosophy first. This conflicting advice would soon find an incisive resolution in Judge's studies at Canterbury University College under L.G. Pocock and Karl Popper.

However, the abiding intellectual impact of Orange was again brought home to Judge many years later when he became the Warden of University Hall, Sydney, from 1961–1964. As Warden, Judge gave brief Bible expositions to the gowned university students after dinner, most of whom were overseas students or Australian students from the country studying veterinary science. Having observed Judge's great skill in teaching history at the University of Sydney over the years and his penchant for Bible study, Helen Turner, the distinguished Australian geneticist and Chair of University Hall, said privately to Edwin one day: 'I know where you get your teaching method from – it's from Bible study'.

The second intellectual mentor of Edwin Judge was L.G. Pocock, Professor of Classics at Canterbury University College, then belonging to the University of New Zealand but now the University of Canterbury.

Judge's undergraduate BA in Classics (1945–1947) consisted of reading set texts and writing prose compositions in Greek and Latin, whereas the fourth year (1949) was a separate degree – a Master of Arts programme equivalent to the Sydney honours year, but not integrated sequentially with one's prior studies.³ Under the guidance of Pocock, Judge read Cicero's letters in Latin and Augustus' *Res Gestae*, along with Tacitus and much else, stimulated by Pocock's fascination with Roman politics. For Judge, it was a 'revelatory year'.

On one occasion, Judge vividly remembers Pocock, an explosive and dogmatic figure, jumping out of his seat and pointing to a Latin graffito – one among many – written on his office wall: *contemptu famae contemni virtutes*.⁴ This dictum of the imperial historian Tacitus highlighted the drive for ancestral glory that animated the Roman nobility in the late Republic, before the unparalleled ascendancy of the house of the Caesars effectively eclipsed all political competition. As Tacitus pithily observed, to fail to cultivate one's own reputation was to lose respect for one's merits.

Under Pocock's teaching, Judge came to appreciate that the orator Cicero was highly sensitive to the nobleman's quest for *gloria* ("glory").⁵ Each new generation of Roman *nobiles* ("nobles") was expected to replicate and surpass the glorious achievements of their ancestors through military victory or public magistracies in order to acquire the much-prized *gloria*.⁶ Ancestral glory, the *nobiles* believed, shone out brilliantly from the famous members of the household and illuminated all the more clearly the merits of its possessors. But the *fama* ("reputation") of the *nobiles* had to be publicly talked about for glory to shine out properly. This explains the boastfulness, distasteful to the modern mind, which characterised the carefully tabulated self-advertisement found in the Scipionic *elogia*.⁷

Cicero, as a *novus homo* ("new man") in Roman politics, understood perfectly that he did not attract the requisite *fama* of the traditional

³ In 1948 Judge studied Greek III as an extra unit while he was a full-time secondary teacher for the first two terms.

⁴ See '*Contemptu famae contemni virtutes*: On The Morality of Self-Advertisement Among the Romans', ch. 3 below.

⁵ See 'The Literature of Roman Political Self-Advertisement' and 'Roman Literary Memorials', chs 4 and 5 below.

⁶ On *gloria*, see D.C. Earl, *The Political Thought of Sallust* (Amsterdam 1966); *id.*, *The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome* (London and Southampton 1967) Index s.v. *gloria*.

⁷ For the Scipionic *elogia*, see E.H. Warmington (ed. and tr.), *Remains of Old Latin*. IV: *Archaic Inscriptions* (London and Cambridge, Mass. 1967) Tituli sepulcrales nos. 1–10.

nobilis.⁸ Thus he undertook dangerous and unconventional methods in handling the Catilinarian conspiracy during his consulship (63 BC). He spent the rest of his life justifying the illegal actions of his consulship as notable and glorious acts performed on behalf of the state in a time of crisis (*Sull.* 67; *Planc.* 85; *Fam.* 5.7; *Cat. passim*) and sought to immortalise himself as the pre-eminent rhetorician and philosopher of Rome. During the principate of Augustus, however, a narrowing of focus gradually occurred in Roman boasting culture. Now glory resided in one house alone: that of the apotheosised Caesar and his adopted son. The *elogia* of the *forum Augusti* and its statue programme, the *Res Gestae*, and the writings of the imperial poets (e.g. Ovid, *Tr.* 35–46; *Pont.* 2.8.20–26) testify to this dramatic shift in the allocation of honour and glory, even though Augustus, as Judge argues, kept the traditional pathways of competition for magistracies open to the *nobiles*, with a view to replenishing the future generation of leaders.⁹

Judge realised that there was an ethical contrast between the conspicuous merit of the republican Roman *nobiles* – which fed on a quest for eternal glory that culminated in the triumph of the Julio-Claudians over their competitors – and the radical disavowal of boasting and self-glorification on the part of the apostle Paul. For Paul, glory was a gift of divine grace dispensed to his dependants through the dishonour of the crucified Christ. The apostle ruthlessly parodied his ancestral inheritance and personal achievements in the grand boasting style of the Scipionic *elogia* and the professional rhetors, with a view to demolishing the invidious comparisons that the Corinthians had begun to draw between himself and the boastful “super-apostles” intruding at Corinth.¹⁰ Paul had set the foundation for the ultimate triumph of humility as a virtue in Western civilisation. It is therefore surprising that New Testament exegetes have not sought to understand Paul’s “boasting” and “glory” terminology in Romans against the backdrop of late republican and early imperial discussions of *gloria*.¹¹

The third intellectual mentor of Edwin Judge was Karl Popper, a disenchanted ‘would-be’ member of the 1930’s ‘Vienna Circle’. By the

⁸ On the Roman nobility, see M. Gelzer, *The Roman Nobility* (Oxford 1969).

⁹ See ‘The Eulogistic Inscriptions of the Augustan Forum: Augustus on Roman History’ and ‘On Judging the Merits of Augustus’, chs 15 and 17 below.

¹⁰ ‘St Paul and Socrates’, ‘The Conflict of Educational Aims in the New Testament’, and ‘The Reaction against Classical Education in the New Testament’, chs 40, 42 and 43 below.

¹¹ See, however, the discussion in J.R. Harrison, *Paul and the Imperial Rulers at Thessalonica and at Rome* (Tübingen forthcoming) chs. 4–5. For the Jewish background, see S.J. Gathercole, *Where is Boasting? Early Jewish Soteriology and Paul’s Response in Romans 1–5* (Grand Rapids 2002).

late 30's, he had established a tertiary teaching career outside of the traditional academic pathways of Europe. Popper lectured in philosophy at Canterbury University College from 1938–1945, teaching Judge in 1945 on the logic of Aristotle's syllogisms and the ethics of Kant. During his 'exile' in New Zealand, Popper began to establish his place internationally as one of the towering, seminal thinkers of the twentieth century. He had already written *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, an incisive analysis of scientific method, but from Canterbury came *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, a searing denunciation of the Western intellectual tradition in its Platonic mode.¹²

The intellectual impact of Popper upon Judge was not as immediate as Pocock's was to be, but just as profound methodologically in the long term. Popper argued that the experimental method proceeded by 'falsification': that is, science does not advance by proving things to be true, but more by falsifying propositions about the truth. As an historian, Judge came to realise that the strength and longevity of any historical hypothesis is more determined by how successfully it faces the evidence that goes against it. Popper had laid the methodological groundwork for Judge's careful trawling of ancient texts and documents for scraps of evidence that would so often overturn the scholarly consensus.

Having taken the Masters programme at Canterbury – which included a long historical essay, the first Judge ever wrote – he graduated with First Class Honours in Latin. He considered a series of career options: training for the Congregational ministry, becoming a travelling secretary for the Crusader Movement in New Zealand, or pursuing his dream of integrating classical and biblical studies. He chose the last, teaching mainly Latin texts and Greek at Victoria University College, Wellington, from 1950–1952. Judge had been preceded at school, at Canterbury and at Victoria by the famous pupil of Pocock, Ernst Badian, who by then had gone to Oxford to prepare for his Doctorate of Philosophy.¹³ At Oxford, Badian came under the influence of New Zealand's Ronald Syme, only to disagree with him intellectually years later, whereas Judge – as he gradually found his way from the Classics across to Ancient History – seems to have questioned Sir Ronald Syme's interpretation of Augustus from the beginning. The future distancing between Syme, Badian, and Judge over the nature of the Augustan principate had begun its long gestation.¹⁴

¹² K. Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (Gmn orig. Vienna 1935; Eng. tr. London 1959); *id.*, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London 1945; 5th rev. ed. London 1974).

¹³ E. Badian's work was published as *Foreign Clientelae (264–70 BC)* (Oxford 1958).

¹⁴ For Judge's assessment of this matter, see 'The Second Thoughts of Syme on Augustus', ch. 18 below.

The fourth important intellectual mentor of Edwin Judge was A.H.M. Jones, Professor of Ancient History, Cambridge University. Judge went on to King's College, Cambridge (concurrently with P.R.C. Weaver,¹⁵ who had graduated from the same Latin Honours year at Canterbury). In the years 1953–1955 he took the Classical Tripos, again graduating with First Class Honours. Although Judge had been Canterbury's nominee for the Rhodes scholarship that might have taken him to Oxford, the attraction of Cambridge for Judge had long been A.H.M. Jones. When Judge was in New Zealand, he had bought himself a copy of Jones' *The Herods of Judaea* and was aware that Jones had also by then written his major books on the Greek city.¹⁶ To his great surprise, Judge was told by a senior Cambridge academic to avoid Jones' lectures because they were 'so boring', whereas Adcock's lectures, he was advised, were much more congenial.

While Sir Frank Adcock delivered captivating and humorous lectures, Judge found that A.H.M. Jones rigorously applied the 'Popperian' method of falsification to the study of Roman government in his lectures of 1953.¹⁷ In a typical one-hour lecture, Jones would take up a small crux of interpretation, set out all the primary source material on the topic, critically tease out of the evidence the materials relevant to the issue, and settle the point within the hour.

When Judge finished the Classical Tripos, he set up an appointment with Jones in his room at Jesus College, Cambridge, to discuss a potential doctorate. Judge describes his meeting with Jones and the response to his thesis proposal in this way:

When I once told A.H.M. Jones that I wanted to find out what difference it made to Rome to have been converted, he said he already knew the answer: None. Indeed, as his great work on the Later Roman Empire subsequently made clear, he thought that Christian belief, if anything, led to a lowering of moral standards in the community.¹⁸

Initially, Judge was nonplussed by Jones' response. However, he realised that Jones had a vastly different perspective on how the social effects of conversion should be measured historically, if social change were to be legitimately linked to 'conversion'. Jones – and, more recently, Ramsay

¹⁵ P.R.C. Weaver's project led to *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* (Cambridge 1972).

¹⁶ A.H.M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (Oxford 1938). For Jones' studies on cities, see *id.*, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford 1940); *id.*, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford 1937; rev. M. Avi-Yonah: Oxford 1971).

¹⁷ Several of these lectures are reflected in *Studies in Roman Government and Law* (Oxford 1960).

¹⁸ E.A. Judge, *op. cit.* (1980) 10.

MacMullen¹⁹ – concluded that the evidence of social change would reveal itself either in the material culture or in the social mores: but fourth-century art work remained largely unchanged by Christianisation and the general brutality of antiquity continued unabated. The seamless robe of classical culture, Jones implied, remained unaffected by its new garb of Christianisation.²⁰

For Judge, however, the damage was more done at the level of ideas and the intangible reality of ethos. As Judge observes in *The Conversion of Rome*, his response to Jones some twenty-five years later:

The conversion of Rome was effected through a combination of intellectual with social forces unprecedented in the classical experience. For the first time a powerful new set of ideas, such as would normally have been confined to the philosophical schools, was promoted systematically at other levels in the community ... From the classical side the main objections to Christian doctrine were as follows. God's relation to the world was presented as too anthropocentric, so that man took priority over the natural order, and the direct revelation of God's mind to him took precedence over man's own reasoning based upon the study of nature. Greeks did not in the last resort see God as omnipotent, and man by consequence was in the Greek view firmly bound into the order of nature as determined by fate. The Christians, they complained, profaned everything, by stripping both nature and government of its divine component. This destroyed the authority of the natural order of things, and led to the unjust result of favouring the weak and sick in society rather than the good ... The Christian view of the fallen nature of man and his need of redemption and divine endowment was the basis for the socially novel demand for humility and the subjection of each to the interests of the other.²¹

By May 1955 Judge had successfully applied for the Sir James Knott Fellowship in Roman History at Newcastle upon Tyne, in the University of Durham. His new doctoral thesis proposal was to compare the Christianisation process in the cities of Asia with that in North Africa during the second and third centuries AD. Professor S.L. Greenslade, University of Durham, was appointed as his supervisor. The thesis was never completed. In September 1956, Judge took up the position of Lecturer in History at the University of Sydney, teaching there till 1968. He rose quickly to the position of Senior Lecturer and Reader, as well as Head of the Department of Ecclesiastical History. The project of 'Antike und Christentum' returned permanently to the Antipodes.

¹⁹ R. MacMullen, 'How Complete Was Conversion?', in *id.*, *Christianizing the Roman Empire: AD 100–400* (New Haven 1984) ch. 9; *id.*, 'What Difference Did Christianity Make?', *Historia* 35 (1986) 322–343.

²⁰ In a recent work, the ancient historian G. Clark (*Christianity and Roman Society* [Cambridge 2004] 106–11) argues that Christian charity challenged traditional Roman patronal structures, especially with its focus on the destitute (*ptochoi*) as much as the respectable poor (*penetes*).

²¹ E.A. Judge, *op. cit.* (1980) 8, 18–19.

But the Durham experience was not wasted.²² Judge began to explore the intersection of classical culture with the social practices of the first house churches in the eastern Mediterranean basin. A preliminary report on aspects of this was published in 1956.²³ The next year Judge presented the 1957 Tyndale New Testament Lecture, a tantalising expansion of these preliminary ideas. The script was awarded the 1958 Hulsean Prize of the University of Cambridge. As a small booklet, entitled *The Social Pattern of the Christian Groups in the First Century*, it was published by the Tyndale Press at London in 1960. With rigour and originality, the work studied the social constituency of the first churches and their ethos in relation to other contemporary groups and institutions. It was destined to become one of the most influential twentieth-century studies of the New Testament social world and it continues to receive accolades to this day.

In what follows, the main themes of the groups of papers now republished are discussed section-by-section and their contribution to scholarly debate is analysed and critiqued.

I. Augustus in his Times

Most of the papers in this section were delivered as popular presentations or were published in conference proceedings, continuing education notes, and collections for undergraduate use.²⁴ They are presented here for their intrinsic interest to ancient historians, given the challenge that Judge's approach poses for the traditional understanding of the Augustan revolution. But there is much here to be learned by New Testament social historians. It is gratifying that New Testament scholars have increasingly appreciated that if we are to understand properly the historical, political, and social context of the early house churches, the continuing impact of Augustus upon the Greek East and the Latin West has to be incisively analysed on its own terms rather than just superficially surveyed.

In Chapters 1–6 the central social, historical and ideological trends leading to the principate of Augustus are explored in a series of summary presentations. As noted above, the culture of self-advertisement and the quest for ancestral glory loomed large in the social world of the Roman *nobiles*. Commentators on Paul's letter to the Romans need to grapple with

²² See E.A. Judge, *The Social Pattern of the Christian Groups in the First Century* (London 1960) iii–iv.

²³ E.A. Judge, 'The Penetration of Graeco-Roman Society by Christianity', *Tyndale House Bulletin* 1 (1956) 5–6.

²⁴ The original context of each of the papers may be checked in 'Collected Papers of E.A. Judge', 733–737 below.

the evidence underpinning such studies if they are to appreciate fully the Roman context of the epistle.

In Chapters 7–13, the selection of papers evaluates Augustus' rule from a variety of historical perspectives. These include Augustus' relationship to his adoptive father, the issue of the succession, the so-called 'constitutional' settlements (27, 23 BC), his attitude towards competitors and, finally, the perceptions of his principate by his contemporaries, successors, and later historians. These papers ease the uninitiated reader into the complex issues that are discussed intensively in the ensuing chapters.

In Chapters 14–18 we see Judge at the peak of his powers as an interpreter of Augustus. Chapter 14 challenges the still widespread assumption in Augustan studies that Augustus 'restored the republic'. Behind this scholarly mantra lies the theory that Augustus erected a façade of republican government for public consumption, while in reality he constructed the 'Principate', which he had secured by his absolute control of the army and the provinces. This new constitutional entity had effectively become his personal empire. After a detailed discussion of the evidence, Judge concludes that

The theory of the "restored republic" attributes to Augustus the ideas his critics used against him. But he tried to avoid constitutional slogans altogether.²⁵

In Chapter 15, Judge discusses the statue program and eulogistic inscriptions of the Augustan form, which he makes available in English, and opens up for us Augustus' understanding of his rule as the convergence of republican history with that of the Julian house.²⁶ This 'eschatological' portrait of Augustus is germane for New Testament studies because it provides clues as to why Paul depicts Christ – and his counter-imperial household – as the divinely appointed *telos* ('goal', 'end') of redemptive history in Romans.²⁷

In Chapter 16, Judge provides an unusual commentary on Augustus' *Res Gestae*. Judge brings out its rhetorical, social and ideological

²⁵ p. 163 below. An intriguing sidelight to the wider debate regarding the 'restoration of the Republic' has recently emerged. Although the slogan '*res publica restituta*' has been justified only on the basis of two broken inscriptions, the wording may seem close to the legend of a newly found Augustan coin. For a discussion of the implications, see J.W. Rich and J.H.C. Williams, '*Leges et Ivra P. R. Restitvit*: A New Aureus of Octavian and the Settlement of 28–27 BC', *Numismatic Chronicle* 159 (1999) 169–213.

²⁶ See also, P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1990).

²⁷ For discussion, see J.R. Harrison, 'Paul, Theologian of Electing Grace', in S.E. Porter (ed.), *Paul and His Theology* (Leiden and Boston 2006) 77–108, esp. 101–107; *id.*, *op. cit.* (Tübingen forthcoming), ch. 5.

dimensions, as much as the historical and political background.²⁸ It is a model of incisive exegetical method applied to an ancient text.

In Chapter 17, Judge provides a sweeping coverage of his conception of the rule of Augustus and its merits. The published responses and the summary of the discussion at the Colloquy at Berkeley (29 April 1984) make this an instructive example of the debate.²⁹

Finally, in Chapter 18 we have Judge's critical but appreciative estimate of Sir Ronald Syme, the twentieth century 'colossus' on all matters Augustan and a chief proponent of the 'republican façade' theory, mentioned above.

In sum, the section offers a wealth of evidence and argument that not only challenges the twentieth-century paradigms of Augustan studies but also adds momentum to the flood of New Testament studies appearing on Paul's critique of the Augustan gospel in the mid-first century.³⁰

II. The Roman Empire and the First Christians

The papers in this section employ a range of methodologies and illustrate points of contact between the early Christians and the social world of the Roman Empire.³¹ At the outset, four chapters highlight Judge's ability to integrate detailed study of the civil texts with New Testament questions, as well as his involvement with the *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* project.

First, Sotidius' edict on requisitioned transport (AD 18–19) not only throws light on public transport in the New Testament but also on the meaning of Paul's multiple use of the puzzling sense of the word *kanōn* in

²⁸ The latter interests are very capably met in P.A. Brunt and J.M. Moore, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: The Achievements of the Divine Augustus* (Oxford University Press 1967).

²⁹ In the published proceedings the Colloquy was incorrectly dated to 29 April 1985.

³⁰ See D. Cuss, *Imperial Cult and Honorary Terms in the New Testament* (Fribourg 1974); D. Georgi, *Theocracy in Paul's Praxis and Theology* (Minneapolis 1991: Gmn orig. 1987); N.T. Wright, 'Gospel and Theology in Galatians', in L.A. Jervis and P. Richardson (eds), *Gospel in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Romans* (Sheffield 1994) 222–239; S.K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven and London 1994); J.L. White, *The Apostle of God: Paul and the Promise of Abraham* (Peabody 1999); J.R. Harrison, 'Paul, Eschatology and the Augustan Age of Grace', *TynBul* 50/1 (1999), 79–91; M. Tellbe, *Paul Between Synagogue and State: Christians, Jews, and Civic Authorities in 1 Thessalonians, Romans, and Philippians* (Stockholm 2001); J.D. Crossan and J.L. Reed, *In Search of Paul: How Jesus's Apostle Opposed Rome's Empire with God's Kingdom. A New Vision of Paul's Words and World* (San Francisco 2004).

³¹ See also 'The Roman Base of Paul's Mission', ch. 35 below.

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